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THE HISTORY
OF
ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S HOSPITAL.



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THE HISTORY
OF
ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S HOSPITAL

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CORRIGENDA.

Vol. I. p. 454 for *Henry II* read *Henry III*.

Vol. II. Illustrations for *466* read *260*.

ILLUSTRATIONS

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ERRATA

- Page 112, line 5, for *præ* read *præsul*.
„ 161, line 16, omit *contemporary*.
„ 242, line 4, for *Joye* read *Joyce*.
„ 519, line 12, omit *a picture* to *Lord Macaulay*, and read 'The occasion is recorded in some glittering sentences of Lord Macaulay.'
„ 696, line 5, add after the word *honours*, 'who added to them on the field of war in France, where on September 16, 1916, he lost his life while attempting to save that of a brother officer,' and read in the next sentence for *his* Butlin's.

SAINT BARTHOLOMEW'S HOSPITAL

XI

BROTHER JOHN COK



JOHN Cok, who wrote the Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, was one of its brethren, and spent the greater part of his life within its walls. It is to his care that we owe most of our knowledge of the foundation in the Middle Ages, and his name deserves to be placed at the head of a chapter in its history. His portrait is preserved in the Cartulary. It is in the illuminated initial of the word *sciunt* at the beginning of a charter of Michael of Valencins, which is the first of the copies of charters relating to the hospital property in London.

Cok is represented as a man advanced in life and of ascetic appearance, wearing a red gown with full sleeves gathered in at the wrist, and a black skull-cap. He is

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kneeling before a cross which three angels are supporting, thus expressing the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, and above are the words "Crucis exaltacio: ducat nos celi consorcio." At the foot of the cross are his arms; sable between three cocks a chevron argent bearing an annulet for difference.

This faithful brother of St. Bartholomew's Hospital was born in 1392. He was apprenticed early in the reign of Henry V. to Thomas Lamporte, a goldsmith, and lived in his house in Wood Street, called the Goldsmith's Rent.¹ On the last leaf of the Cartulary, Cok has recorded one incident of his youth:—

"In the year 1413, on the ninth day of the month of April, which day was Passion Sunday, and a very rainy day, the Coronation of Henry V. took place at Westminster, at which coronation I, Brother John Cok, who have recorded that royal coronation for the refreshing of memory, was present and beheld it."

The red gown and black cap in which Cok is represented in his portrait are the dress of a goldsmith,² and thus preserve a memorial of his original training. It was probably in this apprenticeship that he learned the arts of artistic writing and drawing. The numerous ornate initials in the Cartulary seem to have been made

¹ Et in quo tenemento et in quo tempore Ego Johannes Cok qui istud Rentale compilavi et scripsi tunc ibidem apprenticaui anno Henrici quinti v°. The v° is perhaps an error for "i°" due to copying a v which is just above it.

² The colours of the liveries varied from time to time. In 1473 "the charges for violet and scarlet for the livery are £12. 15s. 5d." W. Herbert, "History of the Twelve Great Livery Companies," London, 1836, vol. ii. p. 205.

by the writer as he went on, and do not look like the additions of a subsequent artist.¹

It is easy to imagine Cok working at his craft in Wood Street with a little furnace and anvil such as may be seen in the goldsmiths' bazaar of Cairo at the present day, and perhaps repeating, as he heated the precious metal, the line of Columbanus :

Aurum flamma probat : homines tentatio justos,

or singing as he beat out the ornamentation of a vessel the verses of the hymn to St. Catharine :

Vas electum, vas virtutum,

Reputavit sicut lutum

Bona transitoria :

Et reduxit in contemptum

Patris opes, et parentum

Larga patrimonia.

In 1418² he was employed by Robert Newton, who

¹ Many are in outline only, others are rubricated. One is of a cardinal in his hat, with "Deum time" coming from his mouth; another is a full-length of a bishop in his canonicals. There are many letters of interlaced design, some of twisted snakes or of fishes, and some of foliage.

The crown of thorns is drawn for the O of *Omnibus Christi fidelibus*. There are single, double, and treble heads sketched above, below, and at the sides of letters. A large lion passant guardant has a curved scroll folded so as to form the initial of *sciant* and with the words "be wair" on it. A dragon, a rabbit, a stag sejant, an eagle flapping its wings, a double-headed eagle, a fox catching a fowl by the neck, a goshawk holding a hare, a cat's head, a swan, a cockatrice, hares in several attitudes, an accurately drawn lamprey with its ten gill holes, trumpets variously arranged, bagpipes, a dog on its hind legs, a man blowing a horn, a horse in harness, a chained bear, a man in armour with a large sword, a Saracen waving a scimitar, a small head of a man with "usque huc" written at the tip of the nose, and a priest blessing a man also occur. The only female figure is one of the Blessed Virgin enthroned, with a tonsured man kneeling before her.

² Scriptum per Johannem Cok per biennium ante professionem suam quum fuit serviens cum magistro Roberto Neuton anno domini 1418.—*Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, f. 282.

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had been master of the hospital, and was probably then its rentar. Newton lived near the chapel of St. Andrew in the hospital, and Cok copied out charters for him on vellum pages which were subsequently embodied in the great Cartulary constructed many years later. Several events of Cok's life are recorded in it. He became a brother of St. Bartholomew's Hospital in 1421.¹

In Cok's boyhood William Wakeryng was master, and was succeeded in 1406 by THOMAS LAKENHAM, who held office till his death on August 31, 1412. A few transactions as to property are the only recorded events of his mastership.

THOMAS LAKENHAM, master, granted a lease for sixty years to John Sadullere, citizen and vintner, on November 10, 1411, of a holding with a garden and four shops in St. Sepulchre's parish,² and a mansion in the same, at a rent of sixty shillings to St. Bartholomew's Hospital and two shillings to the abbot and convent of Leicester.

On the Friday (January 14) before the feast of St. Peter in Cathedra, 1412, THOMAS LAKENHAM³ in the

¹ Scriptum per fratrem Johannem Cok a. d. 1456 et professionis sue anno 35.—*Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, f. 32.

² This garden and these shops had been leased by William Wakeryng, the master, on September 25, 1394, to Geoffrey Husy, citizen and tailor, and Joan his wife, from Michaelmas in that year for sixty years, at a rent of thirty-three shillings and four pence paid to the hospital and twenty shillings to the abbot and convent of Leicester. John Sadullere's small round seal bears his initials and a linear device, perhaps his trade mark.

³ Omnibus Christi fidelibus ad quos presens scriptum indentatum peruenerit Thomas Lakenham magister hospitalis sancti Bartholomei in Westsmethfeld in suburbio Londoniarum et eiusdem hospitalis confratres salutem in domino sempiternam. Cum nuper in quadam Assisa frisceforceie per me prefatum Thomam Lakenham magistrum Hospitalis predicti versus Nicholaum Hebbeden militem Johannem Sapurton Thomam Hagh Ricardum Hagh Thomam Claymond Johannem Skory et Margaretam uxorem eius et

hospital, affixed its common seal to a quit-claim to Sir Nicholas Hebbeden and eight others of all right in six shillings out of forty-three shillings of annual rent arising from a holding in the parish of St. Sepulchre in the ward of Faryndon Without. The old ward of the city in which the hospital was built had by this time been divided into a ward

Johannem Wykes et Johannam uxorem eius de quadraginta et tribus solidatis redditus cum pertinentiis exeuntibus de vno tenemento in parochia sancti Sepulchri extra Newgate in Suburbio Londoniarum in Warda de Faryndon extra situato super cornerium versus orientem ex opposito cimiterii ecclesie sancti Sepulchri extra Newgate versus austrum quod quidem tenementum nuper fuit duo tenementa arrannata et coram Johanne Reynewell et Waltero Cotton vicecomitibus Londoniarum apud Guyhaldam ciuitatis London' capta per quam quidem assisam compertum fuit quod predictum tenementum cum pertinentiis quod nuper fuit duo tenementa tenetur de me prefato Thoma Lakenham magistro hospitalis predicti ut de Jure hospitalis illius per seruitium triginta et septem solidatarum redditus per annum tantum et me prefatum Thomam Lakenham de eisdem triginta et septem solidatis redditus exeuntibus de tenemento predicto tantum fuisse seisitum et disseisum et me de sex solidatis redditus residuis de predictis quadraginta et tribus solidatis redditus numquam fuisse seisitum ut de libero tenemento. Ita quod inde disseisiri potui consideratum fuisset quod ego prefatus Thomas Lakenham magister hospitalis predicti recuperare seisinam de predictis triginta et septem solidatis redditus exeuntibus de tenemento predicto tantum et quod quoad predictas sex solidatas redditus residuas nichil caperem per assisam meam predictam. Noueritis nos prefatum Thomam Lakenham magistrum hospitalis predicti et confratres hospitalis illius remisisse relaxasse et omnino pro nobis et successoribus nostris imperpetuum quietumclamasse prefatis Nicholao, Johanni Sapurton, Thome Hagh', Ricardo Hagh', Thome Claymond, et Johanni Skory et Margarete heredibus et assignatis suis totum Jus nostrum et clamem que habemus habuimus seu aliquo modo habere poterimus in predictis sex solidatis redditus residuis de predictis quadraginta et tribus solidatis redditus Ita quod nec nos nec successores nostri nec aliquis alius nomine nostro aliquod Jus vel clamem in eisdem sex solidatis redditus nec aliquem alium redditum de tenemento predicto nisi solomodo predictas triginta et septem solidatas redditus per me prefatam Thomam Lakenham magistrum hospitalis predicti per assisam predictam in forma predicta recuperatas de cetero exigere vel vindicare poterimus in futurum sed ab omni accione de predictis sex solidatis redditus simus exclusi imperpetuum per presentes In cujus rei testimonium tam nos prefati Thomas Lakenham magister hospitalis predicti et confratres hospitalis illius sigillum nostrum commune quam predicti Nicholaus, Johannes Sapurton, Thomas Hagh', Ricardus Hagh', Thomas Claymond, et Johannes Skory et Margareta sigilla sua huic scripto indentato alternatim apposuimus. Datum in hospitali predicto die veneris proxima ante festum sancti Petri in Cathedra anno regni regis Henrici quarti post conquestum Anglie tertiodecimo.

within the wall and one without, and that part in which St. Bartholomew's stands was called by its present name of the ward of Faringdon Without.

After Lakenham's death John the prior, disregarding the terms of agreement arranged between the hospital and the priory by Simon of Sudbury, retained the keys of the chest, with the common seal, and delayed the election of a new master.

The brethren sought the protection of the king, who issued on February 2, 1413, an injunction to Thomas Arundel, Archbishop of Canterbury, which cites some of the terms of Simon of Sudbury's composition, and forbids the prior to diminish their effect, as he had endeavoured to do, by obtaining in the ecclesiastical court power to rule and administer the hospital and to keep its keys during the vacancy of the mastership, contrary to the effect of the composition. Any questions that may arise are to be discussed in the king's courts, "according to the law and custom of our kingdom."¹

A letter of Henry V., dated at Westminster, May 16, 1413,² is addressed to the Sheriffs of London, requiring that John, Prior of St. Bartholomew's, should attend before the judges at Westminster on the morrow of Ascension Day, to show why he had interfered with the composition in contempt of the royal mandate, and had made attempts against it in the ecclesiastical courts, during the vacancy of the mastership.

¹ *Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, f. 504.

² *Ibid.*, f. 567.

In spite of these prohibitions, the prior persisted, and even after judgment given at the end of Easter term in 1413 by the judges William Gaston, William Theruyng, and John Cokayn.

Accordingly another royal letter, dated June 5, 1413,¹ orders the sheriffs to distrain John, Prior of St. Bartholomew's, and that he shall be brought before the judges at Westminster in fifteen days from Trinity Sunday, to answer on this same point of interference with the composition and for his attempts in the ecclesiastical courts.

ROBERT NEWTON was appointed master on June 13, 1413,¹ by Richard Clifford, Bishop of London. In 1415 he and the brethren granted a lease of a garden in Enfield for twenty years from the feast of Easter (March 31), to John Selle of Ewell in Middlesex, at an annual rent of twelve pence.²

¹ *Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, ff. 569, 570.

² Hec indentura testatur quod Dominus Robertus Newton Magister Hospitalis Sancti Bartholomei in Westmethefeld Londoniarum et eiusdem loci Confratres vnanimi assensu et consensu totius Capituli sui concesserunt tradiderunt et ad firmam dimiserunt Johanni Selle de Ewell in comitatu Middlesex totum illud Gardinum suum cum pertinentiis quod ipsi habent iacens in villa de Enefeld in dicto Comitatu Middlesex inter tenementum predicti Johannis ex parte Australi et tenementum Johannis Dane senioris ex parte boreali et communem viam regiam ex parte occidentali et abuttat super terram Abbatis de Thorneye ex parte orientali. Habendum et tenendum totum predictum Gardinum cum pertinentiis prefato Johanni Selle executoribus et assignatis suis a festo Pasche anno regni regis Henrici quinti post conquestum tercio vsque ad finem viginti annorum ex tunc proxime sequentium et plenarie completorum. Reddendo inde annuatim dicto termino durante prefatis magistro et confratribus et eorum successoribus ac assignatis duodecim denarios sterlingorum ad festum Pasche in fine cuiuslibet anni dicti termini pro omnibus aliis oneribus redditibus seruiciis exactionibus et demandis quibuscumque. Et si predictus annuus redditus duodecim denariorum Vltra aliquod festum Pasche quo solui debeat in parte vel in toto aretro fuerit insolutus per quindecim dies extunc bene liceat predictis magistro et confratribus et eorum successoribus ac assignatis in totum predictum Gardinum

On May 25, 1415,¹ Robert Newton, master or warden of the hospital of St. Bartholomew, and the brethren and sisters received a royal pardon in the widest terms for every offence or defect of duty towards the king's rights up to December 8, 1414. Its object was perhaps to secure them with regard to defective legal proceedings in relation to their ownership of particular lands, or to proceedings without leave in the ecclesiastical courts.

Four of the vestments given away from the royal chapel after Henry IV.'s death were sent to St. Bartholomew's.²

Newton retired from the mastership on May 31, 1415. He continued to live in the close near the chapel of St. Andrew, and did the hospital the great service of bringing John Cok within its influence.

cum pertinenciis reintrare et illud in pristino statu suo retinere rehabere et possidere dictumque Johannem Selle et quoscumque suos inde penitus expellere et ammouere hac indentura in aliquo non obstante. Et predicti Magister et Confratres et eorum successores totum predictum Gardinum cum pertinenciis prefato Johanni Selle executoribus et assignatis suis pro redditu predicto in forma predicta contra omnes gentes warantizabunt acquietabunt et defendent per totum terminum predictum per presentes. In cuius rei testimonium uni parti huius indenture penes dictum Johannem Selle remanenti predicti Magister et Confratres sigillum suum commune apposuerunt. Alteri vero parti penes eosdem Magistrum et Confratres remanenti idem Johannes Selle sigillum suum apposuerit. Datum festo et anno supradictis. .'. LINCOLN .'. .

¹ Henricus Dei gracia Rex Anglie et Francie et Dominus Hibernie Omnibus Balliuis et fidelibus suis ad quos presentes littere peruenerint Salutem. Sciatis quod de gracia nostra speciali et ex mero motu nostro ob reuerenciam Dei et caritatis intuitu perdonauimus Roberto Newton Magistro siue custodi hospitalis Sancti Bartholomei iuxta Westsmythfulde in Suburbio Londoniarum ac fratribus et sororibus eiusdem hospitalis, &c.—*Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, f. 42a and b.

² April 18, 1414. Acquittance of vestments to Richard Prentys, dean of the chapel of Henry IV., who received jewels, &c., from Richard Kyngeston, late dean, and has delivered them to the king's clerk, Edmund Lacy, now dean of the King's chapel within the household, except certain things delivered to divers persons :—"Item a lospittall in Smythfeld iiii draps dor dragmas dount, ii rouge, i vert, et i bloy."—*Calendar of Patent Rolls*, Henry V., 1413-16.

JOHN BURY, rector of the church of Messeden¹ in Hertfordshire, after profession as a brother, was created master on July 3, 1415: the Bishop of London having been appointed compromisor on that occasion. He died September 28, 1417.

JOHN WHITE, who had been rector of the church of St. Michael Paternoster for eleven years, and was one of the chaplains of Whittington's College of the Holy Ghost and St. Mary, was, after profession as a brother on December 23, 1417, appointed master in January 1418. Two important events took place in his mastership, the grant of a royal charter and an episcopal regulation of the hospital.

On September 27, 1419, royal letters patent were issued at Westminster by John, Duke of Bedford, Guardian of England, which recited and confirmed the original charter granted by Henry I. to Rahere as to the priory and the hospital, the charter of Henry II., two charters of Richard I., and the charters of John, Edward II., Edward III., Richard II., and Henry IV. This long inspeximus covers fourteen pages and a third of a page in the Cartulary, each page having about forty lines. It was granted in White's mastership, the year before Cok's admission as a brother.

The last Composition or episcopal regulation of the governance of the hospital and of its relations with the Priory was also published during White's mastership,

¹ Now Meesden.

and almost at the time of Cok's entrance as a brother. It was issued from Fulham on October 31, 1420, by Richard Clifford, Bishop of London. He begins by mentioning the composition of Simon of Sudbury. It ordained that the master of the hospital after election should be presented to the prior and by him to the Bishop of London, yet on several occasions the prior had delayed to present the elected master without just cause, and had thus caused inconvenience and injury to the hospital.

In Simon's composition two of the brethren on St. Bartholomew's Day were each to carry a wax candle of four pounds' weight in the procession, and at its end were to deposit these candles on the high altar of the priory church. The brethren were then to be allowed to return to the hospital. Nevertheless they had on many occasions been detained in the priory so that the divine offices in the hospital, proper to the day, had been interfered with to the disadvantage of the inmates and injury to the spiritual comfort of the poor admitted and lying there.

Bishop Clifford therefore decides: that when a vacancy occurs in the mastership the prior's licence shall be sought and the election take place; that when the election is made the master shall immediately be brought to the Bishop of London and be inducted by him into the corporal possession of the hospital. Further, that on St. Bartholomew's Day one brother

shall bring six pounds of good wax in the name of the master and brethren, and shall deposit it on the high altar of the priory church, but shall not be required to take part in the procession. He shall return forthwith to continue the divine service in the hospital. The other clauses of the composition of Simon of Sudbury shall remain in full force.

Besides these important public transactions, White appears in the everyday affairs of the hospital. Thus, on September 30, 1422, JOHN WHITE¹ and the brethren received sixty shillings from Thomas Appulton of Dartford in full payment of the arrears of a rent of fifteen shillings a year due for the past four years from a holding in Aldersgate street. There are seven

¹ Hec indentura testatur quod frater Johannes White magister Hospitalis sancti Bartholomei Londoniarum et eiusdem loci Confratres receperunt et habuerunt die confectionis presencium de Thoma Appulton de Derteford in comitatu kancie Gentilman sexaginta solidos sterling' in plenam solucionem omnium arreragiorum cuiusdam annualis liberi et quieti redditus quindecim solidorum exeuntis annuatim de tenemento cum pertinenciis ipsius Thome in Aldrishesgatestret in parochia Sancti Botulphi Londoniarum quod quidem tenementum cum pertinenciis iacet inter tenementum ecclesie Sancti Pauli London versus aquilonem et tenementum Elie Oughham versus austrum et gardinum dicti Elie versus orientem ac regiam viam de Aldrishesgatestret versus occidentem. Videlicet pro quatuor annis ultimis preteritis ante datum presencium. Et predictus Thomas vult et per presentes concedit pro se heredibus executoribus et assignatis suis imperpetuum quod si et quandocunque predictus annualis et quietus redditus quindecim Solidorum aretro fuerit in parte vel in toto ad aliquid terminum solucionis quatuor terminorum per annum quod extunc bene liceat prefatis Magistro et Confratribus et successoribus suis aut eorum certo attornato dictum tenementum cum pertinenciis vniuersis intrare et distringere et districciones abducere fugare et retinere quousque de predicto annuo redditu et eorum arreragiis dampnis impensis et expensis in ea parte habitis seu factis plenarie fuerit Satisfactum et persolutum. In cuius rei testimonium partes predictae Sigilla sua alternatim apposuerunt. Hiis testibus Johanne Barton senior nuper Recordator Ciuitatis Londoniarum: Ricardo Wellom: Johanne Grantham: Willelmo Stonham: Thoma Boole: Johanne Vuxbrige: Reginald Cok: et Aliis. Datum in domo capitulari hospitalis predicti in crastino sancti Michaelis Archelangeli Anno domini Millesimo ccccxxii^o et anno regni regis Henrici sexti primo.

witnesses of this document, and the first, John Barton, late Recorder of London, is the only man of importance among the seven, a curious contrast to the time when the mayor and sheriffs, the alderman of the ward, and other magnates attested most charters in London.

White resigned the mastership into the hands of John Kemp, Bishop of London, on February 13, 1423, and died January 20, 1427.

Cok became a brother while White was master, and took part in the next election. White had no doubt resigned into the hands of the Bishop of London so that, in accordance with Clifford's recent ordinance, there might be no undue delay in the appointment. The chapter of the hospital were assembled, and proceeded to election on March 2, 1423. There are three canonical ways of election. The chapter may appoint some one, or more, of themselves, or others, to make the appointment—this is the method *per compromissam*. Or each member of the chapter may give his vote to any one present who may be appointed to receive the votes, and the election be determined by the majority, or any particular majority, of those present. This is the method *per scrutinium*. The third method of election, and necessarily the rarest, is *per viam Spiritus Sancti*, where all present at once acclaim the same person. It was in this last way that John Wakeryng, otherwise Blackberd, one of the brethren of the hospital, was elected master on Tuesday, March 2, 1423. He

received a formal certificate of election and admission from DAVID PRYCE, canon of Lincoln, vicar-general of John, Bishop of London, on March 16, 1423.¹

The village of Little Wakering, in Essex, whence John Wakeryng came, has been connected with St. Bartholomew's Hospital since the reign of Henry II., and the hospital has property there to this day. The abbeys, priories, colleges, hospitals, and other religious, learned, and charitable foundations, of which there were in old times so many in England, took a kindly interest in those who held farms from them and in the poor, whether free or unfree, who worked upon the land. Men sometimes rose to high posts in church and state whose advancement was in the first place due to the education they had received from the abbey on the estates of which they had been born, and where their fathers had been tenants or labourers.

Wakering, with its haven and the numerous creeks winding through marsh lands and extending to the estuary of the Thames, has at the present day an air of remoteness, and this must have been far greater when there were not even cart roads, and when the only easy access to London was by sailing-boats not very different from those barges with great brown sails which are, in our time, to be seen making their way up the Thames from its mouth, laden with hay. It was by boat that the rent of the hospital estate was

¹ The original is written in eight lines on a thin slip of vellum.

brought in hay or corn to a quay on the Fleet River, where it was landed. Thus the inhabitants of Wakering knew St. Bartholomew's well, and such relations between a country district and a noble old foundation tended to the improvement of the inhabitants.

John Wakeryng held office for forty years—longer than any other Master of the Hospital. John Cok admired him, and writes in the list of masters in the Cartulary.

"And I brother John Cok lived throughout his mastership, who put down in writing all his famous works. For the wondrous acuteness of his extraordinary discretion ought to be recorded. In the first year of his mastership he recovered at law from the executors of Richard Whytyngdon certain goods of Sir John White, Wakeryng's predecessor, who died in the house (*i.e.*, the college on College Hill) of the aforesaid Richard Whytyngdon; because he was one of his (White's) executors."

"First of all he recovered a cross with gilt base, worth £12. 13s. 4d.: also a great Antiphonary, with musical notation, lying in the choir, worth £8: also a great Breviary for the master's room, worth £10: also another great Breviary with musical notation, containing the lessons, to wit a cochour, worth £13. 6s. 8d.: also a new and great legend de sanctis and de tempore in one volume, worth £12: also a great Bible complete with a Psalter, worth £16: also a Manual worth thirteen

[illegible]

may into time of our

AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE MASTER OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S HOSPITAL AND
THE PRIORESS OF ST. HELEN'S.

shillings and four pence. Again, in the same year, he recovered from the executors of the said Richard Whittington a quit-rent of twenty shillings arising from his mansion in la Ryole existing for many years back, and therefore for compensation of the aforesaid annual rent thus existing so far back the executors of the aforesaid Richard built the great south gate of the hospital, putting up the arms of the aforesaid Richard with a stone column and a vault or arch in the wall adjoining the chapel of S. Nicholas out of the goods of the aforesaid Richard Whittington, at a cost for the mason's work of £64: and also a glass window with its tracery, in keeping with the new work, and representing the seven corporal works of mercy, the whole sum recovered being £174. 14s. 4d." The taste of John Wakeryng was as good as his management: Feeding the hungry, giving drink to the thirsty, receiving the guest, clothing the naked, visiting the sick and the imprisoned, redeeming the slave, burying the dead—no seven subjects could be better chosen for the window of a hospital chapel.

The earliest transaction¹ after Wakeryng's election of which a record has been preserved, is dated June 14,

¹ Concordia talis est quod magister hospitalis Sancti Bartholomei Londoniarum concessit pro se et successoribus suis priorisse sancte Elene Londoniarum quod bene licebit eidem priorisse et successoribus suis habere facere et ordinare modo competenti unam latrinam siue cloacam secus portam nouam eiusdem magistri in muggwellstrete in parochia sancti Olai Londoniarum ac etiam dicta priorissa concessit dicto magistro et successoribus suis casum aque provenient' siue falant' de tenemento eiusdem magistri in muggwellstrete usque in gardinum siue terram eiusdem priorisse ibidem imperpetuum consuetudinibus Londoniarum in aliquo non obstantibus, acta sunt hec xiiii die Junii Anno regni regis Henrici sexti primo. In cuius rei testimonium partes predictae Sigilla sua alternatim presentibus apposuerunt.

1423, and is an agreement with the PRIORESS OF ST. HELEN's as to a drain and water fall in Mugwell Street in the parish of St. Olave.

The oval seal of the master of St. Bartholomew's is appended on a broad vellum tag. It bears, within the inscribed border, a crucifix with a tree on each side, with an Agnus Dei at the apex and at the base a shield party per pale and bearing a chevron. The inscription in the border is "*Sigillum magistri hospitalis sancti Bartholomei Smythfeld ad causas.*" This is the first appearance of the arms at present used by the hospital. Towards the end of Wakeryng's mastership this coat party per pale argent and sable a chevron counter-changed, appears in a prominent position in the Cartulary. It would seem to be the shield of John Wakeryng, which from use in the seal of his signet ring for more than forty years, came to be regarded as the hospital arms. Heraldic writers have often read a meaning into the bearings which they describe, and so might easily have taken the hospital shield as an early record of the admission of patients and of the results of treatment. The chevron might symbolise the hospital roof, while the equally divided and counter-changed argent and sable suggested that each patient admitted had an even chance of recovery or of death. Thus this shield may be regarded as the earliest public issue of those statistical tables of the results of treatment which now appear in elaborate form every year,

and in which the proportion of recovery is so much happier than was the case in the Middle Ages.

Ten years later Wakering carried out another matter relating to sanitation. On July 8, 1432,¹ Henry VI., in letters patent granted by advice of Parliament, authorised the priory and convent to lease a water supply to the hospital, and accordingly, in November 1433, the master and brethren sealed an agreement with the priory and convent.² The water supply came from a head in Islington (Iseldon) at Canonbury, in a meadow called Coweslese, and was thence conducted by leaden pipes so as to supply the priory and the hospital. The hospital was to pay its share of keeping the cistern and pipes in repair. The master and brethren were to pay the prior and convent six shillings and eight pence, as long as the water continued to run, at Easter. If this rent or the repairs were not paid, the priory might levy distress on the hospital lands in the parish of St. Sepulchre. After this Thomas Knowles, grocer, who had been mayor in 1410, by agreement with Reynold, Prior of St. Bartholomew's, and John Wakeryng, Master of the Hospital, conveyed "the waste of water at the Cisterne nere to the common fountaine, and chapell of St. Nicholas (situate by the said hospitall) to the Gailes of Newgate and Ludgate for the reliefe of the prisoners."³

¹ *Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, f. 85a.

² *Ibid.*, f. 83b.

³ Stow's *Survey*, ed. Kingsford, ii. 37.

Wakeryng procured a bull from Pope Martin V., dated from St. Peter's, June 16, 1425,¹ confirming in the fullest terms all the privileges of the hospital as arranged in the ordinances of Bishops Eustace of Fauconberg, Simon of Sudbury, and Richard Clifford. The Prior of St. Bartholomew's most falsely, says Cok, had this bull cancelled "per breve premunire facias."

It was perhaps with regard to this bull that John Wakeryng (or Blakberd) obtained on June 18, 1442, a pardon for all misprisions, contempts, &c., in relation to certain apostolic bulls.²

On July 15, 1446, the king granted for the help of John Wakeryng and the brethren and sisters and their successors, and of pilgrims and the sick and other indigent people flocking to the hospital, and for the work

¹ Pontificatus nostri Anno Nono. The bull is written out in full in the *Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, ff. 58a—61b.

² Henricus Dei gracia Rex Anglie et Francie et Dominus Hibernie Omnibus ad quos presentes litere peruenerint Salutem Sciatis quod de gracia nostra speciali perdonauimus remisimus et relaxauimus Johanni Blakberd Magistro hospitalis Sancti Bartholomei in Westmythfelda londoniarum alias dicto Johanni Wakeryng Magistro hospitalis Sancti Bartholomei in Westmythfelda londoniarum ac fratribus eiusdem hospitalis et eorum cuilibet omnimodos mesprisiones contemptus offensas impeticiones penas et forisfacturas in quos ipsi aut eorum aliquis erga nos occasione impetracionis prosecucionis delacionis acceptacionis recepcionis notificacionis siue execucionis aliquarum bullarum apostolicarum dictis Magistro fratribus seu predecessoribus suis ante hec tempora concessarum sunt incursi seu aliquis eorum est incursus aut incurrere poterunt seu poterit quouis modo ac omnia alia et singula per eosdem Magistrum et fratres seu eorum aliquem in hac parte contra formam uim et effectum aliquorum statutorum siue ordinacionum aut alicuius statuti siue ordinacionis regni nostre Anglie quomodolibet facta procurata impetrata prosecuta siue attemptata et omne id quod ad nos inde pertinet seu poterit pertinere Aliquibus statutis siue ordinacionibus aut aliquo statuto siue ordinacione in contrario factis uel facta non obstante. In cuius rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Teste me ipso apud Westmonasterium decimo octauo die Junii Anno regni nostri vicesimo. Per breve de priuato sigillo et de dato predicto Auctoritate Parliamenti.—*Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, f. 86a.

of charity there, and for the welfare now and for the souls after death of the king and queen and of all the faithful departed, certain lands which had been surrendered to him, viz. a toft of 120 acres at Hendon in Middlesex, and four crofts, three called Rokeholtes and one called New Ponte. These he granted in pure and perpetual alms. William Cleve "clerk of our works," Henry Frowyk "alderman of our city of London," Richard Sturgeon "clerk of our crown," Thomas Burgoyne gentleman, John Lurcheon citizen and grocer of the aforesaid city, Thomas Gyndale gentleman, John Gille carpenter, Henry Aubrey, and John Blyssot chaplain, by their charter dated June 21, 1446, placed this land in the king's hands.

John Cok, in the intervals of his attendance on the sick and the other duties of a brother of the hospital, occupied his time as a scribe. A manuscript in his hand, written in 1432, is preserved in the British Museum,¹ and on several of its pages his name appears. It contains five works attributed to St. Bernard,² the Soliloquy between a man and his soul by Hugh of St. Victor,³ six works of St. Augustine,⁴ Origen's Homily

¹ Additional MSS., 10,392. The manuscript came to the Museum from the library of Richard Heber.

² (1) The Mirror of Conscience; (2) The Sinner's Mirror; (3) The Lamentation of St. Bernard on the Blessed Virgin; (5) On the Priestly Dignity, f. 68b; (6) On the Canonical Hours, 70a. These Latin treatises begin on page 8. On page 2 is a table of contents headed "Ista sunt contenta in libello isto scripta a fratre Johanne Cok anno domini millesimo ccccxxii."

³ (4) *Soliloquium dilectionis*.

⁴ (7) On the Knowledge of true Life, ff. 71a to 89a; (8) In what way Man is made in the Image of God, 89a to 90a; (9) On the Ten Plagues and Commandments, f. 90b; (13) To

on the Magdalen,¹ a book on the instruction of the soul,² a collection of meditations, hymns, and other pious writings,³ and concludes with a tract of which Cok seems to claim the authorship, "Eight good and notable distinctions of hands written by the hand of brother John Cok."⁴ Some theological notes, with remarks of Richard Hampole on the Song of Solomon and of Peter of Blois on the Book of Job, precede St. Bernard's Mirror of Conscience, and at its end is written, "thanks be to God quoth John Cok: Amen: Jesu: Amen." Similar ejaculations of the scribe are written on other pages.⁵ Intervals contain prayers, hymns, and short theological passages; a prayer of St. Anselm, one of St. Gregory, one of St. Edmund, one for pilgrims, and a long poem headed "Versus ad omne genus hominum" beginning

"Ecce dolet Anglia luctibus imbuta."

The manuscript ends with the curious drawings of hands mentioned above, on which the names of virtues and vices are written, a diagrammatic exposition of the relation of palmistry and morals, apparently devised by Cok himself. The volume shows some of the reading

Peter the Deacon on the Catholic Faith; (14) On True Innocence, f. 155 (15) On the Conflict of Vices and Virtues.

¹ (11) f. 103b to 108a.

² (10) f. 92b to 103a.

³ (12).

⁴ (16).

⁵ At the end of The Sinner's Mirror, "Amen, Jesu, Amen, quoth John Cok," and of the Lamentation, "Amen quoth John Cok": and of the Soliloquy of Hugh, "Oh good Jesu, be thou kind to me, quoth brother John Cok." In red lower down on the same page (f. 67b) he has added "written by brother John Cok." At the end of "Causa seu ratio quare soluuntur hore canonice" (f. 70b) is written "quoth John Cok": and at the end of "De Cognitione Vere Vite" (f. 89a) "Laudetur Deus: amen quod Johann Cok."

of the brother of St. Bartholomew's in the reign of Henry VI., and incidentally opens to us a view of the hospital library of the time.

Cok became Rental of the hospital, an office for which his devotion to its interest, his accuracy, and his beautiful penmanship peculiarly fitted him. The greatest work of his life was the writing of the Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital. Books of this kind were made for every ancient corporate body in the Middle Ages, and the usage to some extent continued into later times, so that among the statutes of the Royal Society at the present day Chapter XIV. begins—

"Of the Books and Papers of the Society.

"There shall be had and kept a Book called the Charter Book, wherein shall be fairly written the copy of the Charters, all the Royal Grants on the behalf of the Society, and the obligation to be subscribed by the Fellows of the Society in their own handwriting.¹

Cok calls his book a Rental,² and it is a record of all the rents due to the hospital, of the lands whence they were paid, and of all the deeds of gift and other charters relating to those lands, as well as of the papal bulls, and royal charters granting or confirming the property and privileges of the hospital. It is a very large volume, written in Latin on 636 leaves of vellum and enclosed in an ancient binding of oak boards covered with

¹ Year Book of the Royal Society, p. 65.

² It measures 15½ inches in height and 11¼ in breadth

leather, with brass bosses on the sides and a large overhanging flap of leather covering the edges. Some of the edges are cut and a few of the pages disarranged. This may have been done in the original binding of the separate sheets or may be due to a renewal. There are some pages of later writing, but most of the book is in Cok's hand.

On the first page he states the nature of the work and the history of its production. "The Rental of the Hospital house of St. Bartholomew in West Smythefeld of London concerning all the rents belonging to that hospital whether within the City of London or outside from the time of King Henry the first. Compiled and written by brother John Cok, Rentar of the aforesaid hospital, at Easter, A.D. 1456, and in the thirty-sixth year of King Henry VI., in the time of Master John Wakerynge, in the thirty-fifth year of his mastership and in the thirty-seventh year of the profession of the aforesaid John Cok and the sixty-fourth year of his age."

After this statement of the place, date, author, and purpose of the book, the holdings and rents of the tenants within the hospital are first set down, and then those of the other tenants in London and its suburb, arranged under their several parishes. These entries occupy sixty-three pages, and at the foot of the last, as if contemplating the completion of a large piece of work, Cok writes, "Written by Brother John Cok in

the year of the Lord 1456 and of his profession the thirty-seventh year." Then comes "a kalendar of all the rents of the Hospital of St. Bartholomew in West Smythfeld, London, arranged in alphabetical order, and first of the rents of that hospital in the city of London and the suburbs of the same." A kalendar of the rents outside London is next given, and these indexes, which occupy five pages, are not in Cok's hand.

Cok's writing begins again on leaf 37*a* with an entry, in which there are some verbal errors, as to the foundation of the hospital written in two columns,¹ and this entry is immediately followed by six early charters² which he seems to have thought of special importance.

¹ Petatur magister et fratres	Fundata fuit Hospitalis prius et principalis ;
Hospitalis sci Bartholomei domini	prius tem-
um et proprietatem hospitalis	pore principalis racione personarum s. infir-
et ecclesie canonicorum quia	morum. dati fue-
capella fuit infirmorum	-runt redditus omnes.
hospitalis et redditus. C.	Eptus fuit fundus hospitalis per manus ciuium
marcarum a priore et canonicis	londoniarum pro septem
	marcis a domina Rosia vidua
	Collatus fuit fundus ubi ecclesia et curia
	Canonicorum modo
	est a domino rege tunc temporis ad faciendum
sancti Bartholomei quos nomine	cimiterium
	et capellam ad opus ibidem dictorum infir-
pauperum receperunt s. custo-	morum ubi ad
-des Raherus et eius succes-	hoc idem essent corpora infirmorum
	Facta sunt edificia et fundi edificiorum circa
-sores ante separacionem domus	hospitalem epti
(His rationibus quia propter	Facta est predicacio singulis annis apud
pauperes et infirmos)	Goruenti
(Written between columns.)	nus nomine infirmorum per Canonicos.

² 1. John Becointe, William son of Sabelina, Hersent wife of Geoffrey de Sancta Lege to Adam the master of the hospital.

2. William Bocuinte son of Sabelina to Edeua daughter of Wakerilda of Writele.

3. Richard the Prior and the Convent of St. Bartholomew to the hospital.

The charter of Henry I.,¹ that of Thomas Archbishop of Canterbury,² a long inspeximus of Edward II.,³ a pardon from Henry V.⁴ to Robert Newton, master, and the brethren and sisters, the records relating to an inquisition⁵ taken at Smithfield, and a glossary of legal terms⁶ occupy the next six and a half leaves.

Rahere's charter to Hagno⁷ and that of Thomas, Prior of St. Bartholomew's, as to Adam the merchant come next, and then sixteen papal bulls⁸ and the ordinance of William, Bishop of London. The composition of Eustace, Bishop of London,⁹ occupies the next three pages, and is succeeded by the three oaths¹⁰ used as to keeping this composition and that of Simon of Sudbury, which follows on the next page.¹¹ The next documents entered are Henry IV.'s letter to Archbishop Arundel, that of Henry V. requiring the attendance of John Waterford, Prior of St. Bartholomew's Priory, and another injunction dated Westminster, June 5, 1413, ordering the sheriffs to restrain him from acting contrary to the composition of Simon of Sudbury. The last composition, that of Richard Clifford, Bishop of London, comes next, and then the long bull of Pope Martin V., cancelled

4. Salomon of Basinges.

5. Andrew Bukerell to the hospital.

6. Andrew Bukerell, son of Stephen and Sibella, to the hospital.

Above the first of these is written, "*carta de terra que fuit circa domum hospitalis cum le lyche hawe.*" To 4 is added the note "*anno Henrici tercii septimo*"; and to 6, "*Carta de lych hawe, gardinum nostrum.*"

¹ ff. 3a and b.

⁴ f. 42a.

⁷ f. 46a.

¹⁰ f. 54b.

² f. 39b.

⁵ ff. 43a and b.

⁸ f. 47.

¹¹ f. 55a.

³ ff. 40a and b and 41a and b.

⁶ ff. 44a and b and 45a.

⁹ f. 53b.

by a writ of premunire. "The names of the Masters of the Hospital called St. Bartholomew's founded in honour of the exaltation of the Holy Cross" are next set forth in a list based upon the charters in Cok's care, but containing several inaccuracies. The list includes thirty-two names, beginning with Rahere and ending with Nedeham. Two bulls of Pope Nicholas V., one dated 1453¹ and the other 1458,² in Cok's finest penmanship, come next. The bulls are followed by a very long charter of inspeximus of the sixth year of King Henry V. After it comes the charter of Edward II. mentioned in the mastership of William le Rous.³ A charter of inspeximus of Henry VI. comes next, dated December 9, 1439.⁴

The indenture as to water supply between the prior and canons and the master and brethren in 1433, the charter of Henry VI. on the same subject, a general pardon to John Wakeryng or Blakberd, and a short charter of confirmation of Edward IV., are the remaining public documents.

They are followed by copies of all the charters

¹ "Scriptum per Fratrem Johannem Cok in etate declina. Cuius anime propicietur Deus. Amen." f. 66a.

² "Scriptum per Fratrem Johannem Cok in vespere vite sue. Anno Domini 1468. Cuius anime propicietur deus. Amen." f. 67b.

³ "Scriptum per Fratrem Johannem Cok In Vespertino vite sue xx primo *die Augusti* ab, scilicet, *primo* die Augusti cum instabilitate manuum vt patet per literam Anno Domini Millesimo cccc^{mo} lxxvi^o Et Anno Regis Edwardi quarti sexto." f. 81a.

⁴ "Scriptum per Fratrem Johannem Cok cum tremulenta manu in vespere vite sue septimo die Elul (i.e. Septembris) Anno domini Millesimo Quadringentesimo sexagesimo sexto Et anno Regni Regis Edwardi quarti sexto. Per fratrem Johannem Cok." f. 83a.

relating to the hospital property whether in London or the country, beginning with one of Michael of Valencins. The Cartulary contains copies of 1433 charters. Cok has a peculiarity which may be observed in the works of other copyists of large numbers of documents—that is, he now and then makes an almost facsimile copy of some one else's writing.¹ He copies, for example, the court hand of a licence in mortmain of Edward II., and in the margin near it has written "scriptum per J. Cok."

St. Bartholomew's Hospital in the reign of King Henry VI. was a much smaller building than it is now, though most of the ground on which the present buildings stand already belonged to it. The hall, in which were many patients, the chapel of the Holy Cross, with those of St. Mary, St. Catharine, St. Andrew, and St. Nicholas, a large and a small cloister over which was the dormitory of the brethren, the residences of the master, the brethren, and the sisters, as well as the separate burial places of the patients and of the society, were grouped round the enclosure known as Paradys, and the rest of the space was occupied by the houses and gardens of tenants.

The position of St. Catharine's Chapel is shown by the will of Thomas Loyt of London, gentleman, who desired to be buried within the chapel of St.

¹ As Dr. William Reeves, the editor of Adamnan's Life of Columba, in some of his transcripts, and Dr. Edward Liveing in the Annals of the Royal College of Physicians of London.

Katryn, virgin and martyr, within the parish church of the Holy Cross called St. Bartholomew's Spytell before the image of St. Katryn. He left one torch to Our Lady's altar and one to St. Catharine's, and to every poor man and woman in the hospital four pence. Sir Robert Danvers's will proves that the chapel of St. Mary opened into the chapel of the Holy Cross.

Neither plan nor details of the buildings are given by Cok, but the bare list shows that the close of the hospital had a Smithfield gate (Porta de Smethefeld), which stood on the site of the present Henry VIII. gate. Within it the church now called St. Bartholomew's the Less was then known as the chapel of the Holy Cross, and contained chapels of Our Lady and St. Catharine.

In the close, and on the left of the gate on going out, was a house in which dwelt Lady Joan Astley, nurse of King Henry VI. It is interesting to know that the child of Catharine of France,

". . . . In infant bands crowned King
Of France and England,"

had an English nurse. She paid forty shillings a year for her house, and had a little garden in another part of the close for which she paid twenty shillings a year.

Before her time the house had been let to Thomas Appeltrewyk and Marion his wife. The close extended along Smithfield, and the precinct began at a house

made out of two shops by John Wakeryng. The land on which it stood had been added to the original site in the fourth year of King Stephen by a grant from John Becointe, William son of Sabelina, and Hersent, wife of Geoffrey of St. Loy (*de Sancta lege*). They gave two strips of land, one on the north side towards Smithfield $50\frac{1}{2}$ ells long, and the other at the south part of the hospital towards the city in Doke Lane 22 ells long and $23\frac{1}{4}$ ells broad. The measurement of this piece at the Smithfield end began five feet from the chapel of St. Catharine, which projected from the chapel of the Holy Cross. This is the land now occupied by part of the college and by the old surgery. In 1456 Etheldreda Ffrenche dwelt there. Next to her house was that of Isabella Langeford, a widow, and next the house of Alice Wylton. Then came two shops in the occupation of Thomas Stokys, gentleman, and adjoining them was the entrance to the garden of Lady Joan Clynton, who held a large house with a garden and four shops in Smithfield. Then, in the corner of Smithfield, came the house of Robert Danvers, Recorder of London, new built by John Wakeryng, and with a garden. Next his house were two shops annexed for his clerks. These opened into Paradys or the quadrangle, and the house itself had been included by Wakeryng in the close. This was joined by a shop in the Paradys let to John Nytynghale. Then came three shops opening into the Paradys in Bartilmewis Lanesyde. Bartholo-

mew's Lane seems to have been the name of the passage from the Smithfield gate to the Little Britain gate. Next was a single shop, also opening into Paradys, let to Thomas Gyvendale, and another to John Bokyngeham. Living within the hospital, men were naturally prompted to charity ; and Gyvendale left 6s. 8d. to "the chaplain that hears the confessions of the sick and administers the sacraments to them," by his will made in 1455. The next house was let to Elizabeth Mollislee, and a shop, also opening into Paradys, to Nigel Boteler.

Then came a shop in Paradys let to Maurice Cok, and then four in the south corner of Paradys let to John Shottefold. They had been built by John Grantham, goldsmith. A large house, with a small garden, formerly let to William King, the fourth chaplain, and now let to Alice Knyghtle, came next, and then a large tenement, with garden, let to William Baron, esquire, and Joan his wife. Another large tenement, called from old times Bragwaynes Hall was let to William Cleve, Clerk of the works of our lord the king.

John Stafford, the chaplain, had lived in a certain chamber with a house which he had rebuilt. It was then in the hands of the master. Next it within the enclosure was a house inhabited by Thomas Graunt, standing next the chapel of St. Andrew. Then came another house, and then the chapel of St. Nicholas. Here Robert Fossard, a chaplain, had formerly lived. It also was in the master's hands.

John Wakeryng, the master, had enlarged the close on the Doke Lane side by including in it the next tenement with two shops let to William Swyrinden. An adjoining house on Duck Lane side let to a widow, and a large tenement with four shops let to John Shyrley, esquire, had also been included in the close. Thomas Burgoyne, sub-Sheriff of London, lived in the next house, a large tenement once inhabited by John Barton, Recorder of London, who took it just after it had been rebuilt by Richard George, goldsmith, and left it to Alexander Sprott, who gave up his term to the hospital.

The south gate of the hospital was on the side where Christ's Hospital lately stood, and adjoining the gate was the chapel of St. Nicholas. In a house next the gate, rebuilt by brother William Symond, lived Joan Thursley, a widow. Close to the same gate the same brother had built another house, let to Robert Bekett.

There was a gate in Doke Lane (*Porta in Dokelane*) represented by the present Little Britain gate, and next it was a tenement let to John Cok, drover. There was a large burial ground, afterwards called the burial ground of the poor, near the end of the present south wing, and near this was one of the earliest additions to the hospital, that of Michael of Valencins, a shop let to William Marchalle. Next was a shop let to Joan Morpath, a widow, and next it another

shop. Next was a house with a little garden let for one rose to Robert Vynce and Joan his wife. In the corner near this was a large tenement with garden let to John Lurchon. On the edge of the cemetery was another small garden let to John Shottefold, and next another garden let to William Olyver, a mercer, which adjoined the garden let to Lady Joan Astley. There were thus two burial grounds, one near the south gate and the other near the chapel of the Holy Cross. Vitry Lane passed near the former, beginning opposite Cok Lane in Giltspur Street. At the Smithfield corner of Vitry Lane were a large tenement and a brewhouse called The Hartshorn, facing Smithfield, and with several small cottages leading from it down Vitry Lane. These were let with a garden bordering the cemetery to Robert Wyotte, Archdeacon of Middlesex (appointed 15th April 1443). Next this Robert Danvers, Recorder of London, rented a garden.

By the cemetery gate, which was towards the interior of the hospital, was a tenement with garden, once occupied by Philip Possell, citizen and tailor, who nearly rebuilt it, and then let to William Menston, esquire, who did much decoration to the house. His rent was 53s. 4d.

Two shops joined this, which had been rebuilt by one of the sisters of the Hospital, Emma Churbury. These, with another shop, also built by her, were let to Henry Sewall, and to the widow Joan Thurysee,

32 SAINT BARTHOLOMEW'S HOSPITAL

the rent of forty shillings being paid to the sisters of the hospital, and one rose for each tenement to the master of the hospital.

The next tenement was large, and had a garden. It was once occupied by William Markeby, whose tomb, with his effigy and that of his wife in brass, remains in the church of St. Bartholomew the Less, with the inscription :

Hic jacent Willelmus Markeby, de London, gentleman, qui obiit xi die Julii, A.D. 1438, et Alicia uxor eius. Quorum animabus propitiatur Deus. Amen.

By his will, made December 18, 1438, he left 40s. to the Master and brethren and 3s. 4d. to each of the four sisters, and asked their prayers, and to poor persons who were sick lying in the beds of the hospital he left 6s. 8d. He desired twelve torches of wax to be placed round his body, costing 6s. 8d. each. To each brother attending his funeral he left 6d., and 2s. to the parish clerk, and £8 in counted money to one chaplain, and 60s. for a marble tomb. John Wakeryng was his executor. In 1456 the house was let to Thomas and Alice Portewyn, who had added a kitchen, chambers, and other things, and much new stonework and decoration.

Richard Sturgeon's large house came next. Its rent was £4, but he had done so much to it that he only paid one rose.

Next the northern hospital gate was a tenement inhabited by John Perkes, carpenter and janitor of the

hospital, and opposite this, "by the Great North Gate," was a house occupied by Joan Newmarche, a widow.

Thus, besides the patients, the master, the brethren, and the sisters, the hospital precincts contained forty householders, representing an annual rental of £59, 8s.

Several of these tenants were people of consideration, and some ended their days here and are buried in the existing church, as Lady Clinton, who gave £10 to the poor of the hospital and died in 1459, Sir Robert Danvers and Dame Agnes his wife, and Thomas Burgoyne. Sir Robert Danvers, sometime Recorder of London, became a judge of the King's Bench, and by his will, dated April 15, 1467, desired to be buried in the church of the Holy Cross in West Smithfield in the chapel of St. Mary, next the place of burial of his wife. Burgoyne in his will, dated July 22, 1468, desired to be buried before the great cross. Stow and Weaver have preserved the epitaphs existing in their time, among them that of Richard Shipley, who lived in Markeby's house, and rebuilt most of it.

Hic vir pacificus Shipley Richardus humatur,
 Verus Catholicus domus hæc hoc testificatur.
 Esurientes ac sitientes namque fovebat,
 Pace fruentes, justa petentes corde gerebat.
 C quater et Mille, X et XV cadit ille
 Luce Maii deca ter que monas sit humus sibi mater,
 Coniux postque sua finivit Alicia flamen,
 Quos manus tua salvet precor O Deus. Amen.

The hospital has since produced a more famous

Shipley, the present Master of Christ's, who began here the biological studies which have made him illustrious.

The epitaph of Richard Sturgeon, who died in 1457, seems to have been written by the same versificator. His wife is buried with him.

Uxor ejus quem bona
jungitur ecce Joanna,
Ut capiant dona
Cælorum Jesus Hosanna.

The most famous of these tenants was John Shirley, a composer of verses and transcriber. He was buried in the church of St. Bartholomew the Less, and Stow describes his brass. It bore figures of Shirley and Margaret his wife, in the habit of pilgrims, and a rhyming English epitaph, which states that they had eight sons and four daughters, and that he died at the age of ninety on October 21st, 1456. He translated into English "The Cronycle of the dethe and false murdure of James, Kyng of Scotys."¹ At the end of this treatise, in a somewhat larger hand than the body of the manuscript, he has written: "And thus nowe here endethe this moste piteous cronicle of thorribill dethe of the Kyng of Scottes, translated out of latyne into owre moders Englisshe tong bi youre symple subget John Shirley in his late age after his simple understandyng, which he recommendethe to your supportacione and correccion as that your gentilnese

¹ Brit. Mus. Add. MSS., 5467.

vowethe case for his excuse." The next part of the volume, also in his hand, shows that he took enough interest in medicine to transcribe a treatise on the subject. It is headed: "Here beginnethe an approbate treite for the pestilence studied by the gretteste docturs of fhsike amonges thunyversite of cristen nacions yn the tyme of Sancte Thomas of Caunterbury." There is a fine manuscript of Chaucer's English version of Boethius' "De consolatione philosophiæ" in Shirley's hand.¹ Richard Sellyng, a poet of the reign of Henry VI., sent a poem of his own, entitled, "Evidens to beware and gode counsayle," to Shirley, as is shown by its seven last lines:

Loo this is but a symple tragedie
No thing lyche un to hem of lumbardye
Wiehe that storax wrote un to themperere
Sellyng makithe this in hes manere
And to John Shirley nowe sent is
Ffor to amende where it is a misse
And also for plesaunce and for desporte.*

Thomas Burgoyne, the sub-sheriff, had a monument in the church, but Lady Joan Astley was buried in St. Botolph Aldersgate.

In the days of Henry VI. the close of St. Bartholomew's had many inhabitants who chose it as a pleasant place in which to have a home. It has gradually become more and more the dwelling-place of

¹ Brit. Mus. Add. MSS., 16,165.

* *Ibid.*, Harley, 7333.

none but patients and their attendants, so that now no one unconcerned in hospital work lives "*infra clausum*," within its enclosure.

The list of tenants within the close is succeeded by a complete account of all the other hospital lands and houses and rents within the city and outside it, which may best be studied in a separate chapter on the mediæval estate of the hospital.

At the end of the Cartulary,¹ Cok has written in Latin a short chronicle of the Kings of England :—

"In the year of grace 1042 the coronation of St. Edward, King and Confessor, at Winchester, who, in the twenty-fifth year of his reign, was buried in state in the church of Westminster, which he himself had caused to be built.

In the year 1066 the coronation of Duke Harold at Westminster, and the same year his burial at Waltham.

In the year 1067 the coronation of William I., Duke of Normandy, at Westminster, who, in the seventeenth year of his reign, caused England to be described in one volume called Domesday, and the fourth year after that was buried at Caen.

In the year 1087 the coronation of William Rufus at Westminster, and in the thirteenth year of his reign he was buried at Winchester.

In the year 1100 the coronation of Henry I., Bel-

¹ f. 636b.

clerk, brother of King William Rufus, at Westminster, and in the thirty-fifth year of his reign he was buried at Reading. He made the Park of Woodstock.

In the year 1135 the coronation of Stephen the King at Westminster. He was buried in the nineteenth year of his reign at Faversham.

In the year 1154 the coronation of Henry II., son of the Empress, and kinsman of Stephen, at Westminster. And in the thirty-fifth year of his reign he was buried at Fontevreaux.

In the year 1154 the translation of St. Edward, King and Confessor, on the third of the Ides of October.

Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury, and afterwards, owing to the then King, martyred in the year of Our Lord 1171, on the 29th day of December.

In the year 1189 the coronation of King Richard at Westminster, who reigned eleven years, and was buried at Fontevreaux.

In the year 1199 the coronation of John the King at Westminster, and after he had reigned eighteen years he was buried at Worcester. In this reign was the interdict of England, and it lasted to the year of the Lord 1214.

In the year 1216 the coronation of Henry, son of King John, at Gloucester, who, in the fourth following year, was again crowned at Westminster, and was there buried in the fifty-seventh year of his reign.

In the year 1274, the 14th of the Kalends of September, the coronation of Edward the first after the Conquest, at Westminster, who was there buried in the thirty-fifth year of his reign.

In the year 1307, the 10th of the Kalends of March, the coronation of Edward II. at Westminster, who was buried in the twentieth year of his reign at Gloucester.

In the year 1326 Edward III., the flower of knight-hood of all Christendom, was crowned at Westminster, in the eighteenth year of his age, and in the year of the Lord 1346, on the 3rd day of September, the same Lord King Edward began to besiege the town of Calais by investiture, and continued his siege to the third day of August in the next year, on which day he reduced the aforesaid town to his government. And in the year of the Lord 1340, on the tenth of the Kalends of July, the most illustrious King of England, Edward III., conquered the French in a naval fight at Sluys. And in the year of the Lord 1346 the French fought with the English at Cressy, and the King of Bohemia there perished. In the same year the 16th of the Kalends of November the Scots were conquered by the English at Durham, and David, King of Scotland, was taken. And in the year of the Lord 1356, the 13th of the Kalends of October, the capture of John, King of France, at Poitiers (Peyters) by the excellent Prince Edward, firstborn of the gracious King Edward III. And in the year of the Lord 1376, the sixth of the Ides

of June, died Edward, the excellent prince, on which day fell the feast of the Holy Trinity. And in the year of the Lord 1377, the 11th of the Kalends of July, died King Edward, the flower of knighthood of Christendom, and on the third of the Nones of the same month he was buried at Westminster in the fifty-first year of his reign.

In the year 1377, the 17th of the Kalends of August, the coronation at Westminster of Richard II., son of Edward, Prince of Wales, in the year of his age eleven. And in the twenty-third year of his reign he ended his life, and was buried at Westminster.

In the year 1399, on the feast of Saint Edward, King and Confessor, the coronation of Henry IV. at Westminster. And in the fourteenth year of his reign he ended his life. He is buried at Canterbury, and was the son of the Duke of Lancaster.

In the year 1413, on the 9th day of the month of April, which day was Passion Sunday, and a very rainy day, the coronation of Henry V. at Westminster, at which coronation I, Brother John Cok, who have recorded that royal coronation for the refreshing of memory, was present and beheld it ; which king carried on many astonishing wars, and subdued a great part of France to his rule. And he died in France in the tenth year of his reign, and was honourably buried at Westminster.

In the year 1423 Henry VI., son of King Henry V.,

in the first year of his age, began to reign on the first day of September."

It will be observed that Cok's dates are sometimes erroneous, and sometimes, from difference of reckoning, do not accord with those in common use at present. In the eleventh century the year began on Christmas Day, and hence Cok puts William's accession under the year 1067, instead of the 1066 to which we are accustomed.

Edward I., who succeeded his father in 1272, was abroad at the time, and was not crowned till he came home in August 1274.

The year in the fourteenth century began on Lady Day, so that January 1327, as we should reckon it, was 1326 in the reckoning of Cok's time. Edward III. was proclaimed in January, and crowned on the 1st of February.

I was present at the coronation of King George V., and watched the splendid assemblage gradually filling Westminster Abbey and the several processions into the choir, and heard the shouts of "God save King George!" on the recognition, from east, south, west, and north, and joined in those of "God save the king" on the putting on of the crown, and saw the king in his crown, with the orb in his left hand and the sceptre in his right, walk in solemn procession down the nave greeted by acclamations which rose more and more as

he came successively into the view of each bay. It was a solemn as well as a splendid sight. More than once during the day I thought of John Cok the brother of St. Bartholomew's beholding five centuries ago within the same walls and under the same noble vault the coronation of the future victor of Agincourt, and watching

"Harry the King, Bedford and Exeter,
Warwick and Talbot, Salisbury and Gloucester."

A smaller volume than the Cartulary in the handwriting of Cok has been preserved. It is of vellum, bound in oak boards covered with leather, and is entitled "Copies of Charters and Documents concerning the quit-rents of the Hospital of St. Bartholomew in West-smythefelde of London." It measures nine inches in height by six in breadth. After three blank leaves, the writing begins with an illuminated page. This has a floreate border and bears three shields. The largest is in the letter B of "Bartholomeus magister," and has the present hospital arms, party per pale argent and sable a chevron counterchanged. Above this, in the S. of "Sancti Sepulchri," is the shield of King Henry I., and below, in the initial of "Omnibus Christi fidelibus," are the arms of John Cok.

The parish of St. Sepulchre outside the bars begins the book. One example will show how each rent is treated:—

"Bartholomew the master of the hospital of St. Bartholomew and all his successors were seised of a rent of service of four shillings a year of the contrary of which human memory is not forthcoming. As appears in the following charter."

The full text of a charter of Bartholomew is then given. It grants to Edith, relict of Peter the smith, the holding between the land and houses of Walter the smith, formerly Thomas Baret's, to the south and that of Nicholas Clobbere to the north and reaching from the king's street as far as the hospital garden, at four shillings a year. Edith swore before the full chapter fidelity as to keeping up the house. The names of all the witnesses are given.

At foot in the margin is written "Names of tenants," and then follows—

"Afterwards, as appears in the Rental of D per quarter in these words:—

"From Joan of Meldeborne for the holding of John of Rizby
12 pence."

"Afterwards as appears in the Rental of E in these words:—

"From Joan of Meldeborne for the holding formerly John of Rizby's 12 pence 12 pence 12 pence 12 pence."

"Afterwards as appears in the Rental of G per quarter in these words:—

"From Joan of Meldeborne: which John Feroner now holds
12 pence."

"Afterwards as appears in the Rental of H per quarter in these words:—

"From John le Feroner for the holding of Joan of Meldeborne."

"Afterwards as appears in the Rental of I, namely in the eleventh year of Edward III., per quarter in these words:—

"From the holding of William of Meldeborne 12 pence."

"Afterwards as appears in the Computus of A, namely in the forty-eighth year of Edward III., in these words:—

"And of ten shillings and eight pence received from William Stow for his holdings in the parish of St. Sepulchre outside the bars of Smithfield (Smythfulde) for lands &c. Thence for the holdings above named four shillings."

Many other entries are made, and the holding is in the fourth year of Henry V. held by the Prior of the Carthusians, and the rent of four shillings comes from the messuage called the Mill on the hoope in Clerkenwell Street, and in the second year of Henry VI. is spoken of as "the mill on the hope in St. John's street in the parish of St. Sepulchre in which now dwells William Rawlyn, through the hands of the Prior of the Carthusians at the feast of St. Michael for the whole year four shillings."

These entries show that a series of books was kept, each book being marked by a letter of the alphabet. One series bore the title "Rentale" and recorded the rents of each quarter. The books or the entries in them were of unequal length, for Rentale I included about thirty-

nine years and Rentale K about ten, and Rentale L five. The series seems to have begun with D. The other set of books were named Computus A, B, C, &c., and contained accounts of receipts and probably of expenditure. Each contained as a rule one or two years. The records called Letter Books at the Guildhall are examples of a similar notation.

Wakeryng vacated the mastership on November 16, 1466.

JOHN NEDEHAM, bachelor in both laws, who had been professed a brother for nineteen weeks, was elected master by acclamation "per viam Spiritus Sancti" on December 3, 1466, and on December 17 was confirmed and installed.

John Cok continued his work at the Cartulary. The last record in his own hand of this faithful brother of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, is written at the end of his transcript of a bull of Pope Nicholas V: "Written by brother John Cok in the evening of his life: Anno Domini 1468: on whose soul may God have mercy. Amen."

XII

THE MEDIÆVAL PROPERTY



THE Cartulary shows what lands, houses, and rents belonged to the hospital in the Middle Ages. It states how most of them were acquired, and in many cases who the tenants had been in earlier times and who were the actual tenants in the reign of Henry VI. John Cok's record takes us round the London of his own time. Most of us have visited it with Prince Henry and Sir John Falstaff, but remember little more than the inside of a tavern and a few signs hanging in the street. The details which Cok has written down may perhaps not prove too dry to read when they are considered as bringing into view London in the reign of Henry VI., and showing us amid the lofty buildings of our own time something of the ancient walled city of the fifteenth century. After the enumeration of the tenants within the close, which has already been set forth, Cok begins in the parish of *St. Sepulchre outside Newgate*, and with that part of the parish which projects into the precinct of the hospital. The first cottage was part of the original foundation of the hospital,

and was called "the Spyttell Rent." It was let to Ralph le ferroure for 6s. 8d. a year. Next to it was a cottage let to William the Irishman, labourer, at the same rent. Two shops within the bars of Smithfield are then mentioned, and the account given of them is a good example of the method of the book.

"Item for two shops with appurtenances within the Bars of Smithfield, formerly Roger Clare's, afterwards Simon of Pakenham's, as in the charter made about it, &c., folio 42. Afterwards Thomas Mymmes'. Afterwards William Arundel's, who gave the said mark of quit-rent to us in pure and perpetual alms as appears in his composition in the nineteenth year of King Edward the son of King Edward. And also as appears in the inquisitions made about it and in the charter of the eighteenth year of King Edward II. And in the Pondage of the seventeenth year of Edward III. Afterwards Petronilla of Pakenham's. Afterwards John of Bristowe's, as appears in eleventh year of Edward III. Afterwards John Enefeld's. Afterwards John Chylde's and John Cook the brewer's in the fiftieth of Edward III. Afterwards the Fraternity of Brewers in the eighth of Richard II. Afterwards John Chapman's, in the thirteenth year of the aforesaid king. Afterwards John Pekham's. Afterwards Thomas Purser held the shops. Afterwards John Deysterr, who deprived the said hospital of the payment of the said quit-rent in the eighth year of Henry IV. Afterwards Margaret's, wife of the said

John Deysterr. Afterwards a parcel of a tenement of the aforesaid tenements was Robert Bolvehill's and Joan's his wife, daughter and heiress of John Deysterr, as appears in a charter enrolled in the fourth year of Henry V. made by Master Richard Walteham, notary &c. Afterwards came Master Richard Walteham, John Roulond, Edmund Prikke, and then John Baron, chandler in Smithfield, who acquired the said two tenements from the aforesaid feoffees in the fourth year of Henry VI. who paid the said quit-rent: now let to Lucy Baron his wife, returning an annual quit-rent of 13s. 4d."

Here and there the rent roll brings before us men who deserve remembrance. Thus the next tenement¹ was inhabited by Sir Robert Knolles between 1374 and 1386. I should like to have heard all this old warrior had to tell of the innumerable marches, combats, skirmishes, battles, and sieges of his campaigns in France, of the great du Guesclin whom he had often faced in arms, of King Edward and the Black Prince at whose side he had fought. He grew rich from the ransoms of the French lords he had taken and the French towns he had sacked, and when he came home spent his riches generously. He was on

¹ It was opposite the west end of the Horsepool in Smithfield, and was part of the fee of the hospital from the gift of John of Honey Lane, and in the reign of Henry III. had been granted to William the cordwainer, son of Roger of Sempringham, and afterwards successively to Simon of Pakenham, John of Preston, Cecilia his wife, Simon le Sawr, John le ferror, Adam Chaucer, Sir Robert Knolles, knight (1374-1386), William Caulegh, esquire, John North, Robert Bridlyngton (1411), Thomas Eyve, Alice Caulegh, John Caulegh, the rent being paid by John Bagwerth, citizen and haberdasher, and lastly to Thomas Appeltrevyle.

his horse beside King Richard when Tyler's mob crowded Smithfield. His tenement paid five shillings a year to the hospital, and the same sum to the Benedictine nuns of Chesthunt.

Modern buildings and streets have altered the arrangement of the ground on the west side of Smithfield. In Henry VI.'s reign the hospital occupied the east side, bounded on the north by Duck Lane, which was later called Duke Street, and is now included in Little Britain and is still the hospital boundary. On the south the hospital wall was not far distant from the city ditch, and near the point at which Giltspur Street opened into Smithfield, Vitry Lane extended along the boundary. The small recess called Windmill Court, between the present library and the quarters of the resident staff, is the Smithfield end of Vitry Lane. Nearly opposite to it is Cock Lane. The west side of Smithfield had two other streets leading down the slope towards Holborn bridge, Hosier Lane, which still remains, and Cow Lane or Cowbridge Street, which is in part represented by the present Cowcross Street. This street then extended towards the Holborn valley so as to pass the end of Hosier Lane. At the Smithfield end of Cow Lane was a large pond called the Horsepool. Near this, above the corner of Cow Lane, was a tenement given by Peter of Poyoles¹ in the time

¹ The tenants were successively John le Tanner, Matilda Goodeleef (heiress of Robert of Faversham, as appears in the charter of John le Chaucer), John of Honey Lane, John of Botesham (as is shown in an arrangement as to arrears made by the Master Stephen of

of Bartholomew, the master, and yielding 3s. 6d. a year. Another house near the Horsepool had been that of Alexander del Caftell,¹ chaplain in the reign of Henry III., and in Cok's day was held by Thomas Appeltrevyle, gentleman, to whom were let for 11s. 6d. a year all the tenements at the end of Cow Lane. There was a great holding next the Elms in Smithfield, once called the Greyhound on the Hoop. This had been given to the hospital by William of Arundel,² horse-dealer (19 Edward II.). John Wakeryng rebuilt it, and turned it from a brewery into a bakery, and let it to Stephen Paul, the most celebrated baker of London. Later it was let to John Barkebi, baker, and the rent was £6.

Next came a shop in Smithfield given to the hospital by William Stowe, clerk, with five others, and let at 10s. a year.³

A great hospice adjoining these was called Burnellys

Maydenhythe in 1361), Thomas Appeltrevyle. This land, with the house and garden of John le tanner, was between the land of James the grocer on the east and the land of William Dessenfeld, tanner, on the west, and extended from the king's street on the north to the land of Thomas of Basinges on the south.

¹ The intermediate tenants were William Pessemer and Alice his wife, Walter Muskeham (1329), William atte Penne (1338), Walter atte Grene, butcher (1377), Hugh Clerk of Holborn, otherwise called Wynkeborne (1377), Mr. John Horold (1390). The tenement of Peter of Poioles was divided into two parts shortly before this record. One was held by Matilda Goodleef, heiress of Robert of Faversham, as appears in a charter of John le Chaucer (56 Henry III.). The other part had been acquired by Alexander the chaplain from John Pincerna, as is shown in his charter to William of Pessemer. Walter Muskeham (2 Edward III.) came next, and then the present tenant.

² William of Arundel obtained it from Joan of Byddyng, relict of Adam of Beddyk. It was let to Richard Rowdon, brewer (1399-1422), and the rebuilding was after his death.

³ The shop next the bakery was let to John Barkebi.

Inn when given by William Stowe. Five shops which Stowe bought from the prior and convent of Kenilworth adjoined it. Later the inn was called the hospice of John Tiptoft, seneschall of the king, and was his town house. Tiptoft was Speaker of the House of Commons in 1406, went abroad on several diplomatic missions, and in 1426 was made a peer. He died in 1443.

The next tenant of the hospice was more illustrious still—John Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, the warrior

“Whom all France with their chief assembled strength
Durst not presume to look once in the face.”

He fell in battle at Castillon, July 17, 1453, and after his time the condition of the great hospice had somewhat declined, for it was then taken on lease for four years by Henry Hylton, horse-dealer, at a rent of 106 shillings and 8 pence a year. He also took the next shop, which was called Burnellys Rent, at 10 shillings a year. John Laurence had the next shop at the same rent, and Richard Knyght, carpenter, the two next at 10 shillings each. A large holding in Smithfield, with two shops, was the gift of William Arundel (19 Edward II.). It stood between the Antelope on the Hoop and the Elephant on the Hoop, formerly called the Leaden Porch, and was let to Thomas Yve, clerk of the crown of the king.¹ A tenement at the corner above Hosier Lane had lately been rebuilt by

¹ William Flete occupied it, on whose death John Wakering, then master, resumed possession till it was let to Yve.

the Fraternity of the Holy Trinity of Coventry, and was part of the gift of Avicia, daughter of Alveva of Smithfield, in the reign of King John. Its rent was 27s. a year.¹

The next holding was at the south corner of Hosier Lane, and was the gift of King Edward I. It belonged in Cok's time to the Abbot of Glastonbury, who paid a quit-rent of 24s.²

John Tamworthe (48 Edward III.) gave nine cottages in this lane, two let at 4s. and seven at 5s. annual rent.³

Next came a stable given by William Stowe, chaplain (15 Edward III.), formerly let to Richard Sturgeon and after to William Cleve, clerk of the works to King Henry VI., at 6s. 8d. a year. Then a tenement with cellar and solar, also given by Stowe, it then being a brew-house called the Mayden on the Hoop.⁴

¹ Part of the Leaden Porch was granted successively to John Miles, Matilda his wife, Alice Cokes, and John Banbury, executors of Matilda's will (1351), Albreda of Appleby (1325), John Tamworth, Sir Nicholas Tamworth, John Roulee (1377-1385), Joan Roulee, Henry Goodchepe (1390), William Yeerd, esquire (1407), John Deysterre (1415), who gave it to the Fraternity of the Holy Trinity of Coventry. William Baylee, brewer, held it next, and on his death the guardians of the Fraternity rebuilt it and one shop since let to Thomas Sybbethorp, clerk, and afterwards let for two hundred years from 1356 by Walter of Basynbourne, the master, to Richard Kyslengesbury, at a rent of 2s. 4d. a year. John Deysterre fraudulently left his lease to the Fraternity. The quit-rent was due from the wardens of the fraternity.

² John Terefeld, the master, had granted it (8 Edward II.) to Roger of Appleby and Albreda his wife, and after them it was held by John Miles, Matilda his wife, her executors, John Oswell, John Roulee, John Pabenham (10 Richard II.), Nicholas Ancell, one of the King's heralds, who sold it to the Abbot of Glastonbury.

³ Number 1 to William Burby; No. 2 to John Black, labourer; No. 3 to Gervase the labourer; No. 5 to John Burdon; No. 4 to John Pyndyche; No. 6 to John Moor; No. 7 to William Nurse; No. 8 to John Skawayn; No. 9 to Felicia Walker.

⁴ Lately held by John Grayling, grinder, afterwards by John Gylle, carpenter and

Next came two shops given by William Arundell, merchant (19 Edward II.), lately let to Gylle the janitor ; then reduced into one tenement, and let to William Balle. Then a shop, afterwards turned into a stable, and let to William Baron, esquire, at 6s. 8d. a year ; and another shop, lately let to William Flete and now to William Doneys at 6s. 8d., and another, late William Flete's, at the same rent.

Another tenement with garden in the south part of Hosier Lane, was of the fee of the hospital, and let to Alice, wife of Thomas Wryght,¹ at 24s. a year.

Two cottages adjoining were let at 5s. each, one to William Bruyne and one to Henry Stevyn.

Hosier Lane itself is now a narrow street without any feature to remind a passer-by that some tenements at the south corner were given to the hospital by Edward I., and that the Abbot of Glastonbury was their tenant in the reign of Henry VI.

The street leading from St. Sepulchre's Church into Smithfield is now called Giltspur Street, a modern form of its older name of Gayspore Street. Here the hospital

janitor of the hospital, now let to William Balle, servant to the master in the collection of the hospital rents.

¹ Formerly to John Flaundene, chaucer, and Margery his wife (35 Edward I.). Afterwards to the vicar of St. Sepulchre's (1 Edward II.), and then successively to John Lyes, William Appelby, John of the Ditch, John le hoayer (18 Edward II.), John Kemel, clerk ; John Wuxbridge (22 Richard II. and 14 Henry IV. and 9 Henry V. and 2 Henry VI.) ; Thomas Wryght, timbermonger, who rebuilt the whole (8 Henry VI.). "The aforesaid tenements rebuilt by Wryght stand between the tenements of the late Nicholas Auncell, now belonging to the Abbey of Glastonbury, on the east and Hosier Lane on the north, and Cow Lane on the west, and the garden of the Abbot of Glastonbury and a tenement called the Sykell on the Hoop towards the south."

had a piece of property of the gift of William Langlee, clerk (14 Edward II.). There were four shops, each let for 13s. 4d., and in the middle of them was a tenement with a garden, called the Iron door.¹ Another house with a garden and stable, and part of a house at the foot of the garden, with a way out into Cock Lane, paid a rent of 46s. 8d., from which 20s. were paid to the Abbot of Leicester for half the stone wall which went round the holding.² Another tenement in Gay-spore Street was next the vicarage of St. Sepulchre's, and was the gift of John, son of Geoffrey Bocointe (14 John), and yielded 33s. 4d.³

The Cokkes Lane, now Cock Lane, into which Langlee's house had an entrance, has not been forgotten by fame since the Abbot of Leicester inspected the stone wall just mentioned, about which he had had a controversy with the master and brethren. It was so called from very old times, for Richard of Cokes Lane, baker, witnesses a charter of Nicholas, son of Everard,⁴ written in the first half of the reign of Henry III. The name came from the shops in the lane of those who prepared refreshments for the crowds who came to Smithfield. There, like the Canterbury pilgrims:—

¹ The tenant of the first was Archer, of the second John Taylloure of the Iron Door, recently Thomas Morgan, and then William Martyn; of the third shop Laurence the German, a cobbler; of the fourth John Assheton, a sporiour.

² Formerly let to James of Spaldyng and Ismania his wife (17 Edward II.), and then to John Goyne *alias* Newark.

³ Formerly let to John Baron, chandler, and Lucy his wife—"now to Thomas Poddismor."

⁴ *Vide* p. 422.

"A cook thei hadde with hem for the nones
To boyle chyknes and the mary bones,
And poudre marchant, tart and galyngale.
Wel cowde he knowe a draught of Londone ale.
He cowde roste, sethe, broille and frie,
Make mortreux, and wel bake a pye."

It was at the end of this lane that the fire of London stopped in 1666. Here, too, was the house of the girl whose ghost story brought Dr. Johnson and Dr. Douglas,

"The scourge of impostors, the terror of quacks,"

to the lane to investigate it. Sir Richard Owen, an old St. Bartholomew's man, told me of a more ghastly scene which he witnessed in it. He was engaged upon some anatomical observations on the eye which made him wish to dissect one very soon after death, and therefore he obtained leave to be present when the bodies of two men who had been hanged were delivered to the President of the Royal College of Surgeons for dissection, in accordance with an ancient grant.

The college hired a house in Cock Lane, to which these bodies were brought from the place of execution outside Newgate. Owen was in a room on the first floor with Sir William Blizard, the President, who was attired in court dress as the proper costume for an official act. They heard the shouts of a crowd and then the noise of an approaching cart, which turned down Cock Lane and stopped at the door. Then came the heavy steps of

the executioner tramping up the stairs. He had the body of a man who had been hanged on his back, and, entering the room, let it fall on a table which was placed for the purpose, and then brought the other. Sir William Blizard with a scalpel made a small cut over the breast bone, and bowed to the executioner. This was, I suppose, the formal recognition of the purpose for which the body had been delivered. The rumbling of the cart, the contrast between the stiff figure of Sir William Blizard in his court dress and the executioner in coarse clothes, and the thud of each dead body on the table remained in Owen's memory to the end of his days; and his skill in telling the story has made me remember it nearly every time that I have walked down Cock Lane.

Besides this house with a way into Cock Lane, the hospital owned one other in Giltspur Street. It was next the vicarage of St. Sepulchre, and was the gift of John Bocointe, son of Geoffrey Bocointe in 1212-13.

Nearly opposite the entrance of Cock Lane there is on the east side of Giltspur Street an indentation in the buildings of St. Bartholomew's known as Windmill Court. This was the end of Vitry Lane, a street nearly parallel to the city wall, which probably took its name from William of Vitry, who owned a considerable part of it early in the reign of Henry III. In 1227-28 he gave a stable and all his land in the lane, including the corner house in Smithfield, to the hospital. They were all re-

built by John Wakeryng. The stable was let to Thomas Porteleyn at 10s. a year, and two other stables each at the same rent to Mr. Robert Wyot, who dwelt in the corner house. A brewery in the lane, called the Hart's-horn, was the gift of Sibilia, daughter of William of Craven, in 1212-13. It was let to Simon Joos at £6, 13s. 4d. Next this was the gift of Thomas of Vernoun, son of Roger of Beverley, in 1276-77, let to Richard Clare, stainer, at 46s. 8d. a year. An adjoining holding, formerly let to Richard Barbour, was let to Thomas Porteleyn at 26s. 8d.

Cok next goes to the opposite side of Smithfield, to the street leading north and still known by its old name. This St. John's Street is now cut off from the open space of Smithfield by the buildings of the Meat Market, so that it is difficult to realise its appearance in the reign of Henry VI. when it was the way, outside the Bars of Smithfield, from the hospital to the priory of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem. You passed the gate of the Carthusians on the right as you went, and as you returned down the street you saw before you the priory of the Augustinian canons.

The names of the holdings which the hospital had in this street show with what varied signs it was decorated. Four shops,¹ the gift of Richard atte Grene, were let at 26s. 8d. Then came a brewery called the Mill

¹ Formerly held by John Gage, then let to Thomas Wawteyn, and Emmota, relict of Nicholas of Stapulton, for thirty years from June 1 (21 Henry VI.).

on the Hoop,¹ the gift of Cristina, relict of Walter Chaur, let to the Carthusians at a quit-rent of 4s: a brewery, the gift of Beatrice Atte Holle in 1299-1300, let at a rent of £4 to Nicholas Soys, brewer: the Bell on the Hoop,² let to the Carthusians at a quit-rent of 6s. 8d: the Key on the Hoop,³ a brewery, with adjoining buildings and plat of land, the gift of Walter Gardyn, cleric, let at a quit-rent of 5s. 4d.; the George on the Hoop,⁴ a brewery, let at 4s. a year; another brewery, with a shop next to it, the gift of Ralph Steperanc, let at £4 to William Reynes, brewer; a shop, with a solar beyond the Charterhouse gate, let at 20s.; and a holding at the corner with six shops in the front of St. John's Street, formerly called the Forge, in Clerkenwell Street,⁵ the gift

¹ Granted to Edith, relict of Peter Smith (Henry III.). Thomas of St. Albans afterwards held it, then Robert Payn (50 Edward III.), then William of Stowe (8 Richard II.), then William of Nettelwell, then Nicholas Baker, then William Rawlyn, brewer, "who holds it from the prior and convent of the Salutation of the Blessed Mary the Virgin of the Carthusian Order."

² Of the fee of the hospital, successively let to Thomas le Skynner of London, Roger of Stowe, Christina Dyer (50 Edward III.), John Pourtour, William Stowe (8 Richard II.), John Bedford (12 Henry IV.), and now to Adam Furbey. "The Carthusian house has a small parcel of land granted by John Whyght, the master of St. Bartholomew's Hospital in the 9th year of Henry V. in recompense for rebuilding the brewery. The Carthusian house has a small gate called the postern with a right of exit through the garden of the Bell on the Hoop in St. John Street into Charter House Lane by the permission of the aforesaid Master."

³ Of the fee of the hospital, successively let to Simon le Saucer, and Christina le Dyer (1 Edward III.). Afterwards granted by William Rows the master to John Dobelyn (10 Edward III.), and then successively to Hugh Botiler and Thomas Cook (13 Richard II.), John Dobelyn, John Morys (8 Henry IV.), John Morys his son (9 Henry V.), "and to the present holder, a citizen and plumber." The plat of land adjoining was let by a perpetual lease at 4d. a year to John Dobelyn and Joan his wife (10 Edward III.).

⁴ A perpetual lease to John Barnardescastell (Henry IV.), then to Lucy his wife, then to Ralph Hasteley by right of his wife.

⁵ Let to William Butle, senior, for sixty years in consideration of rebuilding from Christmas 1410. "Now occupied by William Gatenell."

of Thomas Baldok, clerk, in 1299-1300, let at 20s. a year.

In Cow Lane there were two tenements, the gift of Jordan de Turre,¹ which the Hospital had granted, in 1212-13, on a perpetual lease to the Order of Sempringham,² at 4s. a year. Another tenement was the gift of John le Chaucer, son of John le Chaucer, called Prest,³ and was let at 18s. a year.

Next this were four shops⁴ with a solar above, given by William of Arundel in 1325-26, let at 8s. each.

The gift of John Tamworth (48 Edward III.), a large tenement and sixteen cottages in Cowbridge Street and Hosier Lane, came next, yielding altogether 103s. a year. The cottages were mostly let at 5s. a year each,⁵ a large tenement with two little cottages,⁶ a garden, and a cowhouse at 53s. 4d. ; and a shop next the corner of Hosier Lane at 6s. 8d.⁷

Chicken Lane went from Smithfield to the Fleet

¹ *Vide* p. 114.

² It was occupied in order by the Prior of Sempringham, the scrutator of Sempringham (11 Edward III.), Richard Couper, John Polle, tailor (4 Henry IV.), William Grantham, goldsmith, Alice Grantham his wife (26 Henry VI.).

³ Simon of Pabenham (20 Edward I.), William Acton, John Mounde, junior (11 Edward III.); William Messanger (50 Edward III. and 8 Richard II.), William Hardyng, Agnes his wife (14 Henry IV.), John atte Strete (9 Henry V. and 8 Henry VI.), William Crulle, cofirmaker (12 Henry VI.), William Piple, barber (16 Henry VI.), and John Joy, brewer, from 28 Henry VI.

⁴ The second to William Soot, the third to John Clynton.

⁵ "One to Richard Jonyson, labourer ; another lately to John Cylle, and now to John Walteham, two to John Walshe, another to Roger Bowe, another lately to John Studebok and now to John Swayn, at 8s., another to Thomas Bowcer, carter."

⁶ To William Sefoule, carpenter.

⁷ To Thomas Long, cook.

farther north than Cow Lane. In it Richard Mushet in 1282-83 had given nine shops and a horse mill, yielding an annual rent of £8, 13s. 4d. Richard Storme, a tenant, had turned all the shops into one building facing Cow Lane upon the hollow which leads to Holborn.¹

The view of the west end of St. Sepulchre's Church at the highest point in it, and of the entrance of Cock Lane a little lower down, are almost the only features remaining which the ancient inhabitants of Snow (then called Snore) Hill could recognise in the modern street. Two tenements belonged to the hospital in it: one, the gift of Nicholas son of Joce in 1259-60,² was opposite the west end of Cock Lane and had in earlier times been called "Snore Hylle next Holborne Crosse." It was let to the Cellarers' Guild, who had rebuilt it and paid 8s. a year. The other, lately a brew-house called the Raven on the Hoop,³ yielded 5s. a year.

¹ His predecessor was Richard Brampton, and his successors Philip Possell and Henry Botiller, "the present tenant."

² Granted in perpetuity to Richard Mytre, dyer, and Margaret his wife, then to Robert Pryme and Sara his wife (4 Edward I.), then to Henry de la Grene, butcher, who was the second husband of Sara; then successively to Roger le Convers, Geoffrey of Fynchingfeld le armurer (18 Edward II.), James Ornesby (50 Edward III. and 8 Richard II.), William Dawer (8 Henry V.), William Ruston (7 Henry VI.), John Bryan, cellarer (10 Henry VI.), who bequeathed it to the Cellarers' Guild.

³ William son of Alexander Russell gave it to Walter of St. Salvator and Albreda his wife (10 Edward I.). It was occupied successively by Alexander le Rows, John Cok, Alexander le Avenir, John le hosyer, "and now belongs to a fraternity in the church of St. Sepulchre."

"This tenement lies on the south towards Holborn Bridge and between the tenements of William Strogyl on the west and that of William of Berkeway and that of Geoffrey of Fynchyngfeld on the east, and stretches in length from the king's street towards the north as far as the garden of Walter of Hengham on the south. In front towards the

Seacoal Lane is now a gloomy passage between warehouses and railway arches with only three or four small shops, but its south-western end still opens, as in the reign of Henry VI., into the valley of the Fleet River. A holding between the Fleet ditch on the south, the royal way of Secollane on the north and west, and the holdings of John Darell on the east yielded a quit-rent of 12d. to St. Bartholomew's as well as 2s. to the hospital of St. James and 12d. each to the hospital of St. Giles, the hospital outside Bishopsgate, and the hospital of St. Thomas in Southwark.

A tavern called the Cardinal's Hat stood against the stile on the south side of St. Sepulchre's Church. It had been given by Osbert the chaplain, and yielded 22s. a year.² Other houses of the same gift used to yield 21s., but after rebuilding were let at 37s. a year.³

king's street it measures in breadth $13\frac{1}{2}$ ells and 2 thumbs of the iron ells of King Edward the son of King Henry, the ells counted without thumbs. Behind towards Walter's garden it measures $12\frac{3}{4}$ of the same ells and 3 thumbs, and in length $23\frac{1}{2}$ ells. The guild pays 6s. 8d. to Gregory Rokysle and his heirs."

¹ The tenants were successively John the tanner; Edwin the smith; Edwin the lorimer; the executors of Hamo of Wrochull (8 Edward I.), viz. brother William, master of the hospital of St. James, Simon the chaplain, John of Eye, and Roger of St. Martin; then Richard le Ussher, John Hadham, John Andrew (11 Edward III.); Agnes Bristowe (50 Edward III. and 8 Richard II.); William Foster; Mary of Blakebyne (13 Richard II.); John Wylton, bedell; Roger Lye (1 Henry V. and 4 Henry VI.); John Ely (20 Henry VI.); Joan Ely his wife (28 Henry VI.).

² Granted "per cartam perpetuam" to Richard of Sanford (53 Henry III.).

³ Granted in the same way by the Master John Walton (8 Edward I.) to Robert of St. Edmund with the corner house; when rebuilt "le tavernne at Cardinallys hat" was occupied successively by Agnes Aufelice, Richard le Seler, Robert of Bury, Robert le Messanger, Alice his wife, Robert Manfeld (18 Edward II.), Richard Wylbye (11 Edward III.), Symon Hostyler (50 Edward III.), Simon Machyng, Henry Kyng, John Ponchon, brewer, John Wykes (13 Henry IV.), John Slorye, "and now Thomas Slorye."

There was one other house, and it yielded 4s. a year.¹

The perfectly straight line of the Old Bailey, built along the slope of the hill on which the city stands, at once suggests what its name confirms, that it was a ballium or line of fortification. Cok calls it "the Baylye." Two parts of a building in it belonged to the hospital, and their annual rents were 3s. 2d. each.²

The Parish of *St. Botolph outside Aldrichgate* (Aldersgate) comes next. Cok's accounts begin with the tenements in Doke Lane outside the hospital gate.³ The corner tenement was of the foundation of the hospital, the gift of John Becointe, William son of Sabeline, and Hersent wife of Geoffrey of St. Loy, and was worth in Cok's time 13s. 4d. a year, but Thomas Aylegh, the tenant, occupied it rent free for his life. A brewery called the Eagle on the Hoop⁴ stood next, and was let for £4, 13s. 4d. Four shops⁵ at 8s. rent each came next.

¹ This stood in the passage (venella) of Walter Dolytell. From these holdings 4s. quit-rent was paid to the house of Halywell.

² Part I. John le Brette (4 Edward I.); William Lowteburgh, herald of the King, and Margery his wife; John Pampesworth (18 Edward II.), Robert of Pampesworth (11 Edward III.).

Part II. William Lasteburgh and Margery his wife, daughter of John le Brette (4 Edward I.); Hugh Chanderler.

³ Qui in prima fundacione dederunt dicto hospitali in puram et perpetuam elemosinam omnes terras suas in utraque precinctu tenendas. Et illa pars in Doke lane continet in longitudine xxii ulnas et quartam partem unius ulne.—*Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, f. 8b.

The original charter of the Becointes is dated the fourth year of Stephen.

⁴ Let to John Canynges for sixty years from Michaelmas 1390. Thomas Aylegh bought the lease, paying 40s. a year. Then the master, John Wakeryng, among other praiseworthy deeds, bought the remaining years in 17 Henry VI. It is now let to Stephen Richard.

⁵ No. 1 to Thomas Grene; No. 3 to William Dogyn, dauber.

And then a tenement given by Michael of Valencins (15 John) at the south end of Duck Lane. It was a good house worth 26s. 4d. a year, and Matthew the physician¹ had lived there before Beatrice Mynour, the tenant of 1456.

Duck Lane, then called Duke Street, was my home for twenty-one years, and I have an affection for it. It is mentioned in literature. Swift names it in his lines on his own death :

“Some country squire to Lintot goes,
Inquires for Swift in verse and prose.
Says Lintot, “I have heard the name.
He died a year ago”—“The same.”
He searches all the shop in vain ;—
“Sir, you may find them in Duck Lane.
I sent them with a load of books
Last Monday to the pastry cook’s.
To fancy they could live a year !
I find you’re but a stranger here.”

Garth alludes to it in the Dispensary, where he speaks of the library of Dr. Tyson, the great anatomist :

“Here dregs and sediments of authors reign,
Refuse of fairs and gleanings of Duck Lane.”

When I lived in this street as Warden of the College of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, a few early seventeenth century houses, with projecting upper storeys, remained

¹ Before him let to John Sotherne.

From these tenements 8s. of annual quit-rent were paid to the hospital of St. Giles outside Holborn bars by agreement between its master and the master of St. Bartholomew's.

on the opposite side to my house. They were there when Dryden walked down it to read over at the printer's in Wellyard¹ on the south side of the lane,

“His ashes in a peaceful urn shall rest,
His name a great example stands to show
How strangely high endeavours may be blest
Where piety and valour jointly go,”

and his other stanzas on the death of Oliver Cromwell.

On March 1, 1711, another piece of literature, also destined to be famous as long as English is read, was published near the end of Duck Lane in Little Britain. Perhaps Mr. Addison walked down Duck Lane the Wednesday evening before, from Mr. Buckley's in Little Britain, where he had corrected his last revise, and surely musing as he walked, for did he not take that line of the *Ars Poetica* for his motto?

“Non fumum ex fulgore sed ex fumo dare lucem
Cogitat.”

I used, when I lived in the street, to imagine him walking along it, thinking of his new adventure, and smiling as the idea crossed his mind of the muse of history hovering with a wreath of laurel over his head, like the celebrated angel in his “Blenheim,” and perhaps quoting to himself Dryden's lines :

“One leaf of this is immortality,
And more of worth than all the world can buy.”

The next morning out came the *Spectator* No. 1, and

¹ In Wellyard, near Little Bartholomew's Hospital, 1659.

all London read it and enjoyed it, from the motto to the end. The initial of Clio is prominent in the collected editions, but in the first single sheet as it left Mr. Buckley's in Little Britain the essay ends high on the back of the page, and is followed by advertisements of books—of Dr. Drake's new Human Anatomy, of Sir William Petty's Political Arithmetic, and of some others, and at the bottom of all, rather obscurely situated, is the C. Clio did not resent the position of her initial, as we know, and placed the laurel wreath on Mr. Addison's head, to wear fresh and green to the end of time.

For me, surpassing even these literary associations, Duke Street, Little Britain, has innumerable memories of twenty-one happy years. I lived there as a student and as House Physician, and then as Warden of the College of St. Bartholomew's. The Warden's House on its south side was my first house in London, and to be elected to the office to which it belonged was my first important professional success, and while I lived in it I was elected on to the permanent staff of the hospital. It was the home of my early married life, and here my eldest child was born. I hope that the readers of this history will forgive me for digressing at this street in my account of the Mediæval Possessions of St. Bartholomew's Hospital.

"It is to be noted," says Cok, "that this Michael of Valencins, above mentioned, gave to the hospital two

pieces of his land which lay between the lands of the canons and the ditch, which was then open as far as the gate of the hospital, then called the Tannehouse gate. Now it is covered in by a vault. John Wakeryng included this tenement in the hospital close, and it is now called the Joyes Garde next the graveyard."

In Bartholomew's Lane, which passed through the middle of the hospital, there was one shop.

In Bretonstrete (Little Britain), "that goeth from Doke Lane to St. Botulph's Church," there were seven shops with solars above them of the gift of William the charcoal man,¹ let at a rent of 26s. 8d. Another house of the same donor, once a brewhouse and called the Round Hoop,² yielded a quit-rent of 9s. Other lands and houses³ of this gift on the south side were granted by Bartholomew the master to Ralph Newman and Richard his son for 8s. a year. Afterwards it yielded 17s., and was then inhabited by William Tendale, Chester, or Ireland, herald of the King. A

¹ Sometime let to William Stoneham, carpenter, and Margery his wife, and Andrew his son, who, after death of father and mother, sold the remainder to John Mordon.

² Bartholomew the master (Henry III.) made a perpetual grant of this to Thomas of Wodell, tiler, and Alice his wife.

³ Afterwards Hugh Moton held it; then Benedict Boxe; then Master William Rothwell; then Robert le Marechalle, goldsmith (11 Edward III.); then William Beaver, citizen of London, who left it (51 Edward III.) to the rector of the church of St. Botulph outside Aldersgate, and to the chamberlain of Guyhald (Guildhall) of London. Then it came to the chamberlain's widow Agnes, then to Henry Haviwode, otherwise called lytell Harry, and Elena his wife and daughter of the above mentioned William Beaver (20 Richard II.). Then Alan Frampton, one of the churchwardens of St. Botulph's held it (10 Henry IV.). Then Agnes Gascoigne and Richard Cambrigge her son, by virtue of a charter of King Henry IV.; then Richard Crede, by royal title. "Then it was granted by the rector of the said church to John Austyn for eighty years. The present tenant has the remainder of this lease."

tenement in Aldersgate Street given by the will of Walter of Northampton, skinner, and leased for ever by Bartholomew the master,¹ yielded 26s. Another, the gift of Hugh of the Ditch,² gave a quit-rent of 13s. 4d. The gift of Isabella Bermyngeham³ and Alexander the goldbeater, yielded 16s., and 20d. had to be paid to St. Paul's Cathedral out of these, and 2s. to the Prioress of Chesthunt.

Sellers of gold leaf and gold lace are said to have dwelt in Little Britain for some three hundred years, and this gift of Alexander the goldbeater perhaps indicates that they were there still earlier. Makers of gold and silver lace still work their little looms in the street. Ivory naturally comes near gold; does not Horace say that neither adorned his simple house?

"Non ebur neque aureum
Mea renidet in domo lacunar."

So in Little Britain it seemed natural that an ivory worker should have his home there, not far from the gold lace makers. Over his door, when I was his neighbour, were the words "Teapot handle maker."

¹ To Henry of Norton, butcher (34 Henry III.), who sold it to Robert Gyrdele, who again sold it to Nicholas of St. Waleric, who sold it to James Little, canon of St. Paul's, otherwise called Master James Abbingeworthe (1270). The canon left it to Robert Wodecote, his brother.

James Little held the prebend of Totenhall. He was (Newcourt, i. p. 213) the predecessor of the celebrated Richard of Bury in the prebend of Lusk in Ireland.

² Hugh the master granted it to John of Estchepe in perpetuity.

³ Bartholomew the master granted it in perpetuity to Peter of Tymworthe, goldbeater (Henry III.). After him William of Mymmes and William of Bedford held it (18 Edward II.). There had been a dispute with the priory about a holding given by William of Colchester in Henry III.'s reign, but the priory in the end obtained possession of it.

The handles could not be turned on a lathe, and had to be sawn out of the ivory. This great example of the division of labour scorned to make anything but handles of varied form. In all London, he told me, there was but one other teapot-handle maker. I felt what a favour it was when he mended a fan for my wife.

Another holding in Aldersgate Street was the gift of Agnes, wife of Everard,¹ in 1314-15 (8 Edward II.). It consisted of two shops let at 10s. and 6s. 8d., and of a large house let to John Gyles, physician, for 40s. Then there was a holding worth 8s. a year, at the east end of a little street called Fabian's and Sebastian's Alley from a fraternity who had lived in this house.² William Cressewyk, citizen of London, in his will proved in 1406-7, left a tenement in the Barbican to the hospital. It had on it a large house with two cottages on each side, and was vacant when Cok's record was made, but

¹ Let "per cartam perpetuam" by William Rous the master to Nigell of Whetole and Christina his wife (5 Edward III.), then to Nigell Lavener and Christina his wife (11 Edward III.), then to John Churchehylle, clerk; then to Master Thomas Asshewell. Afterwards to John Appleton (50 Edward III.); Richard Notyngeham (20 Richard II.); Thomas Appelton (14 Henry IV. and 9 Henry V. and 12 Henry VI.), and for the life of the said Thomas, at a rent of 15s.; now in the hands of the master, and by the master let to the present tenant.

² This was of the fee of the hospital, and was let to Henry of Ware. Afterwards Thomas of Whitchestre the master forgave the arrears to William Melesop (20 Edward I.). It was then held by William's heir; then by John of Bassyngeborne, chivaler (2 Edward II.); then by Ralph Blythe, salter of London; then by Thomas Medlane; then by John atte Vyne, capper; then by Ralph of Kesteven, parson of St. Botolph's Church (Richard II.); then by the Fraternity of SS. Fabian and Sebastian (19 Richard II.); then by Benedict Gerard (21 Richard II.); then by John Helperby, John Cresswell, Alan Brett, and Richard Walteham, executors of Benedict (6 Henry IV.); then by Adam Parchemyner (9 Henry V.).

before that each cottage had been let for 5s. and the room above each for 5s. more, and the centre house to John Geryn for 3s. 4d. a year. Next the bars in the Barbican were cottages with gardens, of the fee of the hospital, granted in Henry III.'s reign to Alexander the goldbeater. They were on the west of William Cressewyk's cottages, on the way towards the Red Cross, towards Cripplegate. The Dean of St. Martin's then held them, and the quit-rent was 2s. payable at Michaelmas.

The Parish of *St. Giles outside Cripplegate* contained one tenement of the gift of Alice Pykott,¹ "in Cheselstrete, as it goes towards the prebend of Fynesbury," yielding a quit-rent of 4s. A house given by Geoffrey of Cadenham² yielded 13s. 4d. Adam Pepercorn in the time of Henry III. gave a tenement in Grub Street which yielded 10s. a year. Part of the present church was standing in Cok's time, and the bastion remaining in the churchyard was then part of the actual fortification of the city, outside which the church was built.

St. Andrew's in Holborn yielded £4 from the gifts of Thomas Bamburgh,³ clerk, in 1339-40; 6s. from the gift

¹ Let by William Rows the master to Peter, son of James (8 Edward II.), and afterwards Thomas, son of Richard of Finsbury, held it.

² As shown by his will enrolled in the Husteng of London (8 Edward I.); afterwards held by William Blythe, painter, and by John Stokwell (11 Edward III.).

³ Part of this was a large holding let to William Pretwyke, clerk. Another part of the bequest was held by Roger Hunte, gentleman of the Earl of Bedford.

The tenants had to keep the walls in repair; 3s. had to be paid every Christmas to the hospital of St. Catharine.

of Adam le Ceynturer¹ and Petronilla his wife, next the Bishop of Ely's gate; 5s. from the gift of John, son of Geoffrey Bocoynte, in 1219-20 to keep up the lamp of the sick in the hospital; 6d. from Hely le Dowk,² clerk in the time of King John; and 2s. from land granted to the sick virgins of the hospital of St. James by Thomas of Haverhill.

The next parish mentioned is *St. Mary atte Stronde*, outside Temple Bar. It was a church on the site of Somerset House,³ pulled down in 1549 by the Duke of Somerset, and its memory is preserved by the graceful Georgian church built by James Gibbs. One house there yielded to the hospital a quit-rent of 2s.

In *St. Dunstan's in the West*, in Fleet Street, there was a brewhouse with a shop called the Angel on the Hoop, opposite the Carmelite Friars, given to the hospital by Robert Clyderowe⁴ (20 Edward III.). It yielded 23s. 4d., out of which 3s. 4d. had to be paid to the Abbey of Westminster.

St. Bride's (Parochia Sancte Brigide) in Fleet Street is next mentioned. Some shops in Sholane (Shoe Lane)

¹ Successively held by John of Kyrkeby, clerk (13 Edward I.); Robert of Meldeborn; one Lovetotes; and after him by the Bishop of Ely.

² This was in Sholane. William the master gives a perpetual grant of it to John the tiler (Henry III.). Ralph le Kesser, William le Passemere, John Shorte, Thomas Chedyngton (11 Edward III.) successively held it.

³ Occupied successively by Ralph Botyller, rector of Hinton St. George; Robert of Aldenham, Roger Sterre (11 Edward III.).

⁴ William Wakeryng, the master, let it "per cartam perpetuam" to William atte Gate, citizen and merchant (16 Richard II.). The succeeding tenants were Margery his wife, John Claveryng, then Margery again (1 Henry VI.), and lastly Benedict Harlewyn (28 Henry VI.).

given by Geoffrey, son of John of the Temple¹ (32 Henry III.), yielded a quit-rent of 10s.

A brewhouse called the Hertishorn on the Hoop² was given to the hospital by John Barton (Alexander Sprot was executor of the will) in 1438-39, and was let to John Barefoot, a brewer, at £4, 13s. 4d. a year (17 Henry IV.). Another tenement³ yielded a quit-rent of 3s. 6d., and from these three a quit-rent of 3s. had to be paid to the Bishop of Salisbury, of 3s. 4d. to the hospital of St. James, and of 4s. to the church of St. Brigid. A tenement which was part of the fee of the Abbot and Convent of Faversham⁴ yielded a quit-rent of 2s. 6d.

A tenement upon the Fleet River was the gift of Hugh of the Ditch, but was granted in a perpetual charter to Sir Robert Passeleur (19 Henry III.) for acquittance of the debt of the master of the Hospital to the Jews, so that it yielded only a pound of cummin as a quit-

¹ Bartholomew the master granted these in 1251-2 (36 Henry III.) to Ralph Herun, and John of Camberwell the master granted it to Richard of Hardsete in 1280-81 (9 Edward I.). Afterwards it was held by the Abbot of Valeroyal in Chester. Then by Hugh of Eynesham, then by Richard Sprotte. Next in 1410-11 by Richard Weden, then by William Hollande in 1433-34, and in 1459-60 by John Trowtebeke, esquire, of Chester.

² It had been held by Sir John of Podenhale, knight (15 Edward III.), then by Peter Nayr, as appears by his will (23 Edward III.), then by Robert of Little Badew (25 Edward III.), then by Walter Campeden and John Campeden, clerks (39 Edward III.), then by Margery of Lydevey, one of the daughters and heirs of Robert of Little Badew (41 Edward III.); then by John Ussher, son and heir of the same Margery, and with the agreement of John Frere and Katherine his wife. John Frere and John Ussher divided the holding (20 Richard II.). John Ussher sold his part to Reginald Cok (1 Henry VI.). Then John Barton, senior (8 Henry VI.), and then Alexander Sprotte.

³ Formerly of William of Enefeld (9 Edward I.).

⁴ As is shown in the charter of Gilbert the tanner, son of Toki the tanner.

rent. Another tenement beyond the Fleet bridge was the gift of William of Tonnebrigge. William the master granted this in a perpetual charter to Peter Grymbald, clerk of the king (18 Henry III.). Here Cok notes that the said hospital of St. Bartholomew has free ingress and egress by the water of Fleet with ships and with every other craft on the water without payment of any custom.

Cok now crosses the Flete into the parish of *St. Martin infra Ludgate*. There le Fleure-de-lys on the Hoop, outside Ludgate, which was high up the slope above the present St. Martin's Church, was the gift of Walter Ruffus,¹ chaplain, in the reign of Henry III., and yielded 4s. a year. Another tenement was the gift of Hugh of the Ditch,² and was next the ditch of London. It let for 32s. A third was a gift of Berengar the baker in early times, and was granted to Richard Cok in the time of King Henry II.³ Its quit-rent was 13s. 4d. A fourth tenement was within Ludgate, and was another gift of that generous benefactor, Hugh of the Ditch, who very early in its history did what he could to help the hospital. The list of its tenants is full, and shows a varied series of employments.

In the time of King Stephen it was let to William

Its tenants had been Margaret, daughter of the above Walter, and wife of Ralph of Suffolk, Giles Brown, son of Nicholas Brown (10 Edward I.), John Lemester, John le Sporiour, John Lok (18 Edward II.), Agnes Lok, William Walteham (11 Edward III.), Nicholas Sporiour (50 Edward III. and 8 Richard II.), William Hentysworthe (13 Richard II. and 4 Henry IV.), John Turbey (8 Henry V.), John Joynour, citizen and ironmonger (3 Henry VI.), Richard Joynor, son of the same John (28 Henry VI.).

¹ Later William Bonefay's, as shown in his charter to Henry Folyot.

² Afterwards to John Young, capellarius.

Tyes and Cecilia his wife. After that by Alan the master granted to William of Salerno and Alice his wife. Afterwards to John Capeler, then to Alexander Capeler. Afterwards to Robert the gurdeler, then to Robert the ceynturer. The next tenant was Richard the bowyer. The street was then called Bowyer Row, so that he was among his craftsmen. The next tenant was Richard Knyght, the crossbow maker, in 1329. Then came Nicholas the pewterer in 1337-38, and then John the pewterer. Roger Shereve the chaplain was there in 1376-77, and John atte Wode in 1384-85, and Thomas atte Wode otherwise Boterwyke in 1389-90, and Alice his wife in 1402-3, and John the pewterer in 1417-18. Thomas Holgyle was there in 1421-22, and William Deer, pewterer, in 1445-46, who paid 26s. 8d. quit-rent. Two more shops¹ yielded a quit-rent of 18d. each.

St. Andrew at Baynard's Castle, between St. Martin's and the river, comes next. In Cok's time the chief features of the parish were the walls of the great castle from which the ward is named, and the Dominican church and monastery, of which the memory is preserved in the name of the district and of the neighbouring Blackfriars Bridge.

Peter of Askern, clerk, whose will was proved, read, and enrolled in the Husteng of London (16 Edward II.) and before the Justices at the Tower of London (14

¹ One had been occupied by Laurence Long (18 Edward II.) and afterwards by Robert le Horner (11 Edward III.). The adjoining shop was once Geoffrey Palmer's (11 Edward III.).

Edward II.), bequeathed to the hospital a large estate in several parts. Of these, two tenements with quay and wharf called le Watyrgate, were let at £3 a year, but under the will of Sir William Walworth had to pay a quit-rent of 53s. 4d. to the church of St. Michael, Crooked Lane.¹

Another part of Askern's gift was let (28 Henry VI.) to William Wryght,² wax chandler, at 20s. a year.

The next holding,³ belonging to the Abbey of Barlynge in Lincolnshire, yielded 20s. of annual rent, paid to the hospital by William Barnabi, a chaplain of St. Paul's, who had a lease for a term of years.

¹ The successive occupants were: Hugh of Wyndesore (21 Edward I.), Master William Kenebanton (29 Edward I.), Robert Berkyng, who conveyed the holding to Peter of Askern (7 Edward II.), John Swanlonde (11 Edward III.), Walter of Kent, chaplain (31 Edward III.), William Kelsey, William Bonet (50 Edward III.). He held the two tenements, with the quay called the Watergate, at a rent of £3 a year, and another with quay and wharf, lately held by William Kelsey, and now by Robert Westerley, at 20s. a year. After this came William Schrympelmerssh (8 Richard II.) John Peinon, pybaker (13 Richard II.), John Bryan, one of the sheriffs of London (22 Richard II. and 4 Henry IV.), John Russell (4 Henry V.), John Kyfhawe (9 Henry V. and 20 Henry VI.), Margaret his wife (28 Henry VI.), Richard Pyge (37 Henry VI.); *in a later hand*, Thomas Warner (10 Edward IV.), John Lymyngton, who married the widow of Thomas Warner (21 Edward IV.), Thomas Alderton, who married her on Lymyngton's death (10 Henry VII.), as is shown by an acquittance between Thomas Crewker the master, and Thomas Alderton and Joan his wife, and William Warner, their son. Then Ralph Dodmer, beerseller (pandoxator) (17 Henry VII.).

John Brian is named by Stow (ed. Kingsford, ii. 172) as the sheriff in 1418, Ralph Barton and John Parnesse being also named, but the Public Record Office List (p. 203) names John Purveys and Ralph Barton as the sheriffs of that year.

² It had been occupied before by Nicholas le Moneour, Robert FitzWalter, William of Kenebanton (21 Edward I.), Robert of Berkyng (7 Edward II.), and then came into the possession of Peter of Askern. Then William of Welden, Thomas of Halys, John of Halys (11 Edward III.), Thomas le Coe (40 Edward III.), Thomas Freke (50 Edward III. to 2 Henry V.), John Aston (12 Henry VI.).

³ It had belonged to Nicholas le Moneour, and after him to Peter of Askern. Then before the present holders to John Halys (11 Edward III.); Walter Noel; John Bonet (20 Edward III.); Master Robert Feroure; Nicholas Turk (12 Richard II.).

A messuage of the same gift, which had belonged to Alan of the Castle, as shown in a charter of Robert FitzWalter, before it came into the hands of Peter Askern,¹ now yielded a rent of 3s. a year.

The next tenement, let for 10s., was the gift of Joan daughter of Martha, daughter of Adam of Whytteby, in 1250-1251, and had been held by the Abbess of Burnham, and in Cok's time by the Abbot of Reading, at a rent of 10s. It was at the south end of Athelyngestrete.² Eight houses³ of Peter of Askern's estate yielded quit-rents of 3s., 4s., 18d., 6d., 12d., 4s. each, and two a pound of pepper each.

Ascending the hill from the river side, Cok next

¹ The occupants after him were John Fayrehede, Walter Neel, William Whyght (11 Edward III.), John Foxton (50 Edward III.), Margaret his wife (13 Richard II.), Master John Kynton, Roger Sherman, chaplain of the church of St. Andrew, and at that day Thomas Bragge, a chaplain in that church.

² In Capite Australi de Athelyngestrete super Thamisiām.—*Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, f. 13b.

Intermediate occupants were Robert FitzWalter, the Abbey of Burnham, Master Richard Dallyngton, Henry Boole, John Stonore.

³ No. 1 had belonged to Walter of Chabenham before Peter of Askern had it, and after him to Thomas Halys and to John Halys (11 Edward III.).

No. 2 was first William Feyner's, and after him Peter of Askern's, and then was occupied successively by John Saer, Robert of Hanstede (20 Edward III.).

No. 3. To Herman le Eystres before Askern, and after him to Stephen of Preston and to John Arderne, brewer (50 Edward III. and 13 Richard II.).

No. 4. To Geoffrey of Halys, then to Christina, daughter of Herman Lestres (33 Edward I.); then Askern, and after him John Saer, Stephen Preston, Thomas le Somenour, Robert of Roules (11 Edward III.).

No. 5. Before Askern, to Robert of Folham. After to Andrew Neel, to Wymark his wife, and to Nicholas Blake (11 Edward III.).

No. 6. Before Askern to Harry le Boole, as appears in Askern's will (16 Edward II.), and after to John Stonore, then to the Abbot of Reading (11 Edward III.), then to Robert Payn, and after to John Payn (1 Richard II.).

No. 7. Before Askern, to Peter Edelmeton. After, to Master John Trillowe, and then to William Pertenhale (11 Edward III.).

No. 8. Before Askern, to Milo of Stapelton. After, to Joce of Spaldyng.

reached the parish of *St. Gregory by St. Paul's*, and here was another holding of Peter of Askern's let for a quit-rent of a pound of pepper.¹

A great tenement opposite St. Paul's Bakehouse, called the George on the Hoop, was the gift of Amfrid, canon of Arundel, to Alan the master in the time of Henry II.²

A tenement in the west corner of Sermonerys Lane as it goes towards Old Fish Street is the next, and was originally the property of William Braye. Its quit-rent was 9s.³ This was granted by Bartholomew the master to Sir John of Dunolm, Knight (45 Henry III.),⁴ and Cok notes that John of Dunolm's charter is in the treasury of St. Paul's Cathedral, sealed with green wax. I have seen the document there.

Still keeping near the precincts of Baynard's Castle, Cok next takes the parish of *St. Benedict at Paul's Wharf*, where the hospital had in his time received a bequest

¹ John Meleford and William Kenebantun (21 Edward I.) had it before Askern. After him Rosia le Bowyer, and then Dominus John Moleyns (11 Edward III.).

² *Vide* Vol. I. p. 229. It was afterwards granted by William, master of the hospital, to Henry of Oxford (13 Henry III.). Bartholomew Everarde, Thomas Everarde, and John Harwe followed, and then came Master Richard of Newport, who was Dean of St. Paul's (1314-17) and afterwards Bishop of London (1317-18). In 1337-38 (11 Edward III.), Nicholas of Brounesbury held it, and after him (in 1376-77) John Preston, the first chaplain celebrating in the chantry founded in St. Paul's Cathedral by Bishop Richard of Newport. Robert Dokeworth, serving the same chantry, succeeded in 1384-5, and afterwards three other chaplains, William Catelyn (1416-17), William Bouedone (1443-44), and John Shelton (1449-50).

³ Out of this sum 2d. had to be paid to the king's socage, 12d. to the church of St. Paul, 12d. to keeping up a lamp there, 4d. to the hospital of St. Giles.

⁴ After him to John Harwe, clerk (27 Edward I.), and to Katherine Aspylyon (18 Henry VI.).

of seven shops¹ under the will of John Stafford, chaplain (25 Henry VI.), and from these received 139s. 4d., paying a quit-rent of 40s. to Sir John Maryney, Knight, and one of 8s. to the House of the Holy Trinity.² Stafford was admitted, says Cok, to the freedom of the city when William Askam was mayor and Stephen Spylman chamberlain of Guyhalde. This was in 1403.

Cok next goes to the other side of Ludgate Hill, to the parish of *St. Audoen juxta Macellas*. Here "the Bell on the Hoop" "opposite the Friars Minor," was the gift of William son of Brunning in the time of King Henry III.,³ and yielded 6s. a year. The Stonhous "at the corner of the little street called Warwykes Lane, opposite the great gate of the Friars Minor," was let to the canons of St. Martin's⁴ for 20d. a year. One other quit-rent of 6d. was of ancient origin, for it came from the

¹ These shops, with others in the parish of St. Mary Magdalene, had successively belonged before Stafford to John Poterell, Thomas Swanlond (19 Edward II.), Katherine atte Pool (39 Edward III.), William Cressewyk, citizen of London, and John Tredesalte, chaplain, executors of Katherine's will (11 Richard II.). These executors sold the whole estate to William Barette, Henry Vauner, John Hynstok, and Geoffrey Gragge, citizens of London (11 Richard II.). They sold it to Henry Halton (8 Henry IV.), and his widow brought it to John Wellys, citizen and grocer, whom she married. His executors, Thomas Knollys, John Chichele, Master William Cleve, clerk, and John Rowthe sold it to John Stafford.

² Shop 1 let to Keynes Peek. Shops 2 and 3, to John Clayforde. Corner tenement let to Richard Bakstere, dyers, as well as a shop on the way to Old Fish Street. Shop 5, no tenant named. Shop 7, to Thomas Gabryell.

³ Bartholomew the master granted it to Thomas Dudeman. After him it was held by Walter of Dorteford, Alexander Coventry, the Prior of Ely, Walter of Belhous (18 Edward II.), Roger atte Belhous (11 Edward III.), Thomas Bodeman, Richard Welden (8 Richard II.), Richard Weden, cooper, Roger Kendale, Henry Julyan, Elena his wife, John Standolf, goldsmith, John Standolf, clerk, Hugh Elene (22 Henry VI.), Joan Elene his wife (28 Henry VI.).

⁴ It had been let to the nuns of Clerkenwell, to Richard Ferell, and to Richard Serle.

land of Simon Gamelay mentioned in a charter of Thomas of Haverhill.¹

The small parish of *St. Nicholas Fleshshambles* comes next. Here was a holding of the fee of the hospital formerly held by John Pulteney and granted to Simon atte Gate, butcher, by a perpetual charter in 1339-40. It yielded £4 from the prior and convent of St. Bartholomew, who then held it.² Next came a tenement worth 26s. a year at the east corner of Pentecost Lane, which seems to have been near the present Roman Bath Street, called Bagnio Street soon after the Restoration. It led into Stinking Lane, afterwards Butcher Hall Lane,³ now King Edward Street. John le bonne, mercer, was the first tenant.⁴ A quit-rent had to be paid to St. Paul's out of these two holdings of 20s. The Ship on the Hoop⁵ yielded 13s. : and a shop given by Alan, son of Peter,⁶ in the time of Henry II., 8s. ; and other tene-

¹ Simon Gamelay once held this land.

² The intermediate tenants were John Pantyre (50 Edward III.), John Wormesbury (8 Richard II.), John Askewith (13 Richard II.). A payment was due from it to the church of St. Thomas the Apostle, for a chaplain.

³ Stow, ed. Kingsford, i. 312. Books were printed in it, as "The Chymical Vade Mecum, by R. Poole, M.D., London. Printed for E. Duncomb, in Butcherhall Lane, 1748."

⁴ Bartholomew the master granted it by a perpetual charter for a certain sum of money to Walter of Hendon, butcher, in 1249. After that it was occupied by Walter Brusell, Reginald of Friday Street, vintner (55 Henry III.), Richard le Berwys, Lucy of Ware, Richard of Holmys (13 Edward II.), Hawisia his wife, John Gerveys, Henry Sondon (11 Edward III.).

⁵ The occupants had been Hugh of Whytyngton, Walter atte Grene, butcher (31 Edward III.), Adam of Langely, John Burton, chaplain, William Chesenden (50 Edward III.), the Fraternity of Goldsmiths (8 Richard II.), John Peckenham (13 Richard II.), Adam atte Welle (8 Henry IV.).

⁶ Granted by a perpetual charter to Hugh of Leyghton. Afterwards held by Teric the scaldar, Hugh Tery, Aldith his daughter, William Banchesham, Robert of Reyndone and Aldith his wife (1233), Walter Horton (44 Henry III.), John Prentys.

ments in Pentecost Lane,¹ 10s., and one at the north end of the lane² 5s. 6d.

Some land between the church wall on the west and Pentecost Lane on the east³ yielded 4s. A shop,⁴ the gift of Simon atte Gate, yielded 6s. 8d. "The Crane on the Hoop" had led to controversy with the priory. It was bequeathed by John Gyldeford in 1383 to the Priory of St. Bartholomew, which was to pay thence to the hospital 100s. a year. William Wakeryng, the master, at the urgent request of John Repyngton, then prior, relaxed 50s. of this in 1402-3. At the same time the prior and convent faithfully promised to relax certain quit-rents, amounting to 25s., which they had not yet done when Cok wrote the Cartulary.

Passing round the east end of St. Paul's, Cok comes to *St. Augustine in Watling Street*. Here James of Thame,⁵ in 1378-9, gave a mansion with two shops. These had been rebuilt by John Wakeryng and let for £6 a year to Thomas Reymond, tailor. Another mansion and two shops, also rebuilt by the same master, let for 66s. 8d. to John Pye, stationer, and a shop for 53s. 4d., to William Causton. From these

¹ Held by John le Bonne, John Norman, John son of Roger of Normham, James the draper of Toulouse, Gilbert the chaplain, executor of the will of John Norman.

² Once Stephen of Daveys, afterwards John Norman, and then John son of Roger of Normham.

³ Once Robert of Edelmeton's, then John Norman's, then John's son of Roger of Normham.

⁴ Held successively by Augustine the clerk, Nicholas Crane (10 Edward III.), Simon atte Gate, John Sprotte (43 Edward III.).

⁵ His executors were William Whetele, Robert Boxeford, and Richard Sprotte. William Jardyn, skinner, was the tenant at the time of James's death.

holdings 8s. a year was paid at Christmas to St. Paul's Cathedral.

St. Mary Magdalene in the Old Fish Market comes next. A tenement opposite the end of Peter Lane was the gift of Simon son of Lebert in 1259-60,¹ and paid 8s. Another at the east corner of the street² as it goes towards the Thames paid a quit-rent of 5s. The Dolphin on the Hoop³ was under the chancel of St. Mary Magdalen. It was given by John Bocher in early times, and was now let for 16s. A brewhouse at the corner of Peter Lane called the Key on the Hoop, with three shops in the west part of the lane, was part of the gift of John Stafford,⁴ chaplain, whose will

¹ It was granted by perpetual charter to John Braynford, chaplain, in the same year, and was afterwards held by Stephen of Blund (11 Edward III.), and then by Stephen Northy, who gave it to the vicars of St. Martin le Grand.

² Formerly occupied by John Wisdom, fishmonger, and Martha his daughter and heiress (41 Henry III.).

³ Since occupied by the Lady of Maundevely, Adam Bocher, John son of Adam Bocher (54 Henry III.), John Heryng; Dionysia, wife and heiress of John of Brokwode; Katherine Brokwode, sister of John; John Lombard, fishmonger, by right of his wife; Peter Lombard, son and heir of this John; John Salisbury, goldsmith, and Isabella his wife (35 Edward III.); John Norwich, goldsmith, and Margery his wife; Henry Bamme, who afterwards married this Margery; Henry Bamme and Alice his wife (22 Richard II.); Alice Bamme (14 Henry IV. and 9 Henry V. and 6 Henry VI.); John Bamme (24 Henry VI.); Henry Ellismere, gentleman, through the gift of Bamme, goldsmith and imbecile (28 Henry VI.).

⁴ Cok says: "He was admitted to the freedom of the city January 20, 1403, when William Askam was mayor and Stephen Splyman chamberlain of Guyhalde. As is entered in the register with the letter B."

This tenement, with the aforesaid shops and seven others in the parish of St. Benedict at Paulys Wharf, were formerly John Poterell's, and afterwards held by Thomas Swanlond (19 Edward II.), Katherine atte Pool (39 Edward III.), William Cressewyk and John Tredealt, chaplains and executors of Katherine Pool, as is shown in her will, proved (11 Richard II.). They sold all these tenements to Henry Halton (8 Henry IV.). Margery, Halton's widow, married John Wellys, citizen and grocer, who was the next tenant, and whose executors Thomas Knollys, John Chichele, Master William Clyve clerk, and John Rowthe sold it to John Stafford the chaplain (21 Henry VI.).

was proved on the Monday after St. Agatha's Day (February 5), 1447.

Its rent was £6, 13s. 4d., and three shops¹ of the same estate adjoining it yielded 16s., 13s. 4d., and 24s.

Descending the slope towards the river, Cok comes to *St. Peter the Little on the Thames*, a parish which then had a church on the north side of Thames (Tems) Street. A tenement there was let to the House of St. John at Kylborne² at a quit-rent of 2s.

St. Mary Somerset, also in Thames Street, yielded 10s. from the estate of Reginald of Wyrham,³ in accordance with his will made when he was going on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. From the same land the Prioress of Kilburn received 5s., the hospital of St. James near Westminster 2s. 6d., and the hospital of St. Giles next Holborn 2s. 6d.

St. Nicholas Cold Abbey is on the same slope, and here was the gift of Walter son of Algar, a goldsmith, who gave all his possessions in the parish in the Old Fish Market⁴ to the hospital in the twelfth year of

¹ No. 2 to Nicholas Tryce. No. 3 to Gilbert Fobbe, cobbler. Several quit-rents had to be paid from these tenements: 40s. to Sir John Marny, knight; to the House of the Holy Trinity in London, 8s.; to Thomas Stafford, chaplain, for life, 100s.; and to Richard Stafford for life, 40s.

² It formerly belonged to Roger son of Bartholomew of St. Martin's and to John Person.

³ It had belonged to Henry of Balon, "as appears in the charter of Richard and of Adam, and Juliana, wife of Alan of Balon, concerning the sale of 20s. a year made by Reginald of Wyrham, as appears in his will."

⁴ "As appears in a charter of Geoffrey of Maundeville, Earl of Essex and of Gloucester." John Berkingham was the first tenant. Then it was granted by a perpetual charter to John Calf, fishmonger (29 Henry III.). Afterwards to William the clerk, Thomas the stokfishmonger, Walter Chesewyk, John Syward (14 Edward III.),

the reign of King John. The rent was 26s. 8d., paid by the churchwardens of the parish. A shop given by Katherine Hardell,¹ wife of the mayor of 1215, yielded 6s. A tenement² joining that shop yielded 12s. A tenement given by the will of William Prestewik³ in the reign of Henry VI. was let for £4, 13s. 4d. Another,⁴ of the fee of the hospital, yielded 25s. and a shop⁵ 3s. Another tenement of the gift of Walter son of Algar,⁶ yielded 66s. 8d., and another⁷ also 46s. 8d. A third, called the Cornerhouse of Friday Street, formerly let to Richard Islington, fishmonger, and at the time to John Botiller, fishmonger, yielded 106s. 8d.

St. Margaret Moyses in Friday Street comes next.

William Gubbe. Then to the rector and parishioners of the said church of St. Nicholas (50 Edward III.), Henry Mordon, Philip Phelip (8 Henry VI.), Thomas Crikett (28 Henry VI.).

¹ Granted by a perpetual charter to Edmund the clerk, son of Walter Plessor, in the time of King John. Afterwards to Peter of Burgoyne (29 Henry III.).

² Agnes Hubberd held it in the time of King John. It was granted by perpetual charter to Thomas the stokfishmonger (15 Edward III.).

³ Before him it was held by Walter Chesewyk, John Chesewyk, Hamon the Stokfishmonger (18 Edward II.), Richard Gubbe (13 Edward III.), John Syward (14 Edward III.), Thomas Hamele, stokfishmonger (50 Edward III.), Andrew Trigge, Dominus William Pecok (8 and 13 Richard II.), John Skren (14 Henry IV.). William Prestwyk acquired it (8 Henry VI.), at which time it paid a quit-rent of 18s. to the hospital. When Cok wrote, it was let to John Beman.

⁴ Formerly let successively to William the clerk, Thomas the stokfishmonger, Walter Turk (by a perpetual charter), John Syward, stokfishmonger (11 Edward III.), who left it to the rector and churchwardens of St. Nicholas Cold Abbey (50 Edward III.). Afterwards it was held by William Bury, Walter Rolf (13 Richard II.), William Cogeshale (14 Henry IV.), William Walleys, pykemonger (9 Henry V. and 18 Henry VI.), and held by his son William from 28 Henry VI.

⁵ Let successively to William Dovecan, William of Leuesham, William of Waltham, John of Ivyngghoo, fishmonger (5 Edward I.), John Bret (29 Edward I.). For this shop 2d. was paid to the king's socage and 12d. to St. Nicholas Cold Abbey.

⁶ Formerly let to William Multon and now to William Rede. "John Dygonnyssone dwells therein."

⁷ Of late to Richard Dykes, and now to John Bromer, fishmonger.

Here a great hospice, called the Castle on the Hoop, was the grant of the abbot and convent of Westminster in the thirtieth year of Henry II., and yielded 48s., out of which 7s. was paid to the abbot. The list of tenants, though not complete, is interesting. The holding was first let to John the cheesemonger in the time of King John. Then to Robert the cheesemonger. Then to Thomas of Basing, and after him to Solomon of Basing. This was probably the sheriff of 1214. Afterwards to Richard of Dorking in 1318-19, and after him to John of Dorking. Then to Adam of Ely in 1337-38 and to Nicholas Lancaster in 1376-77, to Roger of Paris in 1389-90, to Thomas Whyght in 1410-11, and then to William Cicheleigh, alderman in 1421-22. This was the brother of Henry Chichele, the founder of All Souls College and Archbishop of Canterbury, "who," says Cok, "after the death of William Cicheleigh acquired 1427-28 this hospice, with the adjoining tenements and all its appurtenances, to augment the support of his college of Higham Ferrers in the county of Northampton, which he built in honour of the Blessed Mary the Virgin, of St. Edward the Confessor, and of St. Thomas the Martyr." The warden of the college of Higham Ferrers paid the hospital 48s. a year.

All Saints in Bread Street contained the Angel on the Hoop,¹ given by Osbert the little at the beginning of the

¹ It was first let to Osbert himself, then to his daughter Margaret (14 Henry III.), then

reign of Henry III., and let for 40s. A shop next it was the gift of Osbert's daughter Margaret,¹ and let for 5s. Another part of the gift² was leased in 1433-34 by William Norton, alderman, and came to his wife Egidia, who gave it to John Holand, then Earl of Huntingdon, afterwards Duke of Exeter. Thomas Oulegrave, skinner, purchased the tenement from the duke, and paid to the hospital 45s. a year.

St. Matthew in Friday Street contained three quit-rents, one 36s. and two of 12s. each. The tenant of the first was John Sutton,³ an alderman. The hospital only received 9s. 4d., as the rest had to be paid to the canons of St. Mary in Southwark. The second⁴ was for two shops let to John Padyslee, goldsmith and alderman. The third⁵ was a shop held by Thomas Nonhows,

by a perpetual charter to Nicholas of Gotham, fruiterer, and Acelina his wife, then successively to Osbert the cordwainer, Walter of Bread Street, John of Essex, John Campyon (18 Edward II.).

¹ Let to William Munck, cook (Henry III.), Walter of Bread Street, John of Bread Street (18 Edward II.), Walter the cordewaner.

² It had been occupied by John of Wyndesore, John of Westwode, Stephen Salter, William of Cheyham, Adam Salter, Geoffrey of Weston (11 Edward III.), Richard Chaundelere (50 Edward III.), Christina his wife (8 Richard II.), Agnes atte Hale (10 Henry IV.), and then William Norton.

³ Before him the tenants were: Henry son of Stephen (8 Henry III.), Thomas of Brauncestre (1270), John Dallyng, Gilbert Lesenes and Constance (18 Edward II.), John of Briggeford and Alice his wife (7 Edward III.), Stephen Ketirle (50 Edward III.), John Hyltoft, Thomas Panton (13 Richard II.), Peter Brykelysworth (8 Henry IV.), Robert Halle, John Mablyan, Thomas Ruston esquire.

⁴ Henry the goldsmith, son of Stephen son of Andrew, Hugh of Rokinge ham, William de la Moor, his wife Matilda (21 Edward I.), William Causton, alderman in Chepe, on the left side of the entry of St. Matthew's Alley, William Shordych, Roger Husband, Alice Husband (23 Edward III.), William Ippegrave his executor, Henry Markeby (50 Edward III.), Petronilla Markeby (13 Richard II.), Richard Cranesleigh (14 Henry IV. and 2 Henry V.), Joan his wife, John Cranesleigh (8 Henry V.) were the previous tenants.

⁵ Henry the goldsmith, son of Stephen son of Andrew, Robert of Mora, Richard atte

chaplain, since 28 Henry VI. It had been given by John Trentemars to found a chantry in St. Paul's for Nicholas Husbond, who seems to have been a minor canon there.

St. Peter in Chepe was at the Cheapside end of Wood Street. A piece of the churchyard with a tree preserves the memory of the church, and the low house in Cheapside was probably first built on the church wall. An author more often read than John Cok has celebrated this piece of land :

“ At the corner of Wood Street, when daylight appears,
Hangs a thrush that sings loud, it has sung for three years :
Poor Susan has passed by the spot, and has heard
In the silence of morning the song of the bird.

’Tis a note of enchantment : what ails her ? she sees
A mountain ascending, a vision of trees ;
Bright volumes of vapour through Lothbury glide,
And a river flows on through the vale of Cheapside.”

Mr. Wordsworth's knowledge of the topography of London was imperfect, for the mists of Lothbury are not visible in Cheapside ; but I have thought it worth while to quote his poem, since reveries such as he has described undoubtedly occur to country people who have settled in London, and among them to some who have never read literature.

Leye, Roger Husbonde, Nicholas Husbonde, John Trentemars, and then the several celebrating chaplains of his foundation, Reginald Spalding, Robert Fyssher, Benham (5 Henry V.), the chamberlains of St. Paul's (2 Henry VI.), John Wodeham, John Catelyn (6 Henry VI.) were the previous tenants.

The new tavern at Egle in Chepe in the Goldsmithy (Aurifabria) was the gift of Roger son of William¹ in the time of King Richard I., and its quit-rent was 20s. The Goldsmiths' Rent was the gift of Richard son of Gervase the parmenter, in the eighth year (1161-62) of Henry II., son of the Empress. Cok cannot help pausing before this tenement, for it was in it that he spent his apprenticeship. William of Berkinge² had bequeathed the house to the fraternity of Goldsmiths after the death of his wife Lucy. After her death Thomas Wylly and John Luton, rentars of the Goldsmiths, paid the quit-rent to the hospital. Thomas Lambert, goldsmith, sometime dwelt there "and in that tenement in his time I John Cok, who put together and wrote this Rental, was apprenticed." The quit-rent was 20s., but 5s. had to be paid to the hospital of St. Giles in Holborn.

A shop in the Goldsmithy³ was let at 6s. 8d. quit-rent. These three tenements had been newly rebuilt by the guild of Goldsmiths. They were situate between the tenements of that guild on the north and a tene-

¹ Since the donor's time it had been held by Peter of Staundon (1264), Andrew of Bentlegh, and John son of Peter of Staundon (1275), John Asschwy, Bartholomew of Halengebury, Robert le Brett (8 Edward III.), Thomas le Brett (11 Edward III.), John Cook (50 Edward III.), William Tonge, Avise his wife (7 Henry IV.), Richard Wythyale, goldsmith (9 Henry V.), John Wythihale his son (18 Henry VI.), Sir William Septevaunce, knight by right of his wife (26 Henry VI.).

² John Reynham son of Ralph of Reynham, Walter of Fynchyngefeld junior (19 Edward I.), and William of Fynchingfeld (11 Edward III.), held it before him, and Lucy after him (13 Richard II.). Then John Salesbury, and then the Goldsmiths.

³ Formerly that of Adam the goldsmith.

ment of the church of St. Peter in Cornhill on the south, and the king's street called Wood (Wode) Street on the west and the house of the Court opposite the church of St. Mary Magdalene in Milk Street, in which house was held the court of the Archdeaconry of London, on the east.

Following the long course of Wood Street, Cok comes to *St. Michael's in Wood Street*, in which parish a 6d. of quit-rent¹ has to be reduced to 3d. by a payment for the king's socage.

Continuing northwards he comes to *St. Alban's*, the church of which is the only ecclesiastical building left in our day to commemorate the piety of the old citizens of London in this street. Here Thomas of Budele in the time of King John gave a tenement² in the north corner of a little street opposite the east end of the church. Its quit-rent was 3s. 5d., and 3d. had to be paid for the king's socage.

The parish dedicated to the first Archbishop of Canterbury who was martyred, *St. Alphege within Cripplegate*, comes next. The hospital property here had been given by William of Pertenhale in 1349-50, and comprised a large mansion with a great gate, and houses and shops and six small cottages, which in 1427-8 had been let for £13, 16s. They were now

¹ Formerly held successively by John Ashewy, Bartholomew of Halyngbury (11 Edward III.).

² Granted, "per cartam perpetuam," to Robert Lynton, draper (42 Henry III.): afterwards held by Sir William Moyne, knight (3 Edward I.).

ruinous and the place empty, and the mansion and all its appurtenances were let to Hugh, a horse-dealer,¹ for 100s., out of which 23s. 8d. quit-rent had to be paid to the Abbot of St. Albans and 2s. to the abbey of Westminster. Some land within Cripplegate, the gift of Adam of Beremond² in the reign of King John, yielded 6s.

St. Olave in Muggewel (Monkswell) *Street* contained more of the gift of William Pertenhale,³ yielding 58s. Roisia, daughter of Dyamand,⁴ in 1269-70 held a tene-ment here, and it was let in 1384-5 to Sir Robert Launde, who was knighted by King Richard II. and granted £40 a year in land for his gallant conduct in Smith-field on the day of Wat Tyler's fall. It was let to the Goldsmiths in 1398-9, and they were the tenants at a quit-rent of 6s. in Cok's time.

St. John Zachary in Fastur (Foster) *Lane* contained land the gift of Walter son of Algar,⁵ in the reign of Henry II.

¹ Recent tenants of parts of this estate had been John Brightwell, clerk (one shop for 8s.); William Kyng (one shop for 8s.); Robert Deyntree (a chamber within a great arch for 4s.); John Carpenter (a shop for 6s. 8d.); Thomas Hall, mercer (the Saracen's Head on the Hoop within the great gate for £6, 13s. 4d.); Geoffrey Wolnor (a mansion next the gate in Wood Street for 20s.); Robert Barbour (another mansion for 20s.).

² No tenants named.

³ The two first shops were formerly held by William Barton and Agnes his wife.

⁴ After her Thomas Baldok and Rose his wife (13 Edward I.), then William Reed, then John Lutegaresshale, then Joan his wife, then Cecilia Heron, then Adam Bamme, then Thomas Sporon (11 Edward III.), then Lucy of Berkinge (30 Edward III.), who transferred it after her death to the Goldsmiths' Company. From these holdings 4s. was to be paid to the church of St. Thomas of Aconia juxta aquaticum, and 4s. to the church of St. Nicholas Fleshambles.

⁵ Granted by a perpetual charter in the reign of King John to John Woborn. Afterwards held by Peter of Woborn, Walter of Wattedford, Richard of Wyrehale (30 Edward I.), John of Wyrehale (11 Edward III.), Sir Nicholas Twyford, knight (50 Edward III.), and then Drogo Barentyn.

It had been let to Drogo Barentyn, goldsmith and alderman (22 Richard II. and 12 Henry IV.). William Randolph, one of his executors, occupied it in 1418-19. Drogo Barentyn was sheriff with Richard Whittington in 1393, and was mayor in 1398 and again in 1408.

St. Lawrence in the Old Jewry is the next parish. The Old Jewry had ceased to contain a Jewish population, since Edward I.'s expulsion of the Jews, but the first occupier of the hospital property there lived before that time, and was Samuel, son of Aron Blund the Jew, who parted with it to Stephen Longespeye, who exchanged it with Bartholomew our master in 1260-61 for the hospital land in the parish of St. Brigid beyond the Fleet bridge, which was the gift of William of Tonbridge in 1216. The house thus obtained was next the passage leading to the Guildhall, and its rent was 20s.

The adjoining parish of *St. Mary Magdalene in Milk Street* contained one shop in Chepe, given by Reginald of Wyrham, the pilgrim to the Holy Land,¹ and yielding a quit-rent of only one halfpenny a year, the remainder of the original quit-rent of 6s. 8d. having been compounded by Bartholomew the master.

St. Mary of Arches (St. Mary le Bow) comes next. Here the hospital owned a shop let at 20s. in Hosier Lane, now called Bow Lane, a street which retains its ancient narrowness, and from the southern end of which

¹ p. 80. Hamo de Castello held this shop (28 Henry III.) and Walter Tayllour (47 Henry III.).

there is a beautiful view of Wren's noble tower of the parish church. The shop was given by John Normham, the mayor of 1250, and 3s. 4d. had to be paid to the prior of St. Mary outside Bishopsgate.¹ Some tenements at the east corner of Laurence Lane had been given to the hospital in 1256-60 by Nicholas Batt,² and their rent was £4, 6s. 8d. The tenants paid 6s. 8d. towards the support of the patients. A shed³ belonging to them yielded a quit-rent of 4d.

A great house called the New Cage in Chepe yielded 6s. 8d., and had been let in 1376-77 to Sir William Walworth,⁴ alderman, and in 1412-13 to John Coventry, mercer and alderman (the mayor of 1425), whose son had it 1449-50. A shop next Corveisir Lane on the east yielded 8s. From this 4s. was to be paid towards the lamp of the sick in the sick-ward and 4s. towards

¹ Afterwards let to John Norman, alderman, and in Cok's time to Thomas Bachelier, draper.

² Let successively to Henry le Coferer (53 Henry III.), Roger le Coferer, Florence his wife (28 Edward I.), Thomas de Luda and Florence his wife (31 Edward I.), Thomas Pyphurst, goldsmith, and Joan his wife, William, son of Walter Burdon, prior of the new hospital of the Blessed Mary now called Elsinges Spittel, and John of Kelingeworth, tenants in common (29 Edward III.), Henry Frowyk, Roger Canon, mercer (50 Edward III.), John Chircheman and William Burdeyn (20 Richard II.), John Wissingsete, by right of his wife, John Bernys, goldsmith, by right of his wife, the Prior of Elsinges Spytell and Roger Parys, tenants in common, Nicholas Yoo, alderman, by right of his wife, and John Bernys, and now Thomas Eyre by right of the wife of the said Nicholas Yoo.

³ Formerly let by a perpetual charter to Richard Stanford, mercer, and Agnes his wife, and William of Releshull in the Mercery of London (8 Edward I.), then to John le Botyner (27 Edward I.), then Robert Hawteyn, then Thomas son of Robert Kelsey, then Richard of Berkyng, Nicholas of Northampton, of London, herbege, and Geoffrey of Haryngworth, chaplain (18 Edward III.).

The whole had to pay 16s. to the hospital of St. James, 13s. 4d. to the church of St. Mary in Southwerk, and 13s. 4d. to the nuns of Halywell.

⁴ Before him held by Laurence of Grasshechurche, draper (28 Henry III.), then successively by Robert Kelsey, and Thomas of Kelsey his son (10 Edward III.).

a pittance on the day of the death of Lucy, wife of Walran, the donor in the reign of Henry III.

Queen Street, Cheapside, was known in Cok's day as Sopers Lane, and proceeding east he next comes to the parish of *St. Pancras*,¹ in that lane. Here Henry le Botener in 1278-79 had given three shops, of which one was let to Agnes Cotismore² for 20s. a year. Another on the left-hand side of the lane had been let to William Walworth called le Caller, citizen and grocer (piperarius) of London, in 1338-39, and in 1376-77 to the Prioress of St. Helens. The quit-rent was 12d. paid at Michaelmas. A phrase occurs in the account of this holding which shows that the old rental of Edward I. which Cok used had had later insertions, one of which he inadvertently copied, "*Postea et modo priorisse* ³ *Sancte Helene vid. Anno Edwardi tercii l.*" The *now* of the fiftieth of Edward III. applied neither to Cok's time nor to that of Edward I. It was clearly an additional note made in the older rental.

A shop at the corner on the right-hand side of Sopers Lane bequeathed by Nicholas Batt⁴ in 1258-59, yielded 9s. Another shop⁵ was let for 18s. 8d.

¹ This parish is again recorded after St. Mary Aldermary apparently by mistake, as the only difference is the omission of the name of Henry Frowyk.

² It had before been let to John Destmonde and Cecilia Crispe his wife, and then to Henry Frowyk.

³ After her time it was held successively by John Emmet, Henry Bamme, Cecilia Crispe, Alan Everard, mercer (1416-17), Henry Frowyk (1429-30), John Botston, mercer, and his wife (1456).

⁴ In his will (proved 42 Henry III.) it is mentioned that Roger bursar held this shop.

⁵ Formerly held by Roger of Walteham, then by Robert le Caller, then by Robert Norwiche, and Philip Boseworth, chaplains celebrating in St. Paul's (47 Edward III.).

St. Mary of Colechurch in Chepe on the opposite side of Cheapside, the parish in which St. Thomas of Canterbury was born, comes next. Here William of Gatesdene and Alice his wife in 1284–85 occupied two shops, afterwards let to Richard of Stevenheth, *unguentarius*,¹ and afterward to Adam Bras at a quit-rent of 5s. 4d. These shops had those of William Manhale the elder on the east and that of William Manhale the younger on the west, and they extended from West Chepe on the south to Ironmonger (Irnemonger) Lane on the north.

The existence of the next parish, *St. Mildred in le Pultrye*, is now only made known to those who walk through the Poultry by a small court called after the Saxon princess to whom the church was dedicated. The hospital received 2s. 6d. from a tenement² in an alley in the Poultry opposite the church of St. Mildred. This was situate between the tenement of Sir Ralph Botiller³ and his wife, formerly the wife of John Hende, citizen of London, on the east and west, the king's way

¹ The word *aromatarius*, which occurs several times as that of the occupation of the members of a guild in the city in the time of Dr. Caius in the copy of the annals of the College of Physicians which he wrote, does not seem to have been in use in Cok's time.

² It had been occupied by Richard son of Michael (44 Henry III.), John of Tholouse, Thomas Brown, Ralph of Braghyng (11 Edward III.), Agnes Worcestre, William Eynesham (50 Edward III. and 8 Richard II.), John Eynesham, grocer (14 Henry IV. and 12 Henry VI.), his wife, Ralph Blakelowe by right of his wife, daughter of John Eynesham (28 Henry VI.).

³ A tradition of uncertain date states that the Butlers of Ireland were connected with the family of St. Thomas of Canterbury, and that, as his kin, they used when in London to stay, as of right, in the Hospital of St. Thomas of Acons at the end of Cheapside which adjoins the Poultry—the present Mercers' Hall and undoubted site of the house of Gilbert Beket, the saint's father. Is it possible that this tradition has arisen from the proximity of Sir Ralph Butler's (Botiller) house and a possible visit of an Earl of Ormonde to him or to his descendants?

on the north and the tenement of William Olyver, grocer, afterwards that of William Chicheley, on the south. A shop which once belonged to Robert Blund, alderman of London, in the time of King John yielded 12d. a year.

St. Stephen in Wallebrook (Walbrook) comes next. Here one tenement yielded 6s. It adjoined the great mansion of John Whytingham, draper and alderman, "but now he is a knight and now the place is empty and serves as a garden and is enclosed by a stone wall beside the king's way of Wallebrook with a great gate made in the aforesaid wall, which are of the fee of the hospital."¹

Turning west again Cok comes to *St. Mary Aldermary*. Here the hospital had of the gift of William of Augre a great tenement yielding 20s. a year in Atheling Street (now Watling Street). Percival Pott, the famous surgeon, lived in this street, and it is interesting to find that in very early times two professors of his art dwelt there. Gilbert of Fanchurche, glover, had the house in 1211-12 under a perpetual charter, and was succeeded by Thomas the surgeon (cirurgicus), as appears from his will enrolled 1272-73. His wife Cecilia succeeded, and to her William the surgeon (le surgien), as is shown in the Pondage

¹ Successive tenants: Toni the clerk, Simon of Broughton, William of Haryngton, Adam of Bury, skinner and alderman (1328-9—1337-8—1376-7), William Staundon, grocer (1389-90), William Frenyngham, skinner and alderman (1406-7), John Penn, skinner and alderman (8 Henry VI.), Lady Rosia Caundich, daughter of Adam of Bury—now the aforesaid John Whytingham, who fraudulently acquired the said great tenement with its appurtenances from the said Lady Rosia Caundich in 1449-50.

for 1324-25.¹ The tenant in Cok's time was Geoffrey Boleyn, mercer, who bought the reversion of the term after the death of Margaret Northbury in 1449-50.

The next parish is *Holy Trinity the Less*² in Knightrider Street. Here a house formerly called Ireyhalle yielded 6s. It was in a lane at the west of the church, and was the gift of Ralph Niger, whose son Thomas had lived in it about the reign of Edward I.³

St. Michael at Queenhythe is then mentioned. Here a brewhouse called the Panther on the Hoop, next the corner of Sporelane (Water Lane), was part of a gift to St. Thomas's Hospital made by William Farnham and Matilda of Kersynges⁴ his wife in 1266-67, and paid a quit-rent of 13s. 4d. a year to St. Bartholomew's by the hands of the master of the hospital of St. Thomas the Martyr. A tenement in Thumberheth⁵ yielded a quit-rent of 17s. 8d. Another quit-rent of 4s. came from the land formerly Richard

¹ Then came Thomas of Enefeld, John of Enefeld (1354-55), Richard Northbury (1376-7), Richard of Medeford, Dean of St. Martin's, William Venor (1389-90), Adam Northbury (1412-13), Margery Northbury his wife (1446-7).

² This is preceded by another copy, *De tenementis in Parochia Sancti Pancracii in Soperlane*.

³ Ralph's wife, Juliana Romain, lived there (18 Edward II.), and after her successively John Wantynge (11 Edward III.), John Adryan, John Bakewell.

⁴ Matilda of Kersynges held it in 1280. Then the master of St. Thomas's Hospital (50 Edward III.). Then Thomas Medlane (13 Richard II.), William Rykehill, Justiciar, Thomas atte Wode (6 Henry IV.), "who has ever since held it."

⁵ Held first by the priory of Buttele and afterwards by John Normham. Then by Roger son of John Normham, James Draper, Thomas Tholosan, and Gilbert the chaplain, executors of the will of the said John Normham, and afterwards Augustine of Hadestock.

son of Reiner's formerly of the fee of Ralph de Marci.¹ One other tenement* yielded 2s.

St. Martin in the Vintry is the next parish, and here the hospital had owned a tavern called the Saracens on the Hoop.³ Its quit-rent was 6s. 8d. A charter relating to this, duly sealed, was preserved at St. Saviour's, Bermondsey, and that house received 4s. from the same tavern, and the hospitals of St. James and of St. Giles each 6s. 8d.

St. Michael de Paternoster Church in le Ryole, the next parish, has even at this day a remarkable character owing to its well-proportioned church and the curves of College Street, which owes its name to Whittington's foundation. Here a great tenement⁴ with a quit-rent of 20s. had been held by the famous Richard Whytynghon

¹ It was between the land which Spichaverbene held, and the head of Manniun Lane, as appears in a charter of William of Plessey in the time of King Richard I. It was opposite the church on the Thames side. Alan Balun afterwards held it and after him Juliana his wife.

² Held successively by Joan Dureme, Nicholas le Sergeaunt, Nicholas of Balesham, Robert Doget, Hugh of Hormedesworth, Roger of Hormedesworth, Hugh son of Richard of Hormedesworth (11 Edward III.).

³ Robert Doget, son and heir of Roger Doget in Bowe Lane, held part of this, which was in the parish of St. Michael Paternoster. It was one tenement in two parishes.

Robert Doget granted it to Luke of Batencourt, citizen of London (53 Henry III.). After him it was held by John son of William le Mazelmer, citizen of London, and Isabella his wife, and Simon, son of Milo of Winton and Rose his wife (18 Edward I.), and then by Robert of Eskot, then Robert Gunthorp, then Sara Gunthorp (18 Edward II.), then Bartholomew of Gunthorp, then William Gauger (11 Edward III.), then John Cosyn, citizen and grocer of London (2 Henry V.), then Thomas Vyrley (26 Henry VI.).

⁴ It had belonged to the Countess of Oxford: afterwards to Richard Wyrhale (18 Edward II.), then to his son Richard, then to William Pykerell (11 Edward III.), John Talbote (12 Edward III.), John Stodeye (30 Edward III.), Nicholas Brambill (42 Edward III. and 50 Edward III. and 8 Richard II.); then Baldwin Bereford, and then Richard Whytynghon acquired it.

from 1396-97, and afterwards by his executors¹ in 1424-25.

All Hallows super Solarium was in Tems (Thames) Street, and here Nicholas Bat, in his will made in 1258, left all his holdings to the hospital. One house in Wolsyes Lane² or Basynges Lane, with five chambers below, let for 53s. 4d. The rent of another house³ was 56s. 8d., of a third⁴ 53s. 4d., of a fourth⁵ 26s. 8d. Another was let to Thomas Joly, goldsmith, for 56s. 8d., and two others for 16s. 8d.⁶ and 36s. 8d.⁷ John Langford⁸ rented a chamber for 10s., and William Lymenour one above it for 6s. 8d. A tenement with a close called the Tymberhawe⁹ was let for 40s., and one other¹⁰ for 26s. 8d.

All Hallows of Hay Wharf (All Hallows the Great), also in Thames Street, contained a tenement¹¹ with a quay in Wendegoose Lane, yielding to the hospital a quit-rent of 10s. 4d., out of which 6d. was paid to the king by the hands of the sheriffs.

Turning up from the river, Cok next comes to *St. Swithun in Candelwyk Street* (Cannon Street). Here

¹ John Coventre, alderman; John Carpenter, clerk; and William Grove. After them John Wayneforde, alderman, held it (27 Henry VI.). Here a leaf seems cut out, but Cok writes: "Nota quod ista folio scissa fuit in prima factura huius libri."

² Let to John Felton, junior, fuller. ³ To Thomas Hamme.

⁴ To Richard Golle, joiner.

⁵ To William Noote, dyer.

⁶ To Thomas Wayte.

⁷ To Thomas Cobbe, formerly to John Strugge.

⁸ Formerly let to John Lokyngton. ⁹ To Richard Walfray, carpenter.

¹⁰ Formerly to Edmund Talworthe and now to John Botyller, skinner.

¹¹ Held by Thomas Box, then Christina his wife, then her executors, Richard of Wendelesworthe and William Hardell, then John Preston (29 Edward I.), then Reginald Aylesbury.

William Batt had given a tenement¹ in Gover Lane, "now called," says Cok, "Bushe Lane near London Stone." Its quit-rent was 10s., paid by the Wardens of the goods of the Fraternity of Salve Regina of the Church of St. Magnus on London Bridge.

St. Mary Abbechurch in Candelwyk Street comes next. Here a brewhouse called The Bell on the Hoop² yielded a quit-rent of 26s. 8d., and another tenement³ 5s.

In *St. Laurence of Pulteney* (Pountney) a quit-rent of 16s. came from a tenement in Candlewyk Street, held by the executors of John of Normham.⁴

In *St. Michael in Croked Lane* a quit-rent of 8d. came from a house in Candelwyk Street,⁵ and a tenement

¹ It was of the fee of the Hospital granted by a perpetual charter to William Halyngebury, buriller (Henry III.), and afterwards held by Peter Angerre, Thomas of Walden, Simon Beton, Agnes Beton, Walter Beton (11 Edward III.), Isabella Botyller (50 Edward III.), and then the wardens above mentioned.

² Held successively by Roger Young (Henry III.), Henry Young, John Wynton (11 Edward III.), Thomas Perle and the Fraternity of Holy Trinity (30 Edward III.), John Prentys (50 Edward III. and 8 Richard II. and 13 Richard II.), Symon Ingram, linen-draper (22 Richard II.), John Broun, linen-draper (1 Henry IV.), Symon Wynchecombe and John Melcheborn, John Melcheborn, and John Creek, who obtained royal licence to incorporate these tenements as a perpetual chantry. The quit-rent was then paid by John Walle, chaplain of the chantry (9 Henry V. and 22 Henry VI.), "since (29 Henry VI.), John Wallyngton, the chaplain, pays it."

³ Formerly that of Saer, son of Henry, and afterwards of his executors, Godfrey, chaplain of Colechurch and Ranulph Blund, goldsmith.

⁴ Thomas, son of John of Mallynges, was its owner, from whom it was held by Richard of Winton, brother of Herbert of Winton, before it came to John of Normham. His executors were John son of Roger of Normham, James Draper, Thomas Tholosan, and Gilbert, chaplain.

⁵ Formerly held by Robert son of Godard the tailor. Afterwards by William the tailor of Sandon, then by Derica, plumbhar, then by Benedict le plommer, then by William Brekendon, then by the Prior of the New Hospital outside Bishopsgate (11 Edward III. and 4 Richard II.).

called the Star at the corner of Croked Lane¹ yielded 2s. a year.

St. Margaret in Brygges Street yielded one quit-rent of 16s., the gift of Geoffrey Verhunde in the time of King John, but 2s. had to be paid from it to the church of St. Margaret and 16d. to the priory of St. Mary beyond the bridge.

Cok continues along the river to *St. Magnus on London Bridge*, where a shop called the Castle on the Hoop² yielded a quit-rent of 12d.

St. Mary atte Hulle (at Hill) yielded a quit-rent of 10s. from a tenement opposite Billingsgate.⁴

St. Dunstan's in the East near the Tower of London is the next parish mentioned. Here the George on the Hoop⁵ in Thames Street yielded 6s. 8d., paid by the

¹ Held successively by Walter the plommer, Amice le plommer, John plommer, Alice Jordan, Thomas Jordan son of Alice, Avise Jordan (18 Edward II.), Walter le beuer, then his relict (11 Edward III.), William Walworthe esquier (10 Henry VI.).

² Granted by a perpetual charter to Ralph of Stanys (24 Henry III.). Then held by Richard of Stanys, canon of St. Paul's, and then by his executors, Geoffrey of Stanys and John of Derenes, canons of St. Paul's, John of London and Thomas of Paxton, chaplains (15 Edward I.), then John Bachiller, fishmonger, then Dionisia his relict (18 Edward II.), then Richard Pyfre, then Richard Dobell (11 Edward III.), then John Wyrhale, then William Byce, ironmonger (50 Edward III. and 8 and 20 Richard II.), then Hugh Shorte and Hugh Rybrede, then John Walworth, vintner.

The land lay between that of German the mercer on the north and that of Jordan son of Jordan Sperling on the south.

³ Symon Orpedman, his wife, William Sowrles, Robert Sowrles, and Alexander Pyke (18 Edward II.), Robert Strulle successively held it.

⁴ Robert of Middleton, clerk, William of Fynchyngfeld (24 Edward I.), Gilbert the goldsmith, Richard Wethirmonger, John Jordan, William of Hackney, Symon of Hackney, a chaplain of the same officiating in the church (18 Edward II.), Robert of Hackney (11 Edward III.), were successive tenants.

⁵ Thomas de la Wye, clerk, Geoffrey of Chesewyk, Elisra his relict, Gilbert of Chesewyck and John of Chesewyck, executors of Geoffrey (2 Edward I.), William of Combe (8 Edward I.), Lecia his relict, John Combe, John Laurence, Robert Hardell, Ralph Treyer, Martin Boxe, William Boxe (11 Edward III.), William Seward, Andrew

rentar of the Fraternity of the Mercers. A tenement at the Watergate¹ had a quit-rent of 2s., and one which had belonged to Reiner the hostage, as shown in a charter of William Munfichet, yielded 12s. a year.

All Hallows of Berkyngechurch (Barking) *by the Tower*, of which a parish church remains, comes next. A tenement in Marte (Mark) Lane had been recently rebuilt and coloured red. It was part of the fee of the hospital,² and yielded a quit-rent of 6s. 8d. Another tenement in Marte Lane yielded 4s. It was held in remote times by Osbert Faber and Godith his wife, as appears, says Cok, in charters of Alice, daughter of Alulph son of Fromund.

Following the course of Mark Lane, Cok reaches the parish of *All Hallows Stanyngchurch*, where a brew-house called the White Hind on the Hoop, at the east corner of Mynchynne Lane (Mincing) end in Fannechurch (Fenchurch) Street, was held by the Abbot of St. Mary of Graces³ next the Tower, and paid a quit-

Turk, Gosselin atte Cleve (50 Edward III.), Thomas atte Cleve (8 Richard II.), Thomas Polle, Henry Terewyn (10 Henry IV.), John Cheyham, goldsmith (9 Henry V.), Joan his wife (8 Henry VI.), were successive tenants. Then the executors of Richard Whytyngton acquired it for the endowment of the college of the said Richard; "since their demise it belongs to the Fraternity of Mercers."

¹ Robert of Lynton, Adam of Blakenaye (3 Edward I.), Stephen of Blakeney, Thomas of Colyngeham (18 Edward II.), Nicholas Mowe, Hugh Baudre, Matilda Boleyn, Maurice Torgeys (11 Edward III.), were its tenants.

² It was granted by a perpetual charter to Walter of Fulborn, cutter (29 Henry III.), and subsequent tenants were Roger of Grassechurche, Roger of Northrene, John Goldyngton, Cecilia atte Moor, John of Codyngton, Robert Flambard (11 Edward III.), John Barbor, William Assheford, brewer (1 Richard II.), John Amoriamoria and his heir, then Nicholas Spyce (13 Richard II.), Clement Spyce (14 Henry IV.), William Sevenoke, alderman (9 Henry V. and 8 Henry VI.).

³ Symon of Larder, citizen of London, and Joan his wife (6 Edward I.), Thomas of

rent of 4s. Simon of Sudbury, Bishop of London, had appropriated this rectory to the abbey in 1367, and this probably led to the occupation of the tenement by the abbot after Adam Franceys, who was there in 1388-89.

Turning into the heart of the city, Cok comes to *St. Peter on Cornhill*. Here a brewhouse in Cornhill called the Bole on the Hoop¹ was part of the fee of the hospital, given by Albreda, the wife of Roger de la Hale. It was let to Katerine, wife of Bartholomew Seeman, goldbeater, in 1451-52 at a quit-rent of 13s. 4d., and 1½d. was paid thence for socage to the Bishop of London on Easter eve. The Eagle on the Hoop in Grassechurche (Gracechurch) Street was given by William the chaplain, son of Albric of Hertford, in the reign of Henry III., and was part of the fee of the hospital. It was left by Thomas Kent² to found a charity for ever in the church of St. Michael in Cornhill, but afterwards by "Master John Wakering, and by the

St. Laurence (8 Edward I.), Richard le Ken and Cristina his wife (1 Edward II.), Ralph Hardell, Robert Hardell, Margery de la Vyne, Roger atte Vyne, Andrew Horne, Walter Cok (11 Edward III.), Adam Fraunceys (12 Richard II.) held it before the Abbot.

¹ It was granted in the reign of King John to Robert Blund, fruiterer. After him it was occupied successively by Ralph le Tapesser, Thomas Luda and Margery his wife (28 Edward I.), Thomas son of Thomas of Luda, Walter le Porter, Robert Mustell (18 Edward II.), Walter of Bletyngeley (11 Edward III.), Thomas Roper, Peter Shepeye (50 Edward III.), Anne Shepeye, William Badby (19 Richard II.), William Allyngton, Bartholomew Seeman (9 Henry V.).

² Let to Adam of Bradegar and Matilda his wife in 1250. Afterwards to Henry called le Bole by a perpetual charter (10 Edward I.), to John le Bole, Henry Bustard, John Bustard (11 Edward III.). Then recovered "per brevem de gavilecto" (30 Edward III.), against Richard of Worstede. Then let to James Gurnay, cherman, and Isabella his wife, and afterwards to Edmund Malynges (31 Edward III.), Sir Reginald Malyns, knight (50 Edward III.), and then to William Crouche, and after him to Thomas Kent.

assiduous solicitation of Brother John Cok, then rentar of the hospital, was recovered, as appears in a composition made between the master of the hospital and the wardens of the goods of the Fraternity of St. Michael in the twenty-fourth year of Henry VI." The wardens paid every Christmas 30s., and 1½d. was paid on Easter eve to the Bishop of London for socage.

St. Margaret Lothbury is next recorded. Here a tenement given by Peter le Couverterer¹ in the time of Henry III. yielded a quit-rent of 12d. The Brigge house : on Walbrook had been given by Catherine, daughter of Robert of Basyng, in 1227-28, and paid 8s. by the hands of the churchwardens of St. Margaret's. A tenement also given by Peter le Couverterer, opposite the south porch of the church, yielded 12s. It was let to John atte Wode³ in 1416-17, "and Thomas Holgyle deceitfully acquired the said tenement from his heir John atte Wode, a lunatic, and who afterwards, owing to the deceit of the aforesaid Thomas, died in great misery

¹ Granted by a perpetual charter to William Toteham (Henry III.), afterwards held by William le Bukeler, then by Roger of Eure (2 Edward III.), afterwards recovered "per brevem de gavilleto" (11 Edward III.), then granted by a perpetual charter to Stephen Page, cultellar (12 Edward III.), and then to John.

² Granted by a perpetual charter to Peter Pykerell (Henry III.), afterwards held successively by Gregory Lorymer, Robert Trigge, Isabella his wife, Robert Pyper, Stephen Page (9 Edward III.), John Borer, Thomas Rotor, Henry Hooper (13 Richard II.), Symon Gurney (12 Henry IV.). "Afterwards and now it belongs to the church of St. Margaret."

³ Before him it was let to Roger of Eure and Christina his wife (3 Edward I.), Henry le Batour, Robert of Kent, wiredrawer, Stephen le Cotiller (5 Edward I.), Roger Eure, Thomas Byrche (8 Edward II.), William Syward, Thomas at Wode (13 Edward III.), Alice his wife (22 Richard II., 8 Henry IV.).

and poverty." John Usher, founder, dwelt in this tenement for many years.

Another tenement¹ yielded 6d. quit-rent. The rent is not given of a third² which stood between the bridge house on the east and the garden of William Hervy of Holborn on the west, adjoining on the south the garden of Isabella of Kyngeston, and on the north the shop of Agnes of Iklyngeham.

The next parish mentioned is *St. Christopher in Bradstreet* (Broad) *at the Stocks*, which the Bank of England has now absorbed. A large tenement here was the gift of Richard, chaplain of the church of St. Christopher, in the fourteenth year of King John (1212-13). It was later divided into three shops called the Three Nuns, and its quit-rent was 32s. This tenement³ was situate between the church and a big house belonging to the Carthusians of the House of the Salutation of the Mother of God, in which Thomas Cok, alderman, dwelt. A small parcel of land near the churchyard was also part of Richard's gift, and yielded 2s. quit-rent.⁴

¹ William Bevin formerly held it; afterwards Peter son of Alan, as appears in his will. Then John son of Peter son of Alan (1265). Then Godwyn le Upholder. Then John of Essex (11 Edward III.).

² The house measured 14 feet in breadth and 25 feet in length, as appears in a charter (1 Richard II.) granted to Thomas atte Wode by Geoffrey Walpole.

³ The successive tenants were Geoffrey of Wyburn, goldsmith (18 Henry III.), Alice his wife, William Wyburn his son. Ranulph le Feron acquired from him this large tenement with a garden and three shops (34 Henry III.), and still held it (44 Henry III.). After him William Hauteyn (24 Edward I.), John Hauteyn (11 Edward III.), John Wodehous (50 Edward III. and 8 Richard II.), William Wodehous, otherwise called Power, and his wife Margery (14 Henry IV.), Thomas Dyer, pannar, by right of his wife (9 Henry V.), Richard Nordon, pannar by right of his wife (4 Henry VI.), John Beck, citizen and grocer, and Isabella his wife, who dwelt there (37 Henry VI.).

⁴ The rector of the church was the tenant.

St. Bartholomew the Little in Broad Street, the next parish, contained a tenement given by Katherine, daughter of Robert of Basyng, in 1227-28 (12 Henry III.), yielding a quit-rent of 13s. 4d., from which 5s. had to be paid to the canons of St. Osyth.

The parish of *St. Peter in Broad Street*, next the Augustinian Friars, had a tenement given by Katherine, daughter of Robert Basyng, in 1227-28 (12 Henry III.), which yielded 14s. a year.¹ The brewhouse called the Cok on the Hoop² yielded 7s., paid by the prior of the Augustinian Friars at Easter. The Abbot of Ramsey received 5s. from the same tenement, the nuns of Stratford 2s., and the new hospital outside Bishopsgate 2s.

Cok had now reached the far side of the City and the parish of *St. Ethelburga within Bishopsgate*. Here was the ancient gift of Robert son of Peter and Rosia his wife, daughter of Reginald Viel,³ one part of which yielded 12s., another⁴ 7s., a third⁵ 5s., and a

¹ Walter Valator, carpenter, lately dwelt there.

² Successively held by Nicholas le coferer (28 Edward I.), John of Reygate, James the goldsmith, John the goldsmith, William of Saunford (18 Edward II.), Alexander le Coferer, his relict, Richard le Coferer, the Augustinian Friars.

³ Richard of Compes held it in the reign of King John. In the time of William the master it was granted by a perpetual charter to James son of Richard of Algate.

⁴ A parcel of this holding was acquired by John Whyghtfyshe, and was held successively by John the girdler, William of Stamford, John Stevyn, John of Southfolke, Nicholas Punge, Laurence Ware (50 Edward III. and 8 Richard II.), John Eglishale and Agnes his wife, William Bernard, who married this Agnes when a widow, this Agnes who survived him (1 Henry VI.), John Tewkysbury, goldsmith, and Agnes his wife, daughter of the before mentioned Agnes Bernard, with Joan, sister of Agnes Tewkysbury.

⁵ This third part consisted of a shop in the east corner of the lane as it goes towards the Pappey within the wall of London. This was held by William of Byashoppisgate and Megucer (51 Henry III.), and afterwards successively by John Marescall, Symon Dolett, and William Fitz Piers, Nicholas of Refham (11 Edward II. and 18 Edward II. and 2

fourth 7s.¹ A tenement given by Agnes Flael² yielded 16d. The Lamp on the Hoop,³ a great tenement of the fee of the hospital, yielded 4s. less 1½d. socage due at Easter eve to the Bishop of London; but Cok thought ill of James Brampton, its tenant of 1437-38, and describes him as "counterfete gentilman and nevir thrifte." The corner tavern⁴ at Horne opposite Bishopsgate was of the fee of the hospital, and had a quit-rent of 2s.

Following the line of the City wall, Cok comes to *All Hallows on the Wall*. Here in the time of Richard I. Christina, wife of Robert the coppersmith,⁵ gave a tene-

Edward III.), William Todenham (50 Edward III.), Sir Adam Fraunceys, knight (8 Richard II. and 13 Henry IV. and 1 Henry VI.), Sir William Portour, knight, and Sir Thomas Charleton, knight, who were married to the two daughters of Adam Fraunceys. These knights divided the property, "and this part came to Sir William Portour, and is now held by Lady Agnes Portour, daughter of Adam Fraunceys."

¹ This part of the land of Gilbert Marescall was held successively by John Marescall (11 Edward II.), John Whyghtfyshe, John Stevyn, Edmund of Suthfolke, Gunnor of Suthfolke, William of Stamford, Nicholas Punge (11 Edward III.), Laurence of Ware (50 Edward III.), John Eglishale, William Bernard in right of his wife, John Tewkysbury in right of his wife, William Fayrfield, fisher, in right of his wife (34 Henry VI.) "and now John Styward."

² It was once held by Ralph le kyeur, as appears in the charter of Agnes, and after her by Rose her daughter.

³ Granted by perpetual charter to Nicholas of Southfolke, swinedriver, in the reign of Henry III., and after him successively by Bartholomew the cook, Roger Huberd and Juliana his wife (48 Edward III.), Matilda Balsam (49 Edward III. and 2 Richard II.), Richard Willeden, cooper (8 Richard II.), William Brampton, fishmonger and alderman (13 Richard II. and 5 Henry IV.), James Brampton, son of the aforesaid William (9 Henry V. and 12 Henry VI.), "in which tenement Richard Davy, sergaunt, then dwelt," James Brampton (16 Henry VI.), John Mersshe, Chandler (29 Henry VI.), and now John Stywarde, Chandler (36 Henry VI.).

⁴ Held successively by Robert Leuveyse, baker (time of Henry III.), Hugh le Wolfe, Robert, cook, Nicholas Punge (11 Edward III.), Laurence of Ware (1 Richard II.), his son-in-law, by right of his wife (13 Richard II.), John Eglishale and Agnes his wife, William Bernard and the same Agnes his wife (1 Henry VI.), John Tewkisbury and Agnes his wife, daughter of Agnes Bernard, otherwise Eglishale (5 Henry VI.), Agnes Tewkisbury (29 Henry VI.).

⁵ Granted by a perpetual charter to Nicholas of Cokfeld, serjeant of the king

ment opposite the wall of London now yielding 10s., less 1½d. to the Bishop of London for socage, 12d. to the church of All Saints, and 13d. to the prioress of the nuns of St. Helen's.

St. Augustine of Pappey was another parish on the wall. Here was the gift of Jordan son of Saiat¹ in the reign of John, which returned 4s. a year, less 10d. to the canons of St. Paul's.

St. Botulph outside Bishopsgate is the last parish of the circuit. Here was the gift of 5s. a year of Henry Fitz Ailwin,² the first Mayor of London. Some land of the fee of the hospital³ yielded 2s. The land given in the reign of Henry III. by William Fraunceys was held by the prior of the new hospital of St. Mary outside Bishopsgate, who paid a quit-rent of 3s.⁴ A great brewhouse⁵ opposite St. Botulph's Church was

(31 Edward I.), afterwards held successively by John le Coroner, Roger Crook, Symon of Parys, Peter of Parys (11 Edward III.), John Gowarby (26 Edward III.), Gilbert of Purveys (50 Edward III. and 8 Richard II.), Richard Hertington (22 Richard II.), William Olyver, grocer, of London (6 Henry V.), Richard Fulmer, serjeant of the church of St. Paul (12 Henry VI.), John Burveyn, brewer (29 Henry VI.).

¹ Afterwards held successively by Ralph le coverturer, Isabel his wife, Cecilia their daughter and Walter her son.

² Afterwards held by William Haverberg.

³ Granted by a perpetual charter to Robert of Kingeston in the time of Henry III. Afterwards held successively by Stephen Gardener, William le Gardinere, William Priour (11 Edward III.).

⁴ It had been granted by a perpetual charter to Nicholas Batte (33 Henry III.), and after him was held by Nicholas le Convers.

⁵ It was let to Henry le lymbrenner (25 Henry III.), and after him to Colestre of Walethon, Thomas Polle and Matilda his wife (48 Henry III.), John Geryn, John his son (18 Edward II.), Robert Geryn, John Brydde (11 Edward III.), John Curteis (50 Edward III. and 8 Richard II.), Hugh Kendale, Richard Cook, Robert Lincoln, master of the hospital of the Blessed Mary of Bethleem (20 Richard II.), John Byssshop, Richard Rilly (8 Henry IV.), John Aspilon (1 Henry V.), Katherine his wife (9 Henry V.), John Berd, porter of the Counter (8 Henry VI.), John Danyel of Edelmeton (20 Henry VI.),

given by Emma de Solis, wife of John de Solis, and was of the fee of the hospital. Its rent was 30s. 8d. The Helme on the Hoop¹ in Bishopsgate Street yielded 16s.

The Stone house in Bishopsgate Street was let to Nicholas Punge and Katherine his wife for a thousand years from the feast of St. Laurence 1358, at 12d. a year. It was occupied in 1376-77 by John Cambridge, lately chamberlain of the Guildhall of London. At the end of this long summary Cok has written in Latin: "Written by Brother John Cok A.D. 1456, and in the thirty-fifth year of his profession."

Cok next wrote a calendar in alphabetical order of all the rents within the city and its suburbs, followed by a calendar of the rents arising outside the city. The names of places are first given in alphabetical order, and then in counties. The two lists do not agree, since the alphabetical list contains twenty-three names not in the county list, and that has nine names not in the alphabetical list. The difference is perhaps partly due to the fact that the county list gives parishes and the alphabetical sometimes the names of the lands. The charters relating to each place are copied in full, but lists of tenants are not given, nor are the rents stated.

who rebuilt the tenement, Joan his wife (29 Henry VI.). A later hand has added: "Afterwards Henry Jordan (2 Edward IV.), Barnewell, Simon Monford, who married Barnewell's widow (8 Henry VII.)." This Simon was afterwards beheaded for treason, and the tenement fell into the king's hands. Afterwards Robert Wygmespole, as heir of Henry Jordan, recovered it from the hands of the king (17 Henry VII.).

¹ Held by Thomas Brounyng (4 Edward I.), Peter of Pomfrete, Walter of Bedfounte (18 Edward II.), Thomas Brewer.

It seems likely that most of them were paid in kind. The county list shows that there were estates in eight parishes of Middlesex : viz. St. Giles outside Cripplegate, St. Pancras, Hackney, Edmonton, Enfield, Hendon, Tottenham, and South Mymmes. In St. Giles outside Cripplegate there were three separate pieces of land : Walloksbern of 16 acres, Nommanesland of half an acre, and in Old Street 14 acres. In earlier times the second of these had been larger, and the half acre was what remained after the land on which he founded the Charterhouse had been sold to Sir Walter Manny. In St. Pancras the holding of Aleynesbury consisted of 60 acres, with a share in three acres of meadow. In Hendon, next Goldherd mill, 9 acres, and a messuage near the rectory. There were also three farms, Rokoltes, Clederhouse, and Vynce. The estate at Tottenham was Dokettes.

In Essex the hospital had lands in fourteen parishes : Aveley (Alvydeley), Dounton, Downham, Fobbing, Hatfield Regis, Horndon, Langdon, Ramsden (Ramesdene), Rainham (Reynham), Runwell, Thurrock (Turrock), Wakering, Wodeham Walter (Water), and Wykeford.

In Hertfordshire there were three estates—at Puttenham, Stondon, and Stortford.

In Buckinghamshire the hospital had land at Dachett, in Oxfordshire at Hethe, in Northamptonshire at Wolaston, and in Somerset at Hinton St. George.

In Lincolnshire six places are mentioned in the

country list, but only the first in the alphabetical summary. The hospital lands were in Boston, Boturwyke, Fryston, Heydon in Holderness, Wybурton, and Wilton.

The Cartulary contains no record of furniture or other domestic property of the hospital, except the books mentioned in the list of masters in the paragraph describing John Wakering. Later evidence proves that there were many beautiful vestments and sufficient church plate, and there seems to have been a library. A passage in Stow shows that they had one beautiful book. He says: "Sir John Wakering, priest, Mayster of this house, in the year 1463, amongst other books gaue to their common Library the fayrest Bible, that I haue seene, written in large velame, by a brother of the house named John Coke, at the age of 68 years, when he had been priest 43 yeares. Since the spoyle of that Library I haue seene this booke in the custody of my worshipfull frend M. Walter Cope."¹ This book cannot have been the Cartulary, for that has always remained in the hospital, nor is it likely that at the age of sixty-eight Cok should have written another large book, when his hand, as he himself says, was tremulous, and his health becoming feeble. Cok's fame as a scribe may well have survived in the hospital, and thus Stow may have associated him with a manuscript belonging to the hospital which was not the work of his hand: no other

¹ Stow (ed. Kingsford), ii. 23.

than the splendid copy of Pope Gregory's Decretals¹ now in the British Museum. Within it is written "Liber Domus Sancti Bartholomei in Smythfelde," a phrase which might apply to either the hospital or the priory, but which is not incompatible with the interpretation above given of Stow's personal observation.

This book is written in one clear hand throughout. At the base of each page are paintings showing great variety of subject and illustrating the costume of Shirley and Markby and their contemporaries the other inhabitants of St. Bartholomew's, with their occupations and their amusements. The history of Joseph is shown in one series of pictures, in another that of Samson. Knights with full housings are tilting as they used in Smithfield, and receive the reward of valour from a queen of love and beauty with towering head-dress. Shirley, no doubt, read Chaucer and Lydgate, but in his day, as in ours, lighter reading was also in fashion, and the illuminations show how familiar people were with the history of Reynard the Fox. There is one long story of a knight-errant who meets with all the proper adventures, combats a dragon, releases a fair lady, slays a giant, carries the giant's head on a spear, and is rewarded at a splendid castle by a crowned king. The Knight of La Mancha could not have wished for more. He would have delighted to have the book in his library, and the curate and the barber would never have been so wanting in taste as to

¹ Brit. Mus., 10 E, vi.

cast it forth, as some one did from our library in the reign of King Henry VIII.

The Cartulary contains a document of the reign of Henry VII. which mentions John Cok. It is a letter written in 1492-3:—

“To the prior of Seynte Bartholemewes Hospitall
Anno Octavo Henrici septimi.

“Sheweth unto youre Masterschip that Where one William Pemberton paied to the house or hospitall of Seynte Bartholomewe seven shillings for a voyde plotte of grounde lyyng in Puttynham sumetyme housed payyeth ii d for an acre medue xiiii hedens ii thranes of wete and ii thranes of hard corne which he never had nor perceyved nor hys ffader be fore hym but the saide ii d. of mony and the acre medue the whiche seven shillings the saide William and his fader payed unto the tyme ove Sir John Wakeryng Prior of the house of Seynte Bartholomews commaundid hym to bryng to london his indentures and there Chargid and commaundid his Chapeleyne Sir John Cokke that he shulde not aske nor perceyve of the saide William his heyres nor executours the saide seven shillings nor no parcell there of unto the tyme that the Contrary he had in commaundement.”¹

It brings before us Farmer Pemberton's recollection of how he and his father had stood in the presence of the master of St. Bartholomew's Hospital and of John

¹ *Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, f. 567a.

Cok with the indentures on the table, and how the master had addressed his decision on the question of the rent to Cok. This is the last glimpse of the living presence in St. Bartholomew's of John Cok, who so faithfully recorded and guarded the mediæval property of the hospital.

XIII

THE END OF THE OLD ORDER



JOHN NEDEHAM, in whose election John Cok had taken part, continued to hold office till his death at the end of 1470. An indenture between him and Sir Thomas Coke, knight, as to certain arrears of rent proceeding from the Bridgehouse and the houses adjoining it, opposite the church of St. Margaret Lothbury, is dated April 3, 1469.¹ He died December 29, 1470, during the short restoration of King Henry VI.,² and

¹ Vniuersis christi fidelibus ad quos hoc presens scriptum indentatum factum inter Johannem Nedeham Magistrum Hospitalis Sancti Bartholomei in Westmythfeld Londoniarum ex una parte et Thomam Coke militem ex parte altera peruenerit. Pateat manifeste quod cum idem Magister de feodo ac de iure habere et percipere debeat sibi et successoribus suis ut in iure Hospitalis predicti diuersos redditus subscriptos exeuntes et annuatim percipiendos de diuersis tenementis subscriptis prefati Thome et aliorum secum feoffatorum ad eius usum videlicet Octo solidos annui et quieti redditus exeuntis de quodam tenemento cum suis pertinenciis vocatur le Bryggehouz situato in parochia Sancte Margarete de Lothbury Londoniarum ex opposito Ecclesie Sancte Margarete predictae ac duodecim denarios annui et quieti redditus exeuntis de quodam alio tenemento situato ex parte orientali tenementi vocati le Bryggehouz et eidem annexo. Necnon duodecim solidos annui et quieti redditus exeuntis de quodam alio tenemento cum pertinenciis situato ex parte occidentali predicti tenementi vocati le Bryggehouz et eidem annexo. Prefatus Johannes Nedeham die date presencium recepit de prefato Thoma xxi solidos in plenam solucionem et contentacionem omnium arreragiorum reddituum predictorum separatim ut predictum est soluendorum eidem Magistro ante datam presencium debitorum. De quibus quidem xxi solidis arreragiorum Idem magister fatetur se fore solutum et satisfactum per presentes. In cuius rei testimonium partes predictae sigilla sua huic presenti scripto indentato alternatim apposuerunt. Datum in crastino festi Pasche : anno regni regia Edwardi quarti nono.

² October 9, 1470, to April 14, 1471.

was buried in the chapel of the Holy Cross with the inscription :¹

John vir honoratus jacet hic Nedham tumultus,
 Qui prudens gratus justus fuit et moderatus.
 Fratribus ille suis fuerat præ quatuor annis,
 Quem mors crudelis 29 que Decembris.
 M. C. quater Domini septem simul X numerandi,
 Cuius spiritui sint cœli gaudia regni.

WILLIAM KNYGHT was the next master, and held office till 1473. An indenture of the eleventh year of Edward IV. is extant, in which he agrees with Richard Lacey, rector of the church of St. Nicholas Coldabbey, and with Richard Marchall and John Whitebrede, wardens of the goods and ornaments of that church, to accept four pounds in full solution of the arrears of an annual rent of twenty-five shillings from a house in the parish aforesaid which William Waleys, fishmonger, then inhabited; and of an annual rent of twenty-six shillings and fourpence from another house, in which Thomas Cryket, fishmonger, lived at the time.

In another indenture, dated October 7, 1472, WILLIAM KNYGHT agreed to receive five shillings sterling from Thomas Appultrefeld, gentleman, son and heir of Thomas Appultrefeld, gentleman, for all arrears of rent from certain tenements next the Horsepool in Westsmithfield in the parish of St. Sepulchre. This tenement was situate between a tenement belonging

¹ Stow (ed. 1633), p. 416.

to the church of St. Sepulchre, in which John Broune, gentleman, then dwelt, on the north side, and the king's street called Cow-lane on the south side, and it abutted upon the tenement of the Prior of Sempringham on the west and the king's street on the east.¹

Knight died in the following year on July 15, and was buried in the chapel of the Holy Cross, where his tomb bore the inscription :²

The fourteen hundred yere of our Lord Seventy *and Three* ;
 Passyd Sir William Knyght to God Almightye
 The fifteenth day of July : Master of this Place.
 Jesu for his Mercy rejoice him with his Grace.

JOHN BARTON was the next master. On May 9, 1485,

¹ Hec indentura facta inter Willelmum knyght magistrum Hospitalis sancti Bartholomei in Westmythfelde londoniarum et eiusdem loci confratres ex parte vna Ac Thomam Appultrefeld Gentilman filium et heredem Thome Appultrefeld Gentilman ex altera parte testatur quod predicti magister et confratres receperunt et habuerunt die confectionis presencium de prefato Thoma filio quinque solidos sterlingorum in plenam solucionem et contentacionem omnium et singulorum areragiorum cuiusdam annalis redditus quinque solidorum de iure exeuntis de quibusdam tenementis cum pertinentiis modo eiusdem Thome filii situatis et iacentibus iuxta le Horspole in Westmythfelde in parochia sancti Sepulchri in Suburbia londoniarum que quidem tenementa cum pertinentiis iacent et situantur inter tenementum pertinens Ecclesie sancti Sepulchri predictae in quo Johannes Broune Gentilman modo inhabitat ex parte boriali et viam regiam vocatam Cowlane ex parte australi et abutatur super tenementum Prioris de Sempringham versus occidentem et viam regiam versus Orientem de quo quidem redditu iidem magister et confratres in Jure hospitalis predicti seisisiti existunt in dominico suo ut de feodo ac annuatim habere et percipere debent ipsique et predecessores sui in iure hospitalis predicti annuatim percipere consueverunt exeuntem de et in tenementis predictis cum pertinentiis modo prefati Thome filii De quibus quidem quinque solidis iidem Magister et confratres fatentur se fore solutos et contentatos dictumque Thomam Appultrefeld de eisdem quinque solidis ac de omnibus aliis areragiis redditus predicti a retro existentibus non solutis die datorum presencium penitus fore quietos et exoneratos per presentes. In cuius rei testimonium partes predictae sigilla suo presentibus indenturis alternatim apposuerunt. Datum septimo die mensis Octobris Anno regni Regis Edwardi quarti post conquestum Duodecimo.

² Stow (ed. 1633), p. 416.

Barton and the brethren received from James Fryse, in physic doctor, forty shillings sterling for all arrears from an annual rent of sixteen shillings, coming from a tenement formerly held by Henry Bamme, citizen and goldsmith, and Alice his wife, and before that by Dionysius of Brokewode, and lately by Ellesmere, which, to a time to the contrary of which the memory of man goeth not, always paid a rent to the master and brethren.

Dr. James Fryse's seal, apparently of a signet ring, bears a plant with a seed-vessel somewhat like a poppy capsule.¹ This is perhaps the earliest example of the lease of a house to a physician in London.

THOMAS CREWKER, a priest, was elected master in 1487. In June 30 in that year CREWKER and the brethren received from Milo Adys, goldsmith, twenty-

¹ Hec indentura facta inter Johannem Barton magistrum hospitalis sancti Bartholomei in Westsmythfeld londonarium et eiusdem loci Confratres ex una parte et magistrum Jacobum Fryse in physico doctorem ex altra parte testatur quod predicti Magister et Confratres receperunt et habuerunt die data presencium de predicto magistro Jacobo quadraginta solidos sterlingorum in plenam solucionem et contentacionem omnium arreragiorum a retro existentium a principio mundi vsque festum Natiuitatis sancti Johannis Baptiste proxime futurum post datam presentium de quodam annuali redditu sexdecim solidorum exeunte de certis tenementis quondam Henrici Bamme ciuis et aurifabri London' et Alicie vxoris eius et antea Dionisii de Brokewode et nuper

Ellemere de quo quidem annuali redditu predicti magister et Confratres seisiti existunt in dominico suo vt de feodo vt in jure hospitalis predicti ipsique et predecessores sui inde seisiti fuerunt ac habere et percipere consueuerunt in jure hospitalis predicti a tempore cuius contrarium in memoria hominum non existit separatim exeuntem de tenementis predictis de quibus quidem quadraginta solidis arreragiorum reddituum predictorum iidem magister et Confratres fatentur se fore solutos et contentatos. Dictumque magistrum Jacobum heredes et executores suos de eisdem arreragiis ac de omnibus aliis arreragiis reddituum predictorum aretro existentibus non solutis si que fuerunt ante datam presencium penitus fore quietos per presentes. In cuius rei testimonium tam sigillum predictorum Magistri et confratrum quam sigillum dicti magistri Jacobi presentibus indenturis alternati sunt appensa. Datum nono die mensis Maii Anno regni Regis Ricardi tercii post conquestum secundo.

six shillings and eight pence for arrears of an annual quit-rent of thirteen shillings and four pence, arising from a tenement with shops in St. Vedast Lane in the parish of St. John Zachary, which had been held by Milo and by John Adys, his father, before him.¹ Crewker the master and Richard Wanton, one of the brethren, were executors of the will of Anna Whetnall, proved September 3, 1493, by which she left four pounds to the sisters of the hospital.

On January 16, 1495, THOMAS CREWKER, master of the hospital, made an indenture with Thomas Alderton, gentleman, and Joan his wife, formerly wife of John Lemyngton, citizen and wodemonger of London, and before that wife of Thomas Warner, citizen and sadler, and William Warner her son, agreeing to receive six pounds for arrears of rent for two tenements, with quay and wharf called the Watergate, which were formerly

¹ Omnibus christi fidelibus ad quos hoc presens scriptum indentatum pervenerit Thomas Crewker Magister Hospitalis Sancti Bartholomei in Westmythfeld in Suburbis Civitatis Londoniarum et eiusdem loci Confratres Salutem in domino. Noueritis nos prefatum Magistrum et Confratres recepisse et habuisse die confectionis presentem de Milone Adys Aurifabro viginti sex solidos et octo denarios sterlingorum nobis debitos tam de quieto redditu Tresdecim solidorum et quatuor denariorum annuatim exeunte de quodam magno tenemento cum Shopis et suis pertinenciis dicti Milonis Adys et nuper Johannis Adys patris dicti Milonis situato in vanella Sancti Vedaasti in parochia Sancti Johannis zakarie Londoniarum quam in plenam solucionem omnium et singulorum arreragiorum eiusdem quieti redditus ante datam presencium nobis debitorum De quibus quidem Viginti sex solidis et octo denariis sterlingorum fatemur nos fore solutos dictumque Milonem Adys heredes et executores suos inde esse quietos per presentes. In cuius rei testimonium uni parti huius Scripti indentati penes prefatum Milonem Adys remanenti nos predicti Magister et Confratres Sigillum nostrum quo vtimur in hac parte apposuimus: Alteri vero parti eiusdem Scripti indentati penes nos residentem predictus Milo Adys Sigillum suum apposuit. Datum in Crastino Natiuitatis Sancti Johannis Baptiste Anno regni regis Henrici Septimi post conquestum Anglie secundo.

held by Hugh of Windsor in the parish of St. Andrew Castelle Baynard. These tenements were situate on the Thames on the west, and were bounded on the north by a lane and a tenement called the Christopher, and on the south by the Thames. The master and brethren had received an annual rent from these from a time of which the contrary did not exist in the memory of man.¹

In a deed of Thomas Champneys,² gentleman, dated

¹ Three small seals in red wax are appended bearing respectively an M, a crowned R, and a P.

² Omnibus Christi fidelibus ad quos presens Scriptum pervenerit Thomas Champneys Gentilman Salutem in Domino Sempiternam. Noueritis me prefatum Thomam remississe relaxasse et omnino pro me et heredibus meis imperpetuum quietumclamasse Thome Stokys Gentilman, Margarete vxori eius, Nicholao Mattok, Roberto Blagge et Willelmo Paver in sua plena et pacifica possessione existent' heredibus et assignatis suis. Jus meum statum titulum clamum interesse et demand' que unquam habeo habui seu quouismodo aliquo Jure vel titulo in futuro habere potero de et in toto illo tenemento cum Gardino adiacente et omnibus suis pertinenciis situata in venella vocata Cowlane in parochia Sancti Sepulcri in Warda de Faryngdon extra in Suburbis Londoniarum: Videlicet inter Tenementum Magistri et Confratrum Hospitalis Sancti Bartholomei in Westsmythfeld in Suburbis predictis ex parte australi et Tenementum pertinens ad lumen Sancte Crucis in ecclesia Sancti Sepulcri predicta ex parte Boriali et extendit se a venella predicta versus Occidentem vsque ad Gardinum predictorum Magistri et Confratrum versus Orientem. Quod quidem Tenementum cum Gardino adiacente et ceteris suis pertinenciis ego prefatus Thomas Champneys nuper coniunctim habui simul cum Waltero Rawletson Ciue et Vinetario Londoniarum et Agnete uxore eius ac Roberto Vyntener Capellano iam defuncto ex tradicionem dimissione liberacione et carte confirmacione Johannis Byrchold, Plummer; Roberti Smyth, Brownebaker; et Johannis Rutter, Armurer; ciuium Londoniarum. Ita videlicet quod nec Ego predictus Thomas Champneys nec heredes mei nec aliquis nostrum per se nec aliquis alius pro nobis seu nomine nostro aut alterius nostrum aliquid iuris titulum vel clamei in predicto tenemento cum Gardino adiacente et omnibus suis pertinenciis nec in aliqua inde parcella de cetero exigere clamare vel vendiciare poterimus nec debemus in futuro. Set ab omni accione Juris tituli vel clamei inde exigendi totaliter simus exclusi et precludamur imperpetuum per presentes. In cuius rei testimonium huic presenti Scripto meo Sigillum meum apposui. Datum Vicesimo sexto die mensis Aprilis Anno regni regis Henrici septimi post conquestum anglie quarto decimo.

On the folded margin is written "actum per me Thomam Champneys" clearly in that gentleman's hand. His small round seal bears a flower, and is not armorial.

April 26, 1499, the hospital garden is mentioned. His land intervened between it and Cow-lane. His surname has since become famous in the world of medicine and at St. Bartholomew's, where that distinguished Oxonian, Sir Francis Champneys, will long be remembered as a teacher of the part of medicine of which he rose to be the head in London, and also as a learned and admirable musician who benefited the school of St. Bartholomew's by encouraging the practice of music there.

On September 1, 1504, THOMAS CREWKER, master of the hospital of St. Bartholomew, granted to Thomas Stokes, gentleman, for ninety-seven years, tenements lately rebuilt by him in Cowbridge Street, between a tenement of his and a garden of the master and brethren. They measured at the north end in length east to west 62 feet $5\frac{1}{2}$ thumbs of the thumb of assise, and at the south end east to west 59 feet 11 thumbs, and in breadth at each end $56\frac{1}{2}$ feet of assise. The rent was to be twenty-three shillings and four pence a year, and Stokes affixed his seal in the presence of the chapter.

Crewker was cited to Convocation¹ as master of the hospital in 1509. Another event of his life is mentioned in the records of the Star Chamber. One Robert Lilburne assaulted him, and wounded him to the point of death. When brought before the

¹ Bishop of London's Register: Fitz-James, f. 10; copy of extract kindly given to me by Mr. E. A. Webb.

Star Chamber, Lilburne said Crewker had attacked him, but Crewker proved this was not true.¹ Crewker held office till his death in that year.

After the death of the late master had been duly notified on August 6, 1510, the Mass of the Holy Spirit was celebrated at the high altar in the chapel of the Holy Cross, and the licence of the Prior of St. Bartholomew's for the election of a master was read to the chapter of the hospital. The hymn "Veni Creator Spiritus" was then sung, and the election began. ROBERT BAYLEY was elected forthwith "per viam Spiritus Sancti." Brother Hugh Beryngton was directed to commit the result of the election to writing. The "Te Deum Laudamus" was sung, and two of the brethren conducted the new master to the high altar, and he was then brought to his chamber in the hospital.

Two proctors were nominated who led the master to Prior Bolton in the priory. The prior presented the master to the vicar-general of the Bishop of London, who confirmed him in his office. The master then took the oath of canonical obedience, and a mandate was issued to the prior to instal and induct him. Robert Bayley let a shop at the corner of the Little Bailey in the parish of St. Martin Ludgate for ten years from July 14, 1514.

¹ Star Chamber, Henry VIII. vol. iii. ; Wriothesley's Chronicle (Camden).

² Fitz-James, f. 15; copy of extract kindly given to me by Mr. E. A. Webb.

While Bayley was master Richard Lye, Abbot of Shrewsbury, died in London while attending Parliament in March 1512, and was buried in the hospital. The brass which was upon his tomb has disappeared, but the words of its inscription have been preserved.¹ Bayley died April 23, 1516.

RICHARD SMYTH then became master. An indenture of his, dated September 21, 1520, with Hugh Hatton, brewer, is an interesting example of the English of its time.² Smyth died February 20, 1525.

¹ Hic jacet Dominus Richardus Lye quondam Abbas Salopiæ qui sua industria sumptibus magnis et suis laboribus Deo suadente recuperavit libertates suæ ecclesiæ Salopiæ prædictæ et postea obiit die Martis tempore Parliamenti anno Domini mdxii cuius anime propicietur Deus

² This indenture made betwene Maister Richard Smyth Maister of Thospitall of Seint Bartilmewe in Westsmythfelde in the subarbes of london And the Cobrethern of the same place on that oon partie And Hugh Hatton of Seint Johns strete in the Countie of Middelsex Bruer on that other partie witnesseth that the seid Maister and Cobrethern of oon assent and consent have dymysed graunted and letten to fferme unto the seid Hugh their two tenementes with thappurtenaunces sett and beyng in Seint Johns strete aforeseid betwene the tenement Brewhous called the Elmes belongyng vnto the pryor and Couent of the Charterhous next London on the northe partie, And the tenement belongyng to thospitall of Seint Johns Jerusalem in England now in the tenure of Robert Butler otherwyse called plomer on the south partie To haue and to holde alle the seid two tenementes with thappurtenaunces vnto the seid Hugh his executors and assignes from the ffeest of seint Mighell tharchaungell now next comyng after the date of these presentes vnto thende and terme of xliii yeres than next ensuyng and fully to be completed and fulfilled: yeldyng and paying therfore yerely duryng the seid terme: vnto the seid Maister and Cobrethern and to their Successours xxvi s. viii d. sterlinges: at foure termes of the yere that is to wete atte ffeestes of the natiuite of our lord god Annunciacion of our lady natiuite of seint John Baptist and seint Mighell tharchaungell by evyn porcions. And the seid Hugh his executors and assignes alle the seid two tenementes with thapper-tenances in alle thynges and by alle thynges except principall Tymbre and except alle reparacions of a shedde fixed with iron vnto the fore seid tenement Bruehous called the Elmes wele and competently shall at their own propre costes and charges repaire susteyne and mayntene and ayenst wynde and rayne shall make defencible duryng alle the seid terme of xliii yeres. Alle whiche seid pryncipall Tymbre and alle the reparacions of the shedde the seid Maister and Cobrethern and their successors at their charges shall fynde as often as nede shall requyre duryng the same terme And the seid Hugh his executors and Assignes shall from tyme to tyme bere alle the charges of the werkmanship of alle

Bolton, the prior whose rebus is still to be seen on a panel of his chamber projecting into the church of St. Bartholomew the Great, acting under the agreements between the hospital and the priory, gave the brethren leave to elect a master. Two brethren were absent from the chapter of the hospital when it was assembled. Those present decided to proceed by delegation, and appointed Cardinal Wolsey to nominate a master.¹ Wolsey had been chaplain to Sir Richard Nanfan,² deputy of Calais, who was his earliest patron, and it seems possible that the Cardinal's first knowledge of St. Bartholomew's was through Crewker the master, executor of Nanfan's widow,³ Margaret, in 1510, Wolsey having been executor of Sir Richard in 1507.

suche principall Tymbre And the seid Maister and Cobrethern and their successors at their owne costes and charges shall bere and pay almaner quyte rentes due and to be due and goyng out and paide of and for the seid two tenementes with thappurtenaunces during alle the seid terme of xliii yeres And yf it happen the said yerely rent of of [sic] xxvi s. viii d. to be behynde vnpaide in parte or in alle by the space of a quarter of a yere ouere or after any terme of payment thereof aboueseid yf it be lafully asked Than it shalbe leefull vnto the seid Maister and Cobrethern and to their successours into alle the seid two tenementes with thappurtenaunces holly to reentre And them as in their former Astate to haue ayene reteyn and repossede And the seid Hugh his executours and Assignes therof vtterly to expell ammove and putt out this indenture into the contrary in anywyse notwithstanding And the seid Maister and Cobrethern and their successours alle the foresaid two tenementes with thappurtenaunces for the yerely rent aforeseid and vnder the couenauntes aboue rehersed to the seid Hugh Hatton his executours and Assignes ayenst almaner persones shall warrunt & defende duryng alle the seid terme of xliii yeres by this indenture. In witnesse wherof aswell the Comen Seale of the seid Maister and Cobrethern as the Seale of the seid Hugh Hatton to these indentures interchaungeably besett, yoven in the Chapitrehous of the seid Maister and Cobrethern the xxi day of Septembre the yere of our lord god Mⁱ v^o and xx And the xiith yere of the Raigne of Kyng Henry the viiith.

¹ Tunstall, f. 80. Mr. Webb's copy.

² Cavendish, "Life of Wolsey" (ed. Singer), London, 1827, p. 70.

³ R. Wills P.C.C. Reg., Bennett, No. xxvii. Mr. Webb's copy.

Wolsey was then making arrangements for the foundation of colleges,

“Those twins of learning, that he rais’d in you,
Ipswich and Oxford,”

and contemplated the dissolution of the Cluniac priory of Daventry so as to apply its revenues to these foundations. With a view to providing for the Prior of Daventry, who had been in office there since 1515, he nominated ALEXANDER COLYNS, that prior, to the mastership of St. Bartholomew’s, and granted him a dispensation to leave the order of St. Benedict and enter that of St. Austin.

Daventry Priory, founded by Hugh of Leicester, Sheriff of Northamptonshire, was a more ancient foundation than St. Bartholomew’s Hospital by a little more than forty years. The income of St. Bartholomew’s was more than half as large again as that of Daventry. Colyns was probably glad to leave the priory, as the inhabitants of Daventry had brought actions against him for disturbance of certain commons of pasture, and he had had to take proceedings against a Richard Samell as to arrears of rent, trespass on lands, and destruction of furze.¹

It must have been pleasant to a religious man to leave these distractions behind, and to end his days in

¹ Dugdale, “*Monasticon*,” v. 178.

the useful work of St. Bartholomew's. Colyns died January 15, 1528.¹

EDWARD STAPLE, afterwards Bishop of Meath, was the next master, and was also nominated by Wolsey. He was a royal chaplain, who, after taking degrees at both Cambridge and Oxford, had been made a canon of Cardinal College, as Christ Church was then called, and who on March 7, 1528, had been presented to the prebend of Wyginton in the collegiate church of Tamworth.² In July 1528 he was put into possession of the mastership of the hospital after election and confirmation, in accordance with Wolsey's letter and the King's pleasure signified to Tunstall, Bishop of London. He then resigned his canonry of Wyginton.³ Soon after this he was made Bishop of Meath,⁴ as is shown by an original indenture, dated December 12, 1529. It is between "the reverend father in God EDWARDE, by the devine sofferance of God Bishop of Methe and Master of the howse or hospytall of Saint Bartilmew in West Smythfelde in London and the bretherne of the same place and Thomas Cok of Prytwell in the countie of Essex, yoman of the garde to our soueraigne lorde the kynge." It let to Thomas Cok "all their marche londes meadowes and pastures called Shernewarde, in the parisshe of Little Wakerynge in the countie of Essex, from the

¹ Dugdale, "Monasticon," vi. 626.

² Calendar of State Papers; Henry VIII., vol iv., pt. ii. No. 4124.

³ *Ibidem*, No. 4489.

⁴ Thus before 1530, the date stated in Dict. Nat. Biog.

ffeast of St. Mighell last for ffoure score and nyntene yeres, for 12d. sterling at the ffeast of Seintmighell the archangell," and is dated "the xii day December in the xxi yere of the Reigne of Kynge Henry the VIIIth." The deed is signed Thomas Cokke, but his seal, except a small fragment, is gone.

The Bishop of Meath resigned the mastership July 1, 1532. Most of the rest of his life was spent in Ireland, in gradually increasing unhappiness. He desired to maintain the mass, but advocated the royal supremacy. Staple urged Henry to assume the title of King of Ireland, as he did in 1541. Thus the words "Hiberniæ rex," on the coins of the realm contain, for those who know history, a memorial of this episcopal master of St. Bartholomew's. He adopted more of the views and usages of the reforming party after the death of Henry VIII., and early in Edward VI.'s reign took a wife. He proclaimed Queen Mary in August 1553, but was deprived of his see June 29, 1554, when married bishops were once more esteemed disreputable. He lingered in Meath, and when Elizabeth ascended the throne asked for reinstatement, but he did not receive it, and died obscure and neglected about 1560.

On September 18, 1532, the hospital obtained leave to elect a master from Prior Fuller of St. Bartholomew's. The chapter of the hospital met, brother John Chewney presiding. In addition there were present Brothers Thomas Hyckling, James Collyns, Thomas Rutte, and

John ap Rhyse. Brothers Thomas Norman, John Jackson, and John Staple were absent. Those present decided to proceed by the method of compromise ("per viam compromissi") and empowered Richard Gwent, doctor of divinity, to choose for them. On September 26, 1532, he appointed John Brereton, chaplain to the king, to the mastership.¹

On June 25, 1534, this JOHN BRERETON, doctor of laws, master of the hospital, and three of the brethren, John Chewny, Richard Lemyng, and Thomas Hyclyng acknowledged the royal supremacy and professed absolute faith and obedience to "our Lord King Henry VIII. and to Anna, his dear wife, the queen, and to her offspring."² An impression of the eagle gem appears for the last time on the back of the seal of red wax attached to the document in which this acknowledgment is made. It was "given in our chapter house the twenty-fifth day of the month of June in the year of Christ 1534."

JOHN BRERETON, on July 20, 1535, "for that Robert Chydly hath afore this time given his counsel to us in and about the business of the said hospital, and for his counsel hereafter to be given, granted that during his life he shall be discharged of the payment of 13s. 4d. yearly, part of the rent of £3 for their tenement within the hospital which Edward Staple, Bishop

¹ Bishop of London's Register (Stokesley), f. 66. Copy kindly lent me by Mr. Webb.

² Original in Public Record Office.

of Meth in Ireland, late master of the hospital, in a deed of January 10, 1530, had granted to the said Robert Chydley, gentleman, and Elizabeth his wife." The document is signed "Per me Robertum Chydley," and thus preserves the signature of a man who saw the hospital in its old guise, and continued to live within it till 1580. Brereton had obtained a papal bull authorising him to hold several preferments; and in view of the fact that the hospital needed money, being in debt and its buildings out of repair, he received a pardon for obtaining this bull, in letters patent from the king in 1532-33.

In 1535 the hospital estate was valued. Dugdale states that the annual income was £305, 6s. 7d., and Speed that it was £371, 13s. 2d. St. Bartholomew's was then the third hospital in London in order of wealth. The hospital founded by Henry VII. in the Savoy seems to have been the richest at this period. It was valued at £529, 5s. 7½d. The New Hospital of Our Lady outside Bishopsgate had the next largest endowment in London. Its income was £478, 6s. 6d. The fourth in wealth was the hospital of St. Thomas, valued at £347, 3s. 4d., and the fifth the hospital of St. Mary in the parish of Aldermanbury, of which the annual value was £193, 15s. 5d.

The Act of Dissolution was passed in 1536, and the property of the hospital was given into the king's hands in 1537. The site was not sold, nor were the buildings destroyed. Some of the inmates lingered where they

were, unwilling or unable to move, and were supported by the casual alms of the charitable ; but the old order, which had existed for more than four hundred years, was at an end, and the hospital was in the eye of the law vacant and altogether destitute of a master, and of all fellows or brethren.

Ruined or dismantled buildings soon became common throughout the realm, and many ancient foundations were then or soon after utterly abolished. Those brethren of St. Bartholomew's who did not join with Brereton in his acknowledgment of the royal supremacy must have looked with grief on the events of the times, and it is easy to imagine them wandering through London and the surrounding country filled with sadness at what they saw of the many homes of devotion, of charity, and of learning with which in the past centuries their beloved hospital had had transactions. As they came out of the Smithfield gate and looked towards the priory where the body of Rahere still rested, they may have recalled the events of the life of their common founder, and the relations between the hospital and the priory from his death to their own time ; the charter of Prior Thomas which established their independence ; the ordinances of Bishops Richard of Ely, Eustace of Falconberg, Simon of Sudbury, and Richard Clifford, which maintained and protected it ; and the long series of papal bulls and royal charters on which those ordinances were based.

The departing brethren would naturally think of other houses of their order and of the most ancient Augustinian foundation in London, the priory of Holy Trinity, in whose church was the tomb of the common benefactor of that priory and of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, Henry FitzAilwin, the first Mayor of London. The fire in the great hall, which they had made up for the last time before leaving the hospital, was at one time supplied with fuel by an agreement between JOHN WAKERYNG, master of the hospital, and JOHN SEVENOK, the prior of Holy Trinity, dated June 18, 1441. The English of the indenture was not obsolete in Henry VIII.'s reign, and may help us to imagine the speech of the brethren among themselves as they lingered outside the hospital in Smithfield:—

“This indenture maad bitwene John Sevenok Priour of the hous of the Holy Trinete cleped Crychirch within Algate of London and the Covent of the same place on that oon partie and John Wakeryng maistre of the Hospitall of Seint Bartholmewe in Westsmythfeld of London on that other partie Witnesseth that the said priour and covent for a certeyn somme of money to hem in hand paied of oon assent and consent have graunted and sold to the said maister all the trees wode and underwode beyng stondyng and growyng in and upon all the heggerowes of the said Priour and Covent in the parissch of Seint Pancrace in the feld in

the counte of Middlesex hereaftir written and in the closures and Bordures of the same heggerowes that is to say the heggerowe bitwene the grete wode and Hathfeld East and west and the heggerowe set bitwene the same Hathfeld and Hampsted wode North and south and the heggerowe bitwene Hathfeld and Huntfeld East and west and also all the Trees wode and underwode set stondyng beyng and growyng upon 2 acres wode aftir the measure of þe woderodde lying in the grete wode strecchyng to the boundes of Gilbertes croftes except and reserved to the said Priour and Covent resonable storers To have to the said Maister and his Successours and to their assignees all the said Trees wode and vnderwode except before except for to hew and felle in all tymes couenable and to carie away with fre entre and issue by weyes necessarie and profitable as wele for men as for hors cartes and all other necessities and also to hewe tymbre and do all other avayles vpon the said groundes without eny impediment of the said Priour and Covent or their successours or of eny other for theyme or in their name from the feste of the nativite of Seint John the Baptist next comyng after the date of this Endenture vnto the fest of Easter that shall be in the yere of our lorde Jesu Criste M'CCCC xliiiith. And the said Maistre and his successours shall close or do close competently the said heggerowes for savyng of the springe. And it shall be lefull to the same Maistre and to his successours and to their

assignees to ordeyn and make in place necessarie and convenyent a Gate with lok and key therto and therewith to doo their fre will at all tymes. And the said Priour and Covent and their Successours all the said Trees wode and vnderwode except before except for to hewe and fell in tymes covenable and to carie awaye to gider with fre entre and issue by weyes necessarie and profitable in maner and fourme abouesaid to the said Maistre and his successours and to their assignees ayenst all men shall warant and defende for all the terme abouesaid. In witnesse whereof to that oon partie of this endenture remaynyng towards the said Maister the foresaid Priour and Covent have put to their commune seall. And to that other partie of the same endenture remaynyng with the said Priour and Covent the said Maister hath put to his seall Yoven at London the 18th day of Juyn the yere of our Lorde Mⁱ CCCC xli and the yere of the reigne of kyng Henry the sext after the conqueste the 19th."

The "oon partie of this endenture remaynyng towards the said Maister" is still at St. Bartholomew's, and the seal of the priory of the Holy Trinity,¹ in red wax, remains attached to it by a broad vellum tag.

¹ Another charter at St. Bartholomew's of the early part of the thirteenth century mentions this priory. It is a grant from John, son of Godard of Edmonton, to John de Solio, of land in the parish of St. Botulf without Bishopsgate:—

Sciant presentes et futuri Quod Ego Johannes Filius Godardi de Edelmetune Concessi et dimisi et presenti carta mea confirmaui Johanni de Solio Totam illam terram meam que est In Parochia Sancti Botulfi extra Bissopesgate ex opposito ipsius ecclesie

Looking to the other side of Smithfield, the brethren would remember the two Augustinian houses which had long held land there. One, the ABBEY OF ST. MARY PRE at Leicester, was founded in the last year of Rahere's life. The dispossessed brethren might have seen the fine circular seal of this abbey in their muniment room affixed to one part of an indenture,¹

uersus orientem. Que uidelicet terra est inter terram Galfridi Aldermanni de | Cornhulle et terram Canonicorum ecclesie Sancte Trinitatis de Londoniis. Scilicet quicquid in illa terra habui in lignis et lapidibus in longitudine et latitudine et in rebus | cunctis. Habendam et tenendam predicto Johanni de Solio et heredibus suis de me et de heredibus meis In feodo et hereditate libere quiete Integre finabiliter. Reddendo | Inde annuatim michi et heredibus meis pro omnibus serviciis et exactionibus et pro omnibus rebus Duodecim solidos esterlingorum ad quatuor terminos anni. Scilicet Infra Octabas Natalis | domini tres solidos Et infra Octabas Pasche tres solidos Et infra Octabas Natiuitatis Sancti Johannis Baptiste tres solidos. Et infra octo dies festi Sci Michaelis tres solidos sine omni oc- | -casione et forisfactura. Preterea sciendum est quod nec Ego Johannes predictus nec heredes mei poterimus dehospitari predictum Johannem de Solio nec heredes suos causa me uel here- | -des meos siue aliquem alium hominem uel feminam in illa terra hospitandi. Hanc autem terram predictam in longitudine et latitudine et in rebus cunctis Ego | Johannes filius Godardi prenominatus et heredes mei finabiliter warantizabimus prenominato Johanni de Solio et heredibus suis contra omnes homines et feminas et de omnibus | seruiciis uersus capitales dominos fundi finabiliter acquietabimus per predictum seruicium scilicet per duodecim solidos esterlingorum terminis statutis soluendos. Pro hac igitur Concessione | et dimissione et warantizone et acquietatione et presentis carte mée confirmatione prenominatus Johannes de Solio dedit michi Decem marcas argenti In Ger | sumam. Hiis testibus: Benedicto presbitero de Sancto Botulfo; Johanne filio Danielis: Widwino Stamere: Willelmo Basset: Godardo Wanertio: Willelmo Wanertio: Juone peuce- | -nerio: Willelmo Cuuerturario: Herberto Cuuerturario: Rogero Cuuerturario: Galfrido Cuuerturario: Ricardo Cuuerturario: Johanne clerico.

¹ —'INDENTURE—

Omnibus Christi fidelibus hoc scriptum inspecturis: Magister et fratres hospitalis Sancti Bartholomei de Smethefeld Londoniarum salutem in domino sempiternam. Cum nos Magister et fratres predicti teneamur Abbati et Conuentui Leycestrie in quodam reddito seruicii viginti solidorum per annum exeunte de quodam tenemento cum pertinenciis suis in parochia ecclesie Sancti Sepulcri extra Newgate Londoniarum quod quidem tenementum vocatur le Irnedore ex parte boreali eiusdem ecclesie situm et quod tenementum est de feodo dictorum Abbatis et Conuentus: noueritis nos vnanimi consensu concessisse pro nobis et successoribus nostris dictis Abbati et Conuentui et eorum successoribus quod quandocunque dictus redditus in parte uel in toto ad quemcunque terminum aretro fuerit: liceat eisdem Abbati et Conuentui et eorum successoribus et

and as they talked of the abbey would call to mind¹ the terrible storm which swept over England on St. Andrew's Eve 1530, the day of the death at St. Mary Pre of the famous cardinal who had nominated two successive masters of St. Bartholomew's. Perhaps they had heard from some one of the abbey the story of Wolsey's arrival there, of which his faithful attendant Cavendish was an eye-witness :

"And being night before we came to the abbey of Leicester, where at his coming in at the gates the abbot of the place with all his convent met him with the light of many torches, whom they right honourably received with great reverence. To whom my lord said, 'Father Abbot, I am come hither to leave my bones among you.'" The abbey church, in which his bones were buried, is no more, so that we do not know whether they are still protected by

"A little earth for charity,"

as he asked. He probably felt kindly towards St. Bartholomew's, and has a claim on the friendly recollec-

eorum attornato qui pro tempore fuerit tam in illis duobus tenementis nostris inter dictum tenementum quod vocatur le Irnedore et Cimiterium dicte ecclesie Sancti Sepulcri situatis quam in eodem tenemento quod vocatur le Irnedore pro voluntate sua distringere et districciones abducere et retinere quousque eisdem Abbati et Conuentui et eorum successoribus per nos et successores nostros de dicto redditu et eius arreragiis plenarie fuerit satisfactum. In cuius rei testimonium huic scripto indentato sigillum nostrum commune est appensum. Hiis testibus, Simone de Swanlond tunc maiore Londoniarum : Hugone de Waltham : Roberto de Manefeld : Willelmo de Luhteburgh : Willelmo Vikory : et aliis. Datum Londoñ die sabati proxima ante festum sancti Marci Ewangeliiste Anno regni regis Edwardi tercii post conquestum quarto.

¹ "Quo die ventus quasi Gehennalis tunc fere per totam Angliam accidebat." Cavendish, "Life of Wolsey" (ed. S. W. Singer), London, 1827, p. 393, note.

tion of physicians since he aided the foundation of their college.

The other Augustinian house which held land in St. Sepulchre's parish was the priory of Kenilworth, founded the year before St. Bartholomew's Hospital. Its great circular seal, bearing a representation of the Norman church of Kenilworth, with a figure of our Lady in front of it, might also have been seen by the brethren among their carefully preserved documents.

It is appended to a charter of Thomas¹ (of Wormynton), the prior who granted at Kenilworth on September 24, 1330, to William of Stowe, clerk, our benefactor, rents and lands in Smithfield in the parish of St. Sepulchre outside Newgate. The first three witnesses of the grant are Symon of Swanlonde, then mayor, John of Gysors and Nicholas of Farndon, then sheriffs.

Many charters of abbeys and priories have already been quoted in this history. A few others which the departing brethren left behind them deserve mention.

¹ Sciant presentes et futuri quod Nos frater Thomas Prior de Kenilleworth et eiusdem loci Conuentus vnanimi | assensu et voluntate nostra dedimus concessimus et hac presenti Carta nostra confirmauimus domino Willelmo de Stowe clerico | domos, edificia, redditus et omnia alia tenementa nostra cum omnibus suis pertinenciis que habuimus in Smethefelde in parochia | Sancti Sepulcri extra Neugate Londoniarum sine vllo retenemento. Habenda et tenenda omnia tenementa predicta cum omnibus | suis pertinenciis predicto domino Willelmo heredibus et assignatis suis vel cuicumque ea dare vendere legare vel assignare | voluerit de Capitalibus dominis feodi illius per seruicia inde debita et de iure consueta inperpetuum. In cuius rei testimonium | sigillum nostrum commune huic presenti Carte nostre apposuius. Hiistestibus : Symone de Swanlonde tunc maiore Ci- | -uitatis Londoniarum : Johanne de Gysorz : Nicholao de Farndon : Thomas de Leyre tunc aldremanno eiusdem Ci- | -uitatis : Willelmo de Nouo Castro : Henrico le Hayward : Johanne Milys : et aliis. Datum in Capitulo | nostro apud Kenilleworth die dominica proxima post festum Sancti Mathei Apostoli et Ewangeliste : Anno regni Regis | Edwardi tercii post conquestum Quarto.

A charter of the Augustinian canons of Buttele¹ (Butley) in Suffolk, written in the time of Henry FitzAilwin and witnessed by him, has been printed in the chapter dealing with his period. A charter of the year 1249, of the same convent, relates to property in the same part of London, the parish of St. Nicholas Fleshshambles. PETER, PRIOR OF BUTTELE,² granted to

¹ Vol. I. p. 225.

² Omnibus Christi fidelibus presens scriptum Visuris uel auditoris Petrus diuina permissione Prior | de Buttele et eiusdem loci Conuentus Salutem in domino. Nouerit uniuersitas uestra nos communi assensu et | voluntate tocius Capituli nostri concessisse dimisisse et presenti carta nostra Confirmasse Johanni Norman | Ciui Londoniarum Decem et nouem solidatas annui et quieti redditus et sex denariatas quieti redditus quas | habuimus in Londoniis in parochia Sancti Nicholai apud Macellas: Videlicet Decem solidatas quieti redditus | percipiendis de tenemento cum pertinentiis quod Johannes le Bon mercer tenuit in dicta parochia. Quod quidem tenementum | iacet inter tenementum quod fuit Roberti filii Hugonis aurifabri uersus orientem et uenellam que uocatur Pentecostelane uersus occidentem | Et percipiendas Quinque solidatas quieti redditus et sex denariatas redditus de terra et domibus cum pertinentiis quas Stephanus | le Daneys quandoque tenuit in capite aquilonari predicte uenelle de Pentecostelane. Et eciam percipiendas | quatuor solidatas quieti redditus de toto tenemento cum pertinentiis quod Robertus de Edelmetona aliquando habuit et tenuit | in dicta parochia. Quod uero tenementum iacet inter Cimiterium iam dicte Ecclesie Sancti Nicholai uersus occidentem et dictam uenellam de Pen- | -tecostelane uersus orientem. Scilicet Quicquid in dicto redditu decem et nouem solidorum et sex denariorum et in dictis Tenementis habuimus | uel habere potuimus et debuimus integre sine aliqua diminutione. Habendum et tenendum dicto Johanni Norman et heredibus suis uel | eius assignatis et eorum heredibus de nobis et successoribus nostris in feodo et hereditate libere quiete bene et in pace in perpetuum et perci- | -piendum dictum redditum de predictis tenementis quicumque illa teneant ad duos terminos anni: ad Pascha et ad festum Sancti Michaelis | Reddendo inde annuatim nobis et successoribus nostris duos denarios argenti ad festum sancti Michaelis pro omni seruicio exactione con- | -suetudine demandis et rebus cunctis et sine omni occasione. Ita quod nos predicti prior et conuentus nec successores nostri nec aliquis | per nos uel pro nobis nichil amplius poterimus nec debemus in dicto redditu decem et nouem solidorum et sex denariorum nec in dictis tenementis | decetero exigere nec habere nec clamare in perpetuum quam dictos duos denarios per annum termino statuto. Et ego dictus Prior ecclesie beate | Marie de Buttele et eiusdem loci conuentus et successores nostri warantizabimus defendemus et acquietabimus dictas | decem et nouem solidatas et sex denarios annui et quieti redditus predicto Johanni Norman et heredibus suis uel cuicumque dare | dimittere legare vendere aut assignare uoluerit et heredibus eorum contra omnes homines et feminas christianos et judeos in perpetuum | per predictum seruicium duorum denariorum per annum ut dictum est. Pro hac igitur nostra concessione dimissione

John Norman, citizen of London, nineteen shillings of annual and quit-rent, and sixpence of quit-rent. Ten shillings came from the holding of John le Bon, mercer, which was between the tenement of Robert son of Hugh the goldsmith on the east and the lane called Pentecost Lane on the west: and five shillings of quit-rent and sixpence of rent from the land and houses which Stephen le Daneys formerly held at the north end of Pentecost Lane: as well as four shillings of quit-rent from the whole tenement which Robert of Edelmeton sometime held, which stands between the churchyard of St. Nicholas on the west and Pentecost Lane on the east. They warrant the whole to Norman for a service of twopence a year. He gave them thirteen marks sterling "in gersumam." The oval seal of the priory of Butley, bearing a seated figure of the Virgin and Child, is appended on a vellum tag. Its apposition was witnessed by Roger FitzRoger, then Mayor of London, John le Tholosan and Ralf Hardel, then sheriffs of London, Laurence of Frowic, then alderman, Thomas FitzThomas, and six others. John Norman, to whom

warantisione defensione aquietacione | et huius carte confirmatione dedit nobis dictus Johannes norman Tresdecim Marcas sterlingorum in gersumam. Et ut hec omnia predicta perpetue | firmitatis robur optineant presentem paginam sigillo communi domus nostre roborauimus. Hiis testibus: Domino Rogero filio Rogeri tunc Maiore Londoniarum: Johanne le Tholesan et Radulfo Hardel tunc vicecomitibus londoniarum: Laurencio de frowic tunc Aldermanno: Thoma filio Thome: Johanne le Bon: Gerardo Carnifice: Henrico le Masetr': Rogero Norman: Simone Naucathomer': Gileberto seruiente.

The list shows that it was usual for the word alderman to be added only to the name of the ruling alderman of the ward in which the land was situate. Thomas FitzThomas was certainly an alderman as early as 1246, but not of this ward.

the charter was granted, became Mayor of London in 1250.

Valerian, head of the Augustinian priory of Southwark, is the first witness of a charter in which HUGH DE SCALARIIS¹ grants to Waleran, son of Maileina, all the land between the lands of two of Hugh's tenants in the city of London, Richard priest of the church of St. Mary Magdalene and Geoffrey the smith, at an annual rent of 3s. 9d. Waleran gave to Hugh twelve pence for the grant, and to Luke his dapifer a pound of pepper. The charter seems to belong to the latter half of the twelfth century.

The Augustinian priory of Merton is mentioned in a grant made in the first half of the thirteenth century to St. Bartholomew's Hospital by GEOFFREY FURHURDE²

¹ Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Hugo de Sculariis concessi et dedi et presenti carta mea | confirmaui Waleramo filio Maileine totam terram que est inter terram quam Ricardus sacerdos Ecclesie sancte | Marie Magdalene tenet de me et terram quam Galfridus faber tenet de me : In ciuitate Londoniarum | tenendam de me et heredibus meis ipse et heredes sui imperpetuum et finabiliter : reddendo inde per an- | -num tres solidos et nouem denarios pro omni seruicio et omni consuetudine et exaccione, uidelicet | xxii denarios et obolum in festo sancti Michaelis et xxii denarios et obolum infra octabas pasce. predicta autem terra quam | ego concessi ipsi Waleramo est in parochia Sancte Marie Magdalene. Et pro hac concessione et do- | -nacione Waleramus dedit michi duodecim denarios et Luce Dapifero meo unam libram piperis. | Hiis testibus Valeriano priore de Sudwerc : Willelmo de oxeneforda canonico : Fromundo de | Merleburga canonico : Ricardo capellano sancte Marie Magdalene : Jordano clerico : Alano de fulgeres : | Thoma filio Galfridi : Galfrido Blundo : Willelmo filio Isabel : Alano Oildelarun : Galfrido faber : Willelmo | Bruno : Willelmo filio Edith : et multis aliis.

² Sciant presentes et futuri Quod Ego Galfridus Furhurde dedi et concessi et hac presenti carta mea | confirmaui deo et fratribus sancti bartholomei de londoniis in puram et perpetuam elemosinam duas domus in | parochia sancte Margarete iuxta pontem in briggestrate : Scilicet : domum aquilonem et domum aliam me | diam iuxta capitale mesagium meum : Scilicet iuxta domum in qua ego mansi. Habendas et Tenendas | deo et eisdem fratribus in perpetuum libere et Quiete : in lingnis : in lapidibus : et aliis rebus

of two houses in the parish of St. Margaret next the bridge. His own home was in Bridge Street in this parish. Geoffrey's oval seal bears an Agnus Dei, and on a border the inscription "s. GALFRIDI DE FV.," and the sub-prior of Merton is the first witness of its apposition, and a clerk of the same priory the last.

cunctis. Red- | -dendo annuatim sex solidos pro omni seruicio et exaccione. Scilicet : capitali domino feodi quatuor solidos et Ec- | -clesie sancte Margarete ii solidos. et Ego Galfridus et heredes mei warantizabimus deo | et fratribus predicti hospitalis predictas duas domus per predictum seruicium in perpetuum contra omnes homines | et feminas. et ut hec donacio et concessio et carte mee confirmacio rata sit et stabilis eam sigilli | mei impressione corroboraui. Hiis testibus: Roberto subpriori de meretune: Radulfo sper- | -ling alderman: Ricardo Here: Roberto olbuc: Thoma pischonario: Willelmo gorolf: Ada caunterel: | Helia clerico: Luca clerico: Gileberto clerico de Meretune: et Multis aliis.

HENRY PRIOR OF MERTON and the CONVENT, in a charter of the same period, grant to the executors of the will of Richard of Neketon, goldsmith, for the foundation of a chantry for him in the church of St. Nicholas de Macellis, 6s. 8d. of annual quit-rent which John son of Alan used to pay to them from the land and houses of Roger de Cellario which were between the church on the east and the land of Joce son of Peter on the west. Joce and his son Nicholas are the two first witnesses:—

Omnibus ad quos presens scriptum peruenerit: Henricus Prior Meritone et eiusdem Loci conuentus Salutem in domino. Sciatis nos dimisisse et quietum- | -clamasse pro nobis et successoribus nostris Laurentio capellano: Willelmo de Neketona: Nicholao de Sancto Albano et Thome de Balisham: | executoribus testamenti Ricardi de Neketona aurifabri ad opus vnus capellani in perpetuum diuina celebraturi in ecclesia sancti Nicholai de Ma- | -cellis pro anima eiusdem Ricardi defuncti sex solidatas et octo denariatas annui et quieti redditus quas Johannes filius Alani nobis reddere consue- | -uit de tota terra et domibus superedificatis que fuerunt Rogeri de Cellario: que scilicet terra est in parochia sancti Nicholai de Macellis inter | prefatam ecclesiam sancti Nicholai versus orientem et terram Jocei filii Petri versus occidentem. Quicquid scilicet ibidem habuimus vel habere potuimus | sine aliquo retenemento. Ita quidem quod memoratus capellanus et successores sui in predicto Officio pro tempore ministraturi redditum predictum sex so- | -lidorum et octo denariorum cum pertinenciis habeant et teneant libere et Integre: pacifice et sine vexatione seu Impedimento quantum in nobis est | in perpetuum' solutum videlicet et quietum de omni clamio quod nos in eodem redditu habuimus seu aliquo modo habere potuimus. Et pro hac nostra | dimissione et quieta clamantia dederunt nobis predicti executores sex marcas argenti de denariis predicti Ricardi defuncti. Et ad perpe- | -tuam huius rei securitatem presenti scripto sigillum capituli nostri fecimus apponi. Hiis testibus: Joceo filio Petri tunc Aldermanno: Nicholao | filio eius: Stephano Anketill: Radulfo Heyrun: Roberto Wynter: Willelmo de Beuerlegh: Willelmo de Bengisham: Johanne de Lawe.

The Prior and Convent of NEWENHAM,¹ in the early part of the reign of Henry III., quit-claimed to the brethren and sisters of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, for the sum of ten shillings, twelve pence of annual rent which the brethren used to pay from a tenement in the parish of All Hallows, next the wall of London, which Robert the coppersmith sometime held.

The fine oval seal of the convent bears a figure of its patron St. Paul, and the inscription, ending "Sci Pauli de Bedeford," shows that the seal was brought from Bedford, where this Augustinian convent was first founded.

At Leedes in Kent there was a priory of Augustinian canons founded by Robert de Crepitocorde, and dedicated to St. Mary and St. Nicholas. A document, issued by Thomas its prior,² and sealed with its fine circular seal

¹ Vniuersis Christi fidelibus H. Prior et Conuentus de Neunham Salutem. Nouerit uniuersitas uestra nos concessisse et dimisisse | et quiete clamasse et presenti carta nostra confirmasse fratribus et sororibus Hospitalis sancti Bartholomei Londoniarum de Sme- | -thefeld duodecim denariatas annui redditus quas predicti fratres nobis reddere consueuerunt singulis annis de quodam | tenemento in parochia Omnium sanctorum iuxta murum Londoniarum. Quod tenementum Robertus Copersmith de nobis tenuit. | Et quicquid iuris in eodem tenemento habuimus uel habere potuimus. Habendum et tenendum predictis fratribus in perpetuum | libere : quiete : integre : ab omni seculari seruitio ad nos uel ad successores nostros pertinente : Nos uero predictum redditum | et quietam clamationem duodecim denariorum cum supradicto tenemento prefatis fratribus et sororibus quiete clamauius et | contra omnes homines in perpetuum warantizabimus. Et pro hac concessione : dimissione et quieta clamatione dederunt | nobis predicti fratres et sorores decem solidos sterlingorum. In cuius rei testimonium presenti carte sigillum capituli nostri | apposuimus. Hiis testibus : Ricardo Renger : Rogero le Duk : Jocio filio Petri : Willelmo le Veil : Ricardo marito | filie eius : Henrico le Tailur : Simone Triket : et multis aliis.

² Tenore presencium Nos Thomas miseracione diuina Prior ecclesie Conuentualis siue monasterii de Ledes ordinis sancti Augustini Cantuariensis diocesis et eiusdem loci conuentus notum facimus | Vniuersis quod Religiosus Vir frater Thomas Euesham

on October 10, 1402, records the termination of noviciate and admission to the order of Thomas Evesham, son of Thomas Evesham, a citizen of London, who had died on December 8, 1397. Perhaps the reason that this document is at St. Bartholomew's is that Thomas Evesham afterwards left Leedes and became a member of the hospital society. There is no other sign of connection between the hospital and Leedes Priory, unless Thomas Crewker, our master in the reign of Henry VII., was perhaps a descendant of the Robert Crevecœur or de Crepitocorde who founded Leedes in 1119.

The nearest house of the Benedictine Order to St. Bartholomew's was that of the nuns of Clerkenwell, Sancta Maria de Fonte Clericorum, which was founded at the beginning of the reign of Henry I. Ermengard¹ the prioress has been already mentioned. A charter of ALESIA, a later prioress, in the early part of the thirteenth century, grants to John le Chofrir, goldsmith, land and a house which the nuns possessed in the lane

confrater et concanonicus noster filiusque naturalis et legitimus Thome Euesham ciuis Londoniarum defuncti die octaua mensis Decembris | videlicet in festo conceptionis gloriosissime virginis Marie matris dei Anno domini millesimo ccc^{mo} nonagesimo septimo plene etatis in eodem monasterio nostro tempore quo maior missa ad | summum altare dicti monasterii per bone memorie Emericum Priorem dicti monasterii defunctum fuerat celebrata et coram eo habitum Nouiciorum ipsius monasterii consuetum dimisit et | habitum professorum concanonicorum et confratrum dicti monasterii primo et non ante assumpsit ac insuper ordinem sancti Augustini in dicto monasterio fuit et est expresse professus. | In quorum omnium fidem et testimonium Sigillum nostrum presentibus apposuius. Datum quo ad dicti Sigilli appositionem in domo capitulari dicti monasterii decimo die mensis Decembris Anno domini Millesimo cccc^{mo} secundo.]

¹ Vol. I. p. 216.

of St. Nicholas, Fleshshambles. This land was between that of William of Haverhill on the south and that of Reginald the gold-beater on the north. The rent was to be twenty shillings a year, and John gave the nuns a mark of silver "in gersumam." Alesia used the same large oval seal as Ermengard.¹

The Benedictine nunnery of Haliwell in the east of the city was nearly as old as St. Bartholomew's.

¹ Sciant presentes et futuri Quod Ego Alesia priorissa de clerekenewelle et totus eiusdem loci Conuentus Concessimus et dimisimus et presenti nostra | carta Confirmauimus Johanni le Chofrir aurifabro totam terram cum domo et cum Omnibus pertinenciis suis quam habuimus in venella Sancti | Nicholai apud macellum. Que terra iacet inter terram Willelmi de hauerulla qui fuit uersus austrum et terram Reginaldi le horbatour qui fuit versus boream | scilicet quicquid ibidem habuimus in longitudine et latitudine et in rebus cunctis cum omnibus pertinenciis suis ante et retro integre habendam et | Tenendam dicto Johanni et heredibus suis de nobis et successoribus nostris in feudo et hereditate libere quiete bene et in pace in perpetuum Reddendo inde | annuatim nobis et successoribus nostris pro omni seruicio et exactione et rebus Cunctis viginti solidos esterlingorum ad quatuor anni terminos Scilicet ad | Natiuitatem Sancti Johannis baptiste quinque solidos: ad festum Sancti Michaelis quinque solidos: ad Natiuitatem domini quinque solidos: ad Pascham quinque solidos sine omni occasione et | forisfactura. Et Sciendum est quod nos neque successores nostre ullo modo poterimus nec debemus predictum Johannem nec heredes suos de dicta terra cum pertinenciis | dehospitari causa nos uel aliquem hominem uel feminam ibidem hospitandi nec amplius inde exigere nec habere debemus quam dictos viginti solidos per annum | terminis statutis. Idem eciam Johannes et heredes sui non poterunt nec debent dictam terram cum domo Judeis dare vendere uel inuadiare nec domui | religionibus Conferre sine assensu nostro et si illam vendere uel dimittere voluerint nos erimus propiores omnibus aliis de vno bisanto auri. Idem | eciam Johannes in pleno capitulo nostro tactis sacrosanctis nobis iuravit de hoc tenemento et redditu fidelitatem seruandam: quod posteri eius facere | tenentur. Et nos et successores nostre acquietabimus dictum tenementum dicto Johanni et heredibus suis contra omnes gentes per predictum seruicium | viginti solidorum per annum. Pro hac igitur concessione dimissione et presentis carte nostre Confirmatione Dedit nobis predictus Johannes vnam marcam | argenti in Gersummam. Hiis testibus: Joceo filio Petri tunc aldermanno eiusdem Warde: Henrico filio Willelmi: Ricardo rickeman: Helia | mercatore: Waltero pohte: Ricardo de Nectona: Nicholao de Sancto Albano: Johanne de Oxonia: Galfrido de Frowik: Thoma de Oxonia: | Pentecoste aurifabro: Roberto de Gratona: Willelmo de Kam: Stephano le horbatur: Willelmo horpedman: et Multis aliis.

It seems possible that Pentecost Lane in the Parish of St. Nicholas took its name from this goldsmith.

Its ancient circular seal, with a fine half-length figure of St. John the Baptist and the inscription "Sig. . . . sancti Johannis de Haliwelle," remains attached to a charter in which CHRISTIANA DE KANCIA,¹ Prioress of Haliwell, and the convent grant to Nicholas (Converso), mercer of London, three shillings of quit-rent which he used to pay to them for a place in the parish of St. Nicholas Fleshshambles, in St. Nicholas Lane, between the tenement of John of Northawe on the north, and that of Nicholas, son of Joce, on the south, and a tenement of the Friars Minor on the west, and the lane on the east. Nicholas gave the nuns forty shillings for this grant, which was witnessed by Dominus Walter Hereuy, then Mayor of London, Walter le Poter and John Horn, then sheriffs of London, and Anketin le Averde, then alderman of the ward. The date of the charter is thus known to be 1272.

¹ Omnibus Christi fidelibus presens scriptum visuris uel auditoris Christiana de Kancia priorissa de Halewelle et eiusdem | loci Conuentus salutem in domino sempiternam. Nouerit vniuersitas uestra quod Nos communi assensu et vnanimi consensu totius | Capituli nostri concessimus remisimus et pro nobis et successoribus nostris omnino quietumclamauius Nicholao Conuerso | mercerio Londoniarum tres solidos annui liberi et quieti redditus quos nobis annuatim reddere solebat pro quadam placea terre quam | de nobis tenuit in parochia Sancti Nicholai de Macellis Londoniarum. Que quidem placea est in venella Sancti Nicholai predicti | inter tenementum Johannis de Northawe ex parte Aquilonari et tenementum quod fuit quondam Nicholai filii Jocei ex | parte Australi et tenementum fratrum minorum ex parte Occidentali et predictam venellam ex parte Orientali. Ha- | -bendam et tenendam sibi et heredibus siue assignatis suis libere et quiete iure hereditario imperpetuum. Ita quod nos seu | successores nostri siue aliquis per nos uel pro nobis nichil iuris uel clamii in predictis tribus solidis annui liberi et | quieti redditus de cetero exigere habere capere seu calumpniare possimus. Pro hac autem nostra concessione remissione et qui- | -eta clamacione dedit nobis idem Nicholaus quadraginta solidos sterlingorum pre manibus. Et ut hec omnia premissa firma | et stabilia imperpetuum permaneant presens scriptum sigilli nostri communis munimine duximus corroborandum. Hiis testibus : | Domino Waltero Hereuy tunc Maiore Londoniarum :

The Friars Minors or Franciscans had been established in the ward now called Faringdon Within for about forty-seven years in the time of this charter, and there remained till the Dissolution. Their church and convent were in sight of the hospital, but separated from it by the city ditch and wall. The brethren of the hospital and the Franciscans had some common benefactors, such as Joce son of Peter, and his son Nicholas, but do not seem to have often come in contact with one another. It was probably in connection with the church of St. Nicholas Fleshshambles that the indulgence of Walter Cantilupe, Bishop of Worcester, came to St. Bartholomew's, and in the same way was preserved one of NICHOLAS,¹ BISHOP OF KILDARE. This bishop, himself a Franciscan, is not mentioned by Sir James Ware, and it is probable that but few impressions of his seal remain. The head is broken off the seal of this

Waltero le Poter et Johanne Horn tunc Vicecomitibus Londoniarum: Anketino le Auer- | -ne tunc Aldermanno warde: Radulfo le Blund: Reginaldo de Cantebrugia: Johanne de Blakethorne: Simon | de Harewe: Roberto de Meldeburne: Hugone de Bokyngeham: Thoma Trentemares: Bartholomeo clerico.

¹ Vniuersis Christi fidelibus presentes litteras visuris uel auditoris frater Nicolaus permissione diuini Darensis Episcopus salutem | in domino sempiternam. Mortuorum memoria eo prestantior esse cunctis dinoscitur quo magis uiuis cedit | ad gloriam et prestat suffragium resolutis. Nos igitur de omnipotentis dei misericordia beatissime | et gloriose virginis marie beatorum apostolorum petri et Pauli beate brigide virginis omniumque sanctorum me | ritis confidentes omnibus parochianis nostris et aliis quorum dyocesani hanc nostram indulgentiam | ratam habuerint de peccatis suis vere contritis et confessis qui pro anima simonis de finchinfelda | cuius corpus in ecclesia beati Nicholai de Macellis Londoniarum humatum quiescit et pro animabus omnium fidelium defunctorum orationem | dominicam cum salutatione beate virginis dixerint pia mente viginti dies de iniuncta sibi | penitentia misericorditer relaxamus. In Cuius rei testimonium Sigillum nostrum presentibus duximus | apponendum. Datum Oxonie in natiuitate beate virginis Anno domini m^o cc^o Lxxx^o secundo Consecrationis nostre anno tercio.

grant, but the remainder of the bishop's figure is well preserved, and the impression in dark wax, made in his presence, brings vividly before us this Franciscan bishop, the far extending Curragh of Kildare which he traversed, and the long-lasting fire of St. Brigit burning in his cathedral.

The priory of Benedictine nuns dedicated to St. John the Baptist at Kilburn had been founded soon after St. Bartholomew's. The oval seal of the prioress and convent, bearing a somewhat rude figure of St. John the Baptist, holding a staff in his left hand with a scroll on which are the words "ecce agnus dei," remains attached to an ancient record in which MARGERY¹ the prioress and the convent admit their duty to pay a quit-rent of two shillings a year to the hospital for a tenement which Roger son of Bartholomew of St. Martin's had bequeathed to the hospital in pure and perpetual alms. It came from the whole tenement with appurtenances which John, called the parson, held of

¹ Omnibus Christi fidelibus Presens scriptum inspecturis uel audituris Margeria Priorissa Ecclesie Sancti | Johannis de Keleburne et eiusdem Loci Conuentus Salutem in domino. Nouerit vniuersitas vestra Quod nos et | successores nostre inperpetuum Reddere debemus Hospitali Sancti Bartholomei de Smethefeld : duos solidatos | quieti redditus per annum quod Rogerus filius Bartholomei de Sancto Martino dicto Hospitali in puram et | perpetuam Elemosinam legauit de Toto Tenemento cum suis pertinenciis quod Johannes dictus persona de prefato | Rogero tenuit in Parochia sancti Petri parui super tamisiam quod modo tenet de nobis per Testa- | -mentum ipsius Rogeri. Percipiendos ad tres terminos anni. Videlicet ad Natale Domini octo denarios et | ad Pascham octo denarios et ad Natiuitatem Sancti Johannis Baptiste Octo denarios Et si in solucone predictorum | duorum solidatorum quieti redditus per annum terminis predictis defecerimus Liceat fratribus predicti Hospitalis | et eorum successoribus siue assignatis dictum Tenementum cum pertinenciis vbicumque voluerint distrin- | -gere et ibidem namia Capere et ea retinere donec plenam soluconem predicti redditus habuerint. Et | in huius rei Testimonium Huic scripto sigillum nostrum apposuimus.

this Roger in the parish of St. Peter the Little on the Thames, and which John then held of the nuns under Roger's will.

Charters of the great Benedictine abbeys of Westminster,¹ St Albans,² and Battle³ have already been described, as well as of the abbey of Thorney.⁴ One document has been mentioned, sealed by the proctor of the abbey of Bec⁵ in Normandy, a place which has an especial interest for us since St. Anselm, who consecrated William of Beaumeis the Bishop of London who aided Rahere in our foundation, came from this abbey of Bec.

Bec is mentioned in a charter, probably of the reign of Henry II., in which JORDAN SON OF SPERLING⁶ grants to Adam son of Robert two pieces of land, one situate "in the manage which he holds of the monks of Bec," and the other "at the head of my plantation which is before my house." Adam is to pay twelve pence a year

¹ I. 76 and 136.

² I. 141 and 235.

³ I. 580.

⁴ I. 509.

⁵ I. 505.

⁶ *Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Jordanus filius Sperlingi concedo Ade filio Roberti et heredibus suis tenendum in feudo et | hereditate de me et heredibus meis duas terras : unam videlicet que iacet in managio suo quod de Monachis del | Bec tenet : et incipit terra illa de lacornire del suth east de domo Rikilde que diuidit terram meam a terra quam | teneo de Bermundeseie et sic porrigitur per medium managii Ade usque ad vicum et hec terra est uersus delnorth : | in prenominato managio : et unam aliam terram que terra habet xxiiii pedes in longum et que iacet ad caput virgulti | mei quod est ante domum meam et hec terra iacet infra terram que fuit Batosole et Managium Rikilde. has duas | terras simul tenendas concedo ut predictum est predicto Ade pro xii d. inde per annum reddendo duobus terminis scilicet in die sancti Michaelis vi d. et in die pasche vi d. : Huius rei sunt testes : Hubertus presbiter : Fulco clericus : Henricus uenditor piscium : Ricard caperun : Ricard venditor piscium : Iohannes de Wakerle : Albericus filius Salomonis : Philippus filius Jordani : Eustachius pelliparius : Ricardus homo Iordani ; et plures alii et pro concessione feudi suprascripti Adam dedit michi iii solidos.*

No seal remains, but two twisted red and white cords are still tied to the vellum.

for these two, and gave Jordan for the grant of this fee three shillings. Sperling¹ was living in the time of Henry I. and Stephen, being a contemporary of Haco the dean. Jordan his son had a son JORDAN,² who granted to Walter the cordewaner a manage outside Bishopsgate at a payment of two shillings for all services, and Walter gave Jordan two shillings "in gersumam."

The hospitals of St. Catherine near the Tower³ and of St. Thomas of Canterbury,⁴ as well as the leper

¹ The name occurs in a deed (Appendix to IX. Report) relating to the parish of St. Mary Magdalene, a region which seems indicated by the witnesses Henry and Richard the sellers of fish in Jordan's charter, since the parish contained the old fishmarket. Hubert was a canon of St. Paul's of that time.

² *Sciant presentes et futuri quod Ego Jordanus filius Jordani filii Sperling Concessi et dimisi et Carta presenti Confirmavi Waltero Cordewanario Managium cum terra que eidem Managio pertinet quod ipse Walterus emit de Gileberto tannatore extra portam Episcopi. quod est iuxta Managium illud in quo idem Gilebertus mansit uersus Septentrionem. Habendum et tenendum sibi et heredibus suis de me et de heredibus meis. In feodo et hereditate libere et quiete: integre: honorifice: et finabiliter reddendo inde michi et heredibus meis singulis annis duos Solidos Sterlingorum pro omnibus seruitiis et omnibus exactionibus et omnibus rebus ad quatuor terminos anni. Scilicet Infra Octabas pasche Sex denarios et Infra Octabas Natiuitatis Sancti Johannis baptiste Sex denarios et Infra octo dies festi Sancti Michaelis Sex denarios et Infra Octabas Natalis Domini vi denarios sine occasione et Calumpnia Et Ego Jordanus et heredes mei warantizabimus predictam terram prefato Waltero et heredibus suis Contra omnes homines et omnes feminas per predictum Censum: Scilicet per duos Solidos per annum. Pro hac autem mea Concessione et dimissione et warantisione et presentis Carte mee Confirmatione prefatus Walterus dedit michi Jordano duos Solidos Sterlingorum In Gersumam. Hiis Testibus: Turstino francigeno: Milone de Stebbenheia: Willelmo filio Turstini: Rogero de Tantuna: Willelmo filio Roberti: Nicolao tunc: Germano de Dunegate: Willelmo de feldstede: Bricio furmagerio: Rogero pingri: Alano feireglas: Hamone Corueisero: Godardo filio Eilredi: Willelmo basse: Salamone filio Juliani: Roberto Ipeschathe: Huberto clerico.*

The oval seal is attached by a vellum tag. It bears the seated figure of a man holding a club in his left hand, and on a simple border the words "Sig. Jordani fil. Jordani fil. Sperling."

³ Vol. I. p. 602.

⁴ A charter of WILLIAM OF FARNHAM and Matilda of Kersinges his wife preserves the seal of the hospital of St. Thomas the Martyr of Southwark. It is oval, and shows the saint in archiepiscopal vestments, with his pastoral staff in his left hand and his right raised in the act of benediction, standing under a pointed and cusped arch

hospitals of St. James and St. Giles, occasionally appear in the transactions of St. Bartholomew's, and many wills in London in the thirteenth century contained bequests to the lepers of St. James's and St. Giles's and to the brethren of St. Bartholomew's Hospital. Thus several

resting on columns with circular capitals, and with one tall candlestick and candle on each side of him. The document is a chirograph, and belongs to the mayoralty of Thomas FitzRichard.

The grantors concede and confirm to the brethren of the hospital of St. Thomas their corner houses and place of land next the street called Sporunes Lane in the parish of St. Michael Queenhithe at an annual payment of two marks sterling during William's life, and after one mark to his assigns, the other mark is to belong to the hospital for the good of his soul and his wife's. If the rent be in arrear, the master and brethren of St. Thomas's are to forfeit forty pence a month. They gave William and Matilda four marks "in gersumam." The mayor is described as also alderman of the ward in which the land was.

Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Willelmus de Farnham et ego matilda de Kersinges uxor dicti Willelmi vnanimi consensu et uoluntate nostra dimisimus et concessimus et hac | presenti carta nostra confirmauimus magistro et fratribus Hospitalis Sancti Thome martiris de Suwerk domos nostras cum tota placia terre dictis domibus pertinente et cum omnibus | pertinenciis suis sine aliqua diminucione que quidem domus sunt Angulares iuxta vicum que uocatur Sporuneslane ex parte occidentali in parochia sancti Michaelis super ripam | regine Londoniarum : Habendas et tenendas dictis magistro et fratribus et eorum successoribus uel eorum assignatis de me Willelmo et de me matilda et heredibus nostris uel nostris inde assignatis | libere quiete integre: Reddendo inde annuatim nobis quamdiu ego dicta matilda vixero duas marcas sterlingorum uidelicet ad festum Sancti Michaelis vnam marcam et ad pascha | vnam marcam et post mortem meam dabunt singulis annis vnam marcam tantum [*sic*] meis assignatis ad terminos assignatos et hoc idem ego Willelmus de farnham ex parte mea | concedo et aliam marcam pro salute animarum nostrarum penes se retinebunt. Et si nos miserimus aliquem certum | pro predicto redditu ad dictum hospitale et dicti magister et fratres | cessauerint in solucione dicti redditus per mensem post terminos prenominales dabunt nobis quadraginta denarios nomine pene: pro omni seruicio consuetudine et rebus cunctis. Et ego Willelmus | de farnham et ego matilda de kersinges et heredes nostri uel nostri assignati predictas domos cum tota placia terre in longitudine et latitudine cum omnibus pertinen- | -ciis warantizare defendere debemus predictis magistro et fratribus et eorum successoribus contra omnes gentes inperpetuum. Pro hac autem donacione et concessione et presentis | carte nostre confirmacione dederunt nobis predicti magister et fratres quatuor marcas in Gersumam. Et ne contra ista prescripta aliquis nostrum venire posset utraque pars scriptum | alterius mutua sigillorum suorum appositione roborauit: Et ego matilda super altare Sancti thome iurau i ea que prescripta sunt ex parte mea fideliter seruaturam Hiis | testibus Thoma filio Ricardi tunc maiore Londoniarum et aldermanno de Warda: Waltero Herui: Ricardo de Hadestoke: Augustino de Hadestoke: Simone de Hadestoke: Baldewino le meriner: Laurencio broyer.

holdings were charged with annual sums payable to each of these.

The hospital of St. Giles of the lepers outside the bar of the old Temple of London had one or two external wardens who seem to have transacted business for it. Thus, when Walter the chaplain was its master, he granted a charter with the assent of Ralf Eswy,¹ "then warden of our house," and when Girard² was proctor in 1216 he made a grant with the assent and by the advice of Thomas of Haverill and William Hardell, the wardens.³ The seal of the hospital was oval, bearing a figure of St. Giles holding an almsbox like that on the seal of the nuns of Kilburn and that on the most ancient seal of St. Bartholomew's Hospital. One original charter of WILLIAM, MASTER OF ST. GILES'S, shows that

¹ *Cartulary of the Hospital of St. Giles* (Harley, 4105), f. 7.

² *Id.*, f. 16a.

³ Other examples occur ff. 10b, 17b, 18b, 19a.

⁴ Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Willelmus capellanus procurator infirmorum hospitalis beati Egidii extra Londonias et fratres et sorores eiusdem loci consilio et assensu an- | -dree bukerel et Willelmi hardel tunc custodum eiusdem hospitalis concessimus et dimisimus et presenti carta nostra confirmauimus mauricio parmentario | quandam partem terre nostre quam habuimus in parochia beate brigide virginis In uico que uocatur Solande. Que scilicet terra iacet inter terram quam sirich tenuit de | nobis uersus aquilonem et terram Ricardi filii martini parmentarii in parte australi. Que scilicet terra continet in latitudine secus uicum regium duodecim | ulnas et tres quarterios ulne de ulnis ferreis domini henrici regis anglie et in medio duodecim ulnas et dimidiam ulnam de eisdem ulnis et in la- | -titudine retro nouem ulnas et unum quarterium ulne de eisdem ulnis et in longitudine viginti et sex ulnas et unum quarterium ulne de | eisdem ulnis et extendit se a uico regali usque ad terram martini parmentarii scilicet quicquid ibidem habetur in predictis longitudine latitudine et rebus | cunctis habendam et tenendam sibi et heredibus suis de nobis et successoribus nostris in feodo et hereditate libere et quiete bene et in pace integre et | finabiliter. Reddendo inde annuatim nobis et successoribus nostris pro omnibus seruiciis et rebus cunctis duos solidos sterlingorum ad duos terminos | anni scilicet ad pascha duodecim denarios et ad festum sancti Michaelis duodecim denarios sine omni occasione et meskenningia. Idem uero Mauricius | siue heredes sui nullatenus

the lepers had some ale at times, so that we may assume that the patients in St. Bartholomew's now and then had the same drink.

These scattered evidences show us the religious and charitable foundations with which, under the old order, St. Bartholomew's had relations. Great was the change which the king's might brought about. The voices of prayer and of praise were silenced in these religious houses. Founders and benefactors were no more remembered at the altars in their churches. As we contemplate with admiration what is left of the buildings which their piety raised :

“ With solemn steps and slow
High potentates and dames of royal birth
And mitred fathers in long order go.”

We associate these great and splendid persons in embroidered vestments, or in armour, or in ermine and vair and miniver, with the fragments of beautiful architecture which yet remain, and which they built or

poterunt predictam terram cum pertinentiis alicui ecclesie siue iudeo dare uendere uel inuadiare uel alio aliquo modo | alienare nisi assensu nostro uel successorum nostrorum. si autem feodum predictum uendere uel expendere uoluerint nos et successores nostri propi- | -ores erimus omnibus hominibus duodecim denariis. Idem uero Mauricius fecit nobis fidelitatem in pleno capitulo nostro super hoc tenemento | et sensu predicto soluendo ferendam: quod et postere [sic] sui facere tenentur. Nos autem et successores nostri finabiliter warantizabimus | predictam terram cum pertinentiis suis supradicto Mauricio et heredibus suis contra omnes homines et feminas inperpetuum. Pro hac igitur concessio | ne et dimissione et presentis carte nostre confirmatione et warantizatione et aquietacione dedit nobis predictus Mauricius | unam marcam argenti in gersumam et unum tunellum scruisie ad pitanciam. Hiis testibus: Martino parmentario: Ricardo filio eius | Willelmo de pelham: Albino parmentario: Johanne filio eius: Johanne tailor: Ricardo clerico: Willelmo marscallo: Ricardo fucedune: Galfrido caci: et multis aliis.

saw perfect. It is right also to remember the long train of the poor, the ignorant, and the sick, who on the dissolution of these religious houses lost succour and instruction and treatment.

The old order was at an end: Augustinians, Benedictines, Carthusians, Gilbertines, Franciscans, Dominicans, and more, all were banished from their ancient homes. The good they did was put an end to, but the spoliations of the king, great as they were, could not extinguish benevolence in the land; and, though many men would no longer pray for the faithful departed, they still saw a duty in the care of the sick and the poor. St. Bartholomew's Hospital was one of the few places where the injured tree of charity began to put forth new branches, and soon flourished again.

XIV

THE NEW ORDER



ANY of the sick, the destitute, the decrepit, and the blind of the city, deprived of the succour given to them by the religious houses and hospitals which had been dissolved, were obvious in the streets, and excited public compassion, so that in 1538 the mayor, aldermen, and commonalty presented a petition¹ to King Henry VIII., "Our most redoughted puyssant and myghty prynce, our most drad beloved and naturall soveraign lorde," asking that the hospitals of St. Mary's (of Bethlehem), of St. Bartholomew and of St. Thomas, and the New Abbey at Tower Hill,² might be placed under the order and governance of the mayor and his brethren, and that the then unused churches of the Grey,³ Black,⁴

¹ Printed in full in Appendix No. 1 to "Memoranda, References and Documents relating to the Royal Hospitals of the City of London." London, 1836.

² St. Mary of Graces, a Cistercian abbey, founded 1349-50. Its site was granted to Sir Arthur Darcy.

³ The Franciscans: founded in 1224 in the parish of St. Nicholas Shambles, near Newgate. Site granted to the city by Henry VIII. Afterwards Christ's Hospital.

⁴ The Dominicans: founded in 1221. Church in ward of Castle Baynard. Granted to Sir Thomas Cawarden.

White,¹ and Augustine Friars² might be given to them :
 “for Goddes worde to be preched in and holy scripture
 to be redde in, and also for all strangers resorting to your
 said cytie to here masse yn without dysturbyng of the
 paryssheners of the small parysshes.”

The first petition is: “for the ayde and comforte
 of the poore, sykke, blynde, aged and impotent persones
 beyng not hable to helpe theymselffs nor havynge any
 place certeyn wheryn they may be lodged, cherysshed,
 and refresshed tyll they be cured and holpen of theyre
 dyseases and syknesse.”

They say that these poor people should be helped
 “frankely and frely by physicions surgeons and
 appotycaryes which shall have stypende, salary and
 wages onely to attende for that entente and purpose
 so that all impotent persones not hable to labour shalbe
 releved by reason of the sayd hospitalles and abbey.”

More than five years elapsed before the part of the
 petition referring to St. Bartholomew's led to any
 action by the king. On June 23, 1544, he granted
 letters patent reconstituting the hospital for its ori-
 ginal uses.

“Whereas a certain late hospital which whilst it
 existed was commonly called the hospital of Saint
 Bartholomew the Less in West Smithfield, near London,

¹ The Carmelites : founded about 1241. On the south side of Fleet Street. Site granted to Richard Moresyne and William Butts.

² Friars hermits of the Order of St. Augustine: founded 1253. Granted to William, Lord St. John.

which same hospital is now vacant and altogether destitute of a master and all fellows or brethren, and therefore the same hospital and all and singular the manors demesnes messuages lands &c. of the same hospital have fallen into our hands, and we are at present in full right seised in our demesne, as of fee, of the site &c. of the same late hospital and of all and singular the manors &c., and we being of the same so seised and divine mercy inspiring us, desiring nothing more than that the true works of piety and charity should not be abolished there but rather restored and renewed according to the pattern of their genuine sincerity, and the abuses of the foundation of the same hospital, in long lapse of time lamentably occurring, being reformed,¹ we have endeavoured as far as human infirmity will permit that henceforth there be comfort to the prisoners, shelter to the poor, visitation to the sick, food to the hungry, drink to the thirsty, clothes to the naked and sepulture to the dead administered there.”²

The king therefore determined to found within the precincts a hospital consisting of one master, a priest, and four chaplains priests, the first to be called the

¹ This is a sort of common form, for no abuses had been shown to exist at St. Bartholomew's Hospital. It was an evil habit of the time to insert such words. A memorable example is the indictment based upon Master Rich's report:—

“Upon whose only report was Sir Thomas More indicted of high treason on the statute to deny the king the Supreme Head of the Church, into which indictment were put these heinous words—*maliciously, traitorously and diabolically.*”

² Appendix No. II., Memoranda, &c., 1836. Translation of the grant by Thomas Duffus Hardy.

vice-master; the second the curate; the third the hospitaller; the fourth the visitor of the prisoners in Newgate "with other ministers necessary to perform divine worship and the aforesaid works of charity." William Turges, Bachelor of Divinity, the king's chaplain, was to be the first master. Thomas Hikkelyn, also a priest, was to be vice-master; Robert Harpyng, curate; John Arley, hospitaller; and Ralph Cooke, visitor of prisoners in Newgate; and the body corporate was to be called "The Master and Chaplains of the Hospital of Saint Bartholomew in West Smithfield near London." The king granted them the site and all buildings thereon, "which lately belonged to John Breerton, Doctor of Laws, last master, and the brethren of the same in right of that late hospital together with all and all manner of vessels, jewels, ornaments, goods, chattels and implements of the same late hospital, with all their appurtenances, to have hold and enjoy the aforesaid site, inclosure, circuit ambit and precincts of us our heirs and successors in pure and perpetual alms." The master was to appoint all the inferior officers of the hospital, and was to have the power of dismissing them in accordance with certain statutes which were to be made. The master was to be appointed by the king.

The members of the new corporate body were favourites of King Henry VIII., or favourites of his favourites. "As there generally is some resemblance of character to create these relations," says Burke, of

another grant of the same king, "the favourite was in all likelihood much such another as his master." A little later the citizens complained that all the household furniture had disappeared, so that there was but just enough for three or four patients.

In this foundation of 1544 the income to support the master and chaplains and the patients was that drawn from the rents of houses and gardens within the precinct of the hospital, for with this exception the whole of its former estate was retained by the king. The grant did little for the poor, but it prevented the destruction of St. Bartholomew's and carried on its existence. The letters patent are preserved in the hospital. A memorial of this constitution exists in the date 1544, upon a three-quarters length portrait of King Henry VIII. which occupies a panel over the fireplace in the committee room. The king is standing upright facing the room, and with a black staff mounted with gold in his left hand. His dark brown gown with hanging sleeves is handsomely barred with gold, and is lined with white fur and fastened with jewels. On his head is a dark cap, ornamented with gems and pearls and a plume. On the background are the words "ANNO DNI. 1544. ÆTATIS SVÆ 53."¹

¹ The picture measures 46 by 37½ inches. It was exhibited at the Royal Academy Winter Exhibition, 1877 (No. 249); at the Tudor Exhibition, 1890 (No. 49); and at the Burlington Fine Arts Club Exhibition of Early English Portraits, 1909 (No. 23). The catalogue of this last exhibition says: "This is an important example of one type of the portraits of Henry VIII. executed towards the end of his life, examples of which are in Warwick Castle, Kimbolton, and the National Portrait Gallery."

The charter of 1544 had effect for less than three years. Turges¹ died in 1545, and was succeeded as master by Thomas Brikhod,² clerk, who became vicar of Christ Church, Newgate Street, when the master and chaplains were abolished. The citizens were not satisfied, and on December 27, 1546, entered into a covenant with the king as to St. Bartholomew's and the Grey Friars. The king agreed to grant the buildings of the Grey Friars to the mayor and citizens. He also agreed to grant to them "the late hospital of Saint Bartholomew in West Smithfield nigh London, otherwise called the hospital of Little Saint Bartholomew's in West Smithfield nigh London," with all its contents and with all its former possessions, except Croke Horn Alley in the parish of St. Andrew's Holborn, thirty-five shillings out of the messuage of Sir Martyn Bowes in Friday Street, certain lands at Raynham in Essex, and at Hanyngeye and Tottenham in Middlesex. The king also agreed to grant the parish churches of St. Nicholas and St. Ewen within Newgate and the tithes of the inhabitants of all the houses in the Gate called Newgate of London and within the Gate called Newgate being part of the parish of St. Sepulchre without Newgate and all other personal profits of the part of the same parish within Newgate, and the tithes of the inhabitants of the houses within the precinct of the Grey Friars. The Grey Friars' Church was to be

¹ Newcourt: Repertorium, vol. i. p. 740.

² St. Bartholomew's Hospital Repertory.

called Christ Church, and with it the parishes of St. Nicholas and St. Ewen were to be united and a parish of Christ Church to be formed. The king is pleased that the late hospital of St. Bartholomew "shall from henceforth be a place and house for the relief and sustentacion of poore people and shall be called the House of the Poore in West Smithfield in the suburbs of the city of London of King Henry the Eighth's foundation."

The land within the gates of the hospital is to be the parish of Little St. Bartholomew in West Smithfield. The church there is to be "used for divine service to be sayd and sung, and all manner sacraments and sacramentalles to be ministered there as well to the inhabitants within the gate and close of the said late hospital as to the poore people and officers and ministers from henceforth to be there, and shall be called the parish church of Little Saint Bartholomew in West Smithfield, and that all the houses, buildings, land and soil within the gate and close of the said late hospital of St. Bartholomew, hereafter to be called the House of the Poore as is aforesaid, shall from henceforth be accepted and taken as part and parcel of the parish and parish church of Little Saint Bartholomew aforesaid."

In the parish of Christ Church, Newgate Street, there is to be a priest called vicar, with another priest called visitor of Newgate, "who shall attend to visit the prisoners of Newgate," and five other priests in

the parish church of Christ Church to help the vicar there. In the parish church of Little Saint Bartholomew there is to be a vicar, and besides him another priest called the hospitaller "to visit and minister to the poor people there." The citizens shall pay the vicar of Christ Church £25, 13s. 4d. a year, the vicar of St. Bartholomew the Less £13, 6s. 8d., and shall give each a sufficient mansion for his habitation. They shall pay the visitor of Newgate £10 a year, and each of the five priests mentioned £8 a year, and £5 each to two parish clerks in Christ Church and £4 to a sexton there. They shall "provide at the site of the said late hospital of St. Bartholomew, hereafter to be called the House of the Poore as is aforesaid, sufficient lodging for a hundred poor men and poor women and for one matron and twelve women under her to make the beds and wash and attend upon the said poor men and women there," and they are to find "to the said hundred poor folks and to the said matron and twelve women under her, sufficient meat, drink, bedding, cloathing, wood, coal and all other things mete convenient and necessary for them and to give to the said matron in ready moneys £3, 5s. 8d. yearly and to every of the said women forty shillings yearly." They are to give the hospitaller £10 for his stipend and the parish clerk £6, and the sexton £4. They are to appoint a steward, to be paid £5, 13s. 4d., yearly; a receiver of rents, to be paid £5, 13s. 4d., a porter at £6, a butler at

£4, and a cook at £6 a year. They are also to appoint eight beadles "to bring to the said late hospital, hereafter to be called the house of the Poore, such sick aged and impotent people as shall be found going abroad in the city of London and the suburbs of the same not having wherewith to be sustained, and to apulse and avoid such valiant and sturdy vagabonds and beggars as they shall find dayly within the said city and the suburbs of the same." The beadles are each to receive £3, 6s. 8d. a year.

The mayor and citizens are further to find "one person sufficiently learned in the science of physic and one other person having sufficient knowledge in surgery, to be continually attendant upon the sicke and sore people at the said late hospital." The physician is to be paid £20 a year, and the surgeon the same, and the mayor and citizens are to provide "all manner potecary ware and other things meet necessary and convenient for the making of salves and all other things touching physic or surgery for the help or healing of the said poor sicke and impotent people." The mayor and citizens are to be allowed to receive lands to the yearly value of 1000 marks over and above the lands already granted to them. They are to be excused all tenths and first-fruits on the lands granted to them. The mayor and citizens are further to be "masters, rulers, and governors of the hospital or house called Bethlehem without and nigh the gate called Bishopsgate of the

city of London." The citizens are to retain one part of the agreement, sealed with the great seal of England, and the king the other part, sealed with the common seal of the mayor, commonalty, and citizens.

At the top of this deed of covenant between Henry VIII. and the City, above the words *THIS INDENTURE*, "Henry Rx" is written in large letters. The great seal remains attached, though somewhat broken.

The agreement was followed on January 13, 1547, by the grant of letters patent establishing its arrangements. Each piece of property which the king grants is named, beginning with the hospital itself and its precinct, in which there were forty-one messuages, a storehouse, and a smithy, and six gardens, occupied by nineteen tenants.

Various messuages, lands, tenements, and rents in thirty-one parishes of the city, and in twenty-eight streets, all parcel of the former possessions of the hospital, are granted towards its support in its new form. The streets are Barbican, Bow Lane, Bread Street, Bretten Street, Bush Lane, Candlewick Street, Cow Lane, Duck Lane, Fleet Street, Foster Lane, Giltspur Street, Gracechurch Street, Holborn, Hosier Lane, Knightrider Street, Mugwell Street, Old Fish Street, Peterkey, Poultry, St. John Street, St. Nicholas Shambles, Soper Lane, Thames Street, Vintry, Watling Street, West Cheap, West Smithfield, Wood Street. Of these twenty-eight names of 1537, twenty are still

in use, while Bretton Street and Mugwell Street have in our time the slightly altered forms of Little Britain and Monkwell Street. Duck Lane exists on its original line, but is merged in Little Britain, Candlewick Street is called Cannon Street, and Soper Lane has become Queen Street, Cheapside.

The letters patent go on to grant lands formerly held by the hospital in St. Giles without Cripplegate, in Edmonton, in Aylesbury, in the parish of St. Pancras in the Fields, Clytherhouse, Hendon, Lymehurst (Limehouse), Stepney, Enfield, and Hackney in Middlesex, at Downton, Downham, Ramsden, Ramwell, Wykeford, Little Wakering, Burnham, Hatfield Broadoak, Okerell, and Shernewood in Essex, at Dockett in Buckinghamshire, Wollaston in Northampton, Hynton St. George in Somersetshire, Heth in Oxfordshire, and at St. Albans in Hertfordshire.

They desire that the late hospital of St. Bartholomew shall be called the House of the Poor in West Smithfield near London, of the foundation of King Henry the Eighth, and they make the church within the hospital into the parish church of St. Bartholomew the Less.

The rectories of Christ Church within Newgate, of St. Bartholomew the Less, of Little Wakering, and of Hynton St. George are further granted, vicars of the two new parishes are appointed, and the advowsons of all granted to the mayor and citizens of London. The

vicar of Christ Church is to have £26, 13s. 4d., and the vicar of St. Bartholomew the Less £13, 6s. 8d. a year, and each a fit habitation. One priest is to be appointed to visit the poor in the hospital, and is to be called Housekeeper. He is clearly the official designated Hospitler in the indenture of 1546. The great seal remains attached to the letters patent.

Such were the main features of the new arrangement of the hospital, as exhibited in the indenture and letters patent of King Henry VIII. These documents are the foundation of the present constitution of the hospital.

In one particular they were ineffective. The new name which they gave to the hospital, "the House of the Poore in West Smithfield, in the suburbs of the City of London, of King Henry the Eighth's foundation," with the exception of its employment in legal instruments, has never come into vogue. It is still the form used in leases of the hospital property. The old name was too strong for the new enactment, and St. Bartholomew's Hospital has continued to be known by its ancient designation to this day.

No mention is made of the letters patent of 1544 in those of 1547, and the only trace of the foundation called "The Master and Chaplains of the Hospital of St. Bartholomew in West Smithfield" is that Thomas Hikkelyn or Hickling, in 1544 named vice-master, is in

1547 made first "vicar perpetual¹ of the church of St. Bartholomew the Less in West Smithfield." He was one of the three brethren of the old order who was present at the chapter acknowledging the Royal Supremacy in 1534.

The hospital and its endowments became vested in the mayor, commonalty, and citizens of London.

King Henry VIII. died January 28, 1547, a fortnight after the grant of these letters patent. His figure is above our Smithfield gate. A full length portrait of him, with the Order of the Garter on his leg, hangs at the end of the Great Hall.² In a window of that hall he is represented on his throne, handing the letters patent to the Lord Mayor and citizens. In the Committee room where the treasurer and almoners meet is the fine contemporary three-quarters length of him which has been mentioned. A ward is called after him. Thus do we commemorate this destroying king, who

¹ The subsequent vicars have been :—

<i>John Denman</i>	Philip Castell	1701
<i>Robert Smyth</i>	William Andrews	1715
Thomas Taylor	John Benson	1720
<i>Adrian Redleggs</i>	Rowland Sandiford	1750
John Belamy	Thomas Monro	1754
<i>William Hall</i>	<i>Thomas Sharp</i>	1765
John Moulton	Samuel Kettilby	1773
Daniel Tontevill	Samuel Wix	1808
John Henshaw	Walter Mitchell	1861
William Hall	Thomas Stedman Polehampton	1869
<i>Robert Taylor</i>	William Ostle	1878
<i>William Orme</i>	Herbert Skillicorn Close . .	1909
<i>Stephen Penton</i>		

The vicars whose names are in italics died in office. Hennesy's Newcourt.

² This portrait was given by Benjamin Sweet, Esq., on Thursday, July 21, 1737.—*Daily Advertiser* of Friday, July 22, 1737. No. 2025.

might have taken away all the estate of St. Bartholomew's, but only took a small portion of it.

On September 29, 1547,¹ the Common Council granted half of a fifteenth to be collected weekly for a year in the city "for the releiff, mayntenaunce and fyndyng of the poore, sick and indigent persons appointed to be founde and kepte within the house and hospytall lately erectyd and founded by the moste noble prynce of famous memorye Kyng Henry the Eight"; and on December 20, 1548,² the Common Council granted five hundred marks yearly. These were to be drawn from the dues paid to the city on several accounts.³ Instead of the half of the fifteenth levied on the whole city, each company made a grant towards the relief of the poor people within the House of the Poor in West Smithfield, to be paid quarterly.⁴

¹ Memoranda, 1836, relating to the Royal Hospitals. Appendix No. VI.

² *Id.* No. VII.

³ At the great beam or balance called the King's Beam, the beam of the styllyard and the iron beam.

At the packing and gaugeing of wine and fish and at garbelyng.

At the small beam and the weighing of silks.

At the measuring of silks, woollen cloth, linen cloth, as well as the measure of corn, grain, salt, coal, and seldage of leather.

For keeping the common market place for woollen and linen clothes called Blackwellhall.

⁴ The contributing companies were (Appendix No. VII.):—

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Mercers	24	—	—	Irenmongers	9	6	8
Grocers	20	—	—	Vynteners	9	6	8
Drapers	20	—	—	Clothworkers	16	6	8
Fishmongers	16	—	—	Dyers	4	—	—
Goldsmymes	16	—	—	Brewers	12	—	—
Skynners	13	6	8	Bakers	5	6	8
Marchaunttaylor	20	—	—	Lethersellers	10	13	4
Salters	12	—	—	Talowchaundlers	5	6	8
Haberdasshers	16	—	—	Carpenters	4	marks	

This is the first occasion on which the guilds of the city appear as benefactors of the hospital. The existence of guilds is indicated in early documents by the presence in some locality of several men of the same trade following one another as witnesses in a charter, but guilds are scarcely mentioned in the transactions of the hospital up to the end of the old order.¹

	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
Pastelers	4 marks	Gyrdelers	8 - -
Tylers	40 shill.	Corryours	4 13 4
Fruterers	4 marks	Inholders	5 6 8
Butchers	4 marks	Bowyers	4 - -
Masons	- 26 8	Cowpers	4 - -
Scryveners	- 26 8	Broderers	4 marks
Joynors	- 26 8	Plummers	- 26 8
Woodmongers	- 26 8	Wexchaundlers	- 26 8
Playsteres	- 26 8	Cordwayners	4 marks
Blacksmythes and Sporryors	4 marks	Armorsers	4 marks
Botyllmakers and Horners .	- 13 4	Fletchers	4 mark
Ferrors	- 13 4	Wolpackers	- 26 8
Pavyers	- 13 4	Pulsters	4 marks
Founders	- 26 8	Lorymers	- 13 4
Wevers	- 26 8	Stacyoners	4 marks
Paynters	4 - -	Upholders	- 13 4
Cutlers	4 - -	Browne Bakers	- 13 4
Pewterers	6 13 4	Graye Tawyers	- 13 4
Sadlers	5 6 8	Longe Bowestryng makers .	- 13 4
Barbor Surgeons	5 6 8	Turnors	- 13 4
		Glasyers	- 13 4

¹ A document written while John Wakeryng was master records the employment of sworn masons and carpenters, who seem to have been heads of a guild:—

"This bille indented witnesseth that where John Croxton, Richard Bird, Richard Bright and Piers Reede the iiii maisters of masons and Carpenters sworn to the Citee of london whereas instaunced and praide aswele by John Wakeryng the maister of the hospitall of Seint Bartholomew in Westsmythfeld of london as by John Horn the attourny of the heirs of John Selyngier for to ouersee their borthers groundes and tenementes ioynnyng togeders sette in the parisshe of Seint Austyn atte Powlesgate of london the whiche groundes and tenementes the same iiii maisters haue seen and examined by all their Wittes and discrecions and therupon they seyn that they fynde there bitwene the tenementes of the said maister and heirs of John Selyngier one syde of xiiii fote iiii ynches and an half from the kynges high wey of Wathlyngstrete a voide grounde containing in length bitwene North and South xxii fote and an half and in

"The Ordre of the Hospital of S. Bartholomewes in West smythfelde in London," "Imprinted at London by Rycharde Grafton, Printer to the Kynges maiestie," in 1552, gives a complete view of the hospital under its altered constitution. On the title-page are the words—

1 Epist. Jhon II. Chap.

He that sayeth he walketh in the lyght, and hateth his
brother, came neuer as yeat in the lyght. But
he that loueth his brother he dwel-
leth in the lyght

which seem to give assurance of an intention to continue the kindness to the poor for which St. Bartholomew's had then been known to the citizens for more than four hundred years.

The copy of this little book in the British Museum belonged to King Edward VI.¹ A preface to the reader

brede at the Northende iiii fote xi ynches and an half and in brede atte South ende uii fote of assise which voide grounde the seid maister byhoveth to have holy lasse than the seid heirs can shewe any euidence or specialtes the contrarie."

Another document in French, of slightly earlier date, records the decision of the four masters of the masons and carpenters as to a wall in the parish of St. Andrew Holborn as to which there was a dispute between the prior of St. Bartholomew's and the master of the hospital. Walter Milton, William Coupere, William Serle, and Edmond Weslowe were the four masters of the masons and carpenters. They found that 118 feet 2 inches of the wall were on the land of the master and 32 feet on that of the prior.

¹ J. G. Nichols, "Literary Remains of King Edward VI.," Roxburghe Club, 1857. The volume, when Mr. Nichols wrote, seems to have had its original binding stamped with "E. vi. R." and roses and crowns. This was no doubt decayed, as the book now has a modern binding. It is bound up with and after "The true dyffetes betwen ye regell power and th Ecclesiasticall power Translated out of latyn by Henry lord Stafforde." This treatise is dedicated to Edward, Duke of Somerset, and was printed at London by Wyllyam Copland. On the title-page of "The Ordre" is written Y. 24. 2, which Mr. Nichols does not notice, but which may perhaps be the press mark of the royal library.

tells that the book was issued by the Lord Mayor to give the public information about the hospital, and to silence "the wickedness of reporte" against the scheme for its maintenance. "It pleased the kinges Majestie of famous memorie Henry the eight (father to this our moste drad souereigne lorde nowe reigntyng) to erecte an hospitall in West Smithfield for the continual relief and help of an .C. sore and diseased."

King Henry VIII. had endowed it with an estate of five hundred marks on condition that the citizens should give "other .v. hundred Markes by the yere." Soon it was found that the estate would not yield the five hundred marks the king had intended; some of the houses owned were in great "decaye and some rotten ruynous"; some leases had let out lands at too low rents, and the continual repairs necessary were no small charge. There were, too, certain pensions charged on the estate. The book goes on to give a full explanation of the administration, work, and income of the hospital.

The persons concerned in the work of the hospital were the governors and the officers. Four aldermen and eight commoners were appointed to administer the hospital, and of these half were to hold office for two years, so as to instruct the later elected. The senior alderman was president, two other aldermen were surveyors, with as many commoners. There were four almoners, one being an alderman. The treasurer was to be a commoner, and the remaining two com-

moners were to be scrutineers. In each year the Lord Mayor and aldermen were to elect two aldermen and four commoners, and the newly elected governors were to have their charge read to them in the presence of the twelve old governors. The charge of the governors is a piece of good English :—

“It may please you to understand that ye are here elected and chosen, as fellow *gouvernours* of this hospitall, to continue by the space of two yeares: By all whiche tyme accordyng to such laudable decrees and ordinaunces, as haue bene, and shalbe made by the auctoritie of the lorde Maiour, chiefe patrone hereof, in the name of the Citie, and the consent of the *gouvernours* for the tyme beyng, all your other businesse set aparte asmuche as you possibly may: ye shall endeouore yourselves to attende onely upon the nedeful doyngs of this house, with suche a louyng and careful diligence, as shal become the faithfull ministers of God, whom ye chieflie in this vocation are appointed to serue and to whome for your negligences or defaultes herein ye shall render an accompt. For truly ye cannot be blamelesse before God, if after you haue sette hande to this good ploughe and promysed your diligence to the poore, ye shall contrarywyse tourne your head backward and not perfourme the succour that Christ loketh for at your handes, and hath witnessed to be done to hymself, with these wordes. Whatsoeuer you do to one of these nedy persones for my names sake, the same ye do unto me.

And contrarywyse if ye neglecte and despyse them, ye despise me. We therefore require and desire euery of you, on Goddes behalfe, and in his moste holy name, that ye endeouour your selues to the best of your wittes and powers, so to comfort, ordre and gouern this house and the poore thereof, that at the last daie, ye maie appere before the face of God, as true and faithfull Stewardes, and disposers of all suche thyngs, as shal for the comfort and succour of them, (duryng the tyme of your office) be committed to your credite and charge. And this to do we require you, faithfully to promes in the syght of God and hearyng of your brethren. And so doing we here admitte you into our fellowship.”¹

The half of the governors that remained were to take the newly elected by the hands, and so to admit them. A green staff was given to each new governor, a custom continued to this day. Public dinners were already associated with charitable functions, and the governors were: “not to depart felowshyppe before thei have dyned togetheather, all wholly, aswel those that come newe, as those that haue gouerned their tyme and those that remayne, euery man at hys awne cost and charge.”

The *Treasaurour* was to give in writing on every

¹ At the present day the following is:—

“THE CHARGE OF A GOVERNOR OF SAINT BARTHOLOMEW’S HOSPITAL. You having been elected and chosen a GOVERNOR of SAINT BARTHOLOMEW’S HOSPITAL, it is your duty and charge to acquit yourself in that office with all faithfulness and sincerity; endeavouring that the affairs and business of the said hospital may be well ordered and managed; and promoting the weal and advantage of the poor wounded, sick, maimed, diseased persons harboured in the said hospital.

“To this end you are now admitted a Governor of Saint Bartholomew’s Hospital.”

twentieth of October his accounts for the year to the president and governors, and after these accounts had been audited by four auditors he was to attend on November 2, to answer questions and clear any doubts or faults found by them, and to explain to the new treasurer the state of the affairs. He was to dine within the hospital with the governors that day.

The *Surueiours* were to look after lands and leases, and to see that all leases were entered in the Repertory book by the clerk. They were to attend once a fortnight on Wednesdays. Two new surveyors were to be chosen on Michaelmas Day, and the old and new surveyors were, on October 12, to make a general view and survey of all the lands.

The *Almoners*, four in number, were to meet every Monday, or any other day but Saturday, which was reserved for the president and governors for the general affairs of the hospital. They were to speak to each officer, and to see that every man did his duty according to his charge. "Ye shal also diligently enquire if the Chirurgiens of this house do their duetie toward the pore without corrupcion or parcialitie, and callyng them before you, ye shall enquire what nombre there were healed that weke."

The almoners were, if necessary, to give money to departing patients, and were to admit other patients in place of those discharged. They were to keep an inventory of the utensils of the house, to see that the

service of bread, meat, and drink was delivered to the patients, and were to provide for wood, coal, and other necessities, and might report on enlarging rooms or increasing the number of beds. "Ye shall also se unto the keepyng swete of the poore, and in your proper persons visite them once euery Weke at the least."

The *Scrutiners* were to look after gifts, legacies, and bequests, and were to hand any such to the treasurer, keeping a book themselves, which was to be examined at the annual audit. They were to encourage the charitable to give to the hospital, and were to "moue those that haue the Office of Preachyng committed to them that they may the rather prouoke the deuotions of the people, to the help and comforte of this house."

The *Auditours* were admonished to examine the hospital book, of which every page was to be subscribed by two almoners, the Steward's book, the Scrutiners' book, the book of Survey, and with regard to any general order the Journal. They were to ask the Renter his rental for the year.

All the evidences and writings appertaining to the hospital were to be kept in a substantial chest with three locks and three keys. One key was to be kept by the president, one by the treasurer, and one by a commoner "appointed by the whole house."

The duties of the officers are next set forth. The *Renter Clerck* was to collect all rents and pay them to the treasurer, and to attend meetings and register their

decrees. He was to keep four books : a Repertory, a book of Survey, a book of Accounts, and a Journal, and each of these was to have an alphabetical calendar or index. Precise directions are given as to what is to be entered in each book.

The *Hospiteler* "is chiefly and moste principally to visite the pore in their extremes and sicknesses and to minister unto them the moste wholsome and necessary doctrine of God's comfortable worde, aswel by readyng and preaching as also by ministring the sacrament of the holy Communion at tymes convenient." He was also to receive the food provided by the steward, to enter it in a book, and keep it safely. He was to deliver food to the cook, and to see that it was dressed properly. When any poor person applied for admission, he was to ask two of the surgeons to examine him, and say if he were curable. If so, the patient was to be committed to the matron to be placed in the hospital, after a bill containing his name and surname had been drawn up by the hospitaler and subscribed by two or more almoners. This bill was to be filed. The hospitaler was to take charge of the money or valuables of all persons admitted. He had to register the names of those cured, and to give each a passport when leaving the hospital. His charge ends with two sentences of pleasing directness which have been retained in some of the charges of the officers of the hospital to this day. "This is your charge, and ye haue not to doe with any other thyng in this house.

Howbeit, if ye shal perceyue at any time, any thyng doone by any Officer of this house or other persone that shal maynteyne disorder or procure slaundere to this house, that ye then declare the same to some, one or two of the gouernours of this house and to none other persone, and no furdre to meddle therein."

The *Steward's* charge is headed "The office of the Steward and Butler." He was to provide all victuals and keep an account of them, and hand them over to the hospitaler, and was to attend at the meal times of the poor.

The *Matron's* charge deserves to be given in full :—

The Office of the Matrone.

Youre office is to receyue of the Hospiteler of this house all suche sicke and diseased persones, as he by hys warraunt sygned from the Almoners of this house, shall present unto you, and the same persones to bestowe in suche conuenient places within this house, as you shall thynke mete.

You haue also the charge, gouernaunce, and order of all the Sisters of this house, to see from tyme to tyme, that euery of them in the wardes committed to their charge, do their dutie unto ye pore, aswel in makyng of their beds, and keping their wardes, as also in wasshyng and purgyng their unclene clothes and other thinges. And that the same Sisters euery nyght after the houre of .VII. of the clocke in the wynter, and IX of the

clock in the Somer, come not out of the woman's ward, except some greate and speciall cause (as the present daunger of death, or nedefull succoure of some poore persone). And yet at suche a speciall tyme it shall not be lafull for euery Sister to go furth to any person or persones (no though it be in her warde) but onely for suche as you shall think verteous, Godly and discrete. And the same Sister to remayne no longer with the same sicke persone, then nedefull cause shall require.

Also at suche tymes as the Sisters shall not be occupied about the poore, ye shall set them to spinning, or doyng of some other maner of worke, that maie auoyde ydleness, and be profitable to the poore of this house.

Also ye shall receiue the flaxe provided by the gouernours of this house, and the same beyng sponne by the Sisters, ye shall committe to the sayde Gouernours, that they may bothe put ordre for the weyghyng of the same to the Weauer, and for the measuryng of it at the returnyng thereof.

You shal also as the chiefe gouernesse, and worthy Matrone of this house, haue speciall regarde to the good orderyng and kepyng of all the Shetes, Couerlettes, Blankettes, Beddes, and other implementes committed to your charge, that now do or hereafter shal apperteine unto the poore.

Also ye shall suffre no poore persone of this house

to sitt and drynke within your house at no tyme, neyther shall ye so sende them drynke into their wardes, that thereby dronkenesse myght be used and continued among them, but asmuch as in you shal lie, ye shall exhorte them to vertue and temperaunce, declaring this house to be appointed for the herboure and succour of the dere members of Christes body, and not of dronkardes, and unthankefull persones.

Herewith yee are charged, and not with any other thing. But if there shalbe any thyng done by any officer or other persone of this house, that shal be unprofitable thereunto, or that may be occasion of any disorder, or shall engendre slaunder to the same, that ye then declare it to some, one or two of the Gouvernours of this house, and to none other persone, nor no further to meddle therein.

This charge takes us at once back to the days when the cotton fields of America were uncultivated land, and when Lancashire was one of the least populous parts of the kingdom. Every large household then spun its own flax and its own wool. The weaver came for yarn, and returned it as cloth. He wove it in his own house. These ways long continued in remote parts of the United Kingdom, and I shall never forget a poor weaver in a thatched cottage at the foot of the hill of Dromore throwing her shuttle and saying to me, as I watched her with

boyish interest, "Job compares man's life to a weaver's shuttle."

The *Sisters*, twelve in number, were to be obedient to the matron, their "chief gouvernesse and ruler," and they are told, "Ye shall also faithfully and charitably serue, and helpe the poore in al their grieues and diseases, aswell by kepyng them swete and cleane as in gyueng thim their meates and drinckes after the moste honest and comfortable maner. Also ye shall use unto them good and honest talke suche as may comforte and amend them." I have often thought of these words in watching the conduct of her ward and direction of the patients in it of Sister Hope when I was physician, so highly did she excel in this difficult art. A patient, whose aspect was coarse and ill-tempered, whose conduct was selfish and ungrateful, and whose life had long been one of intemperance, seemed on admission altogether brutal, but as weeks or months went on became a different person, and showed signs of good feeling. A young woman, whose life was spoiled by the concentrated selfishness of hysteria, and whose acts made her whole family circle wretched, would slowly give up irrational conduct, regain control of her impulses, and come to think of those around her as well as of herself. A child, disobedient, cross-grained, wilful and noisy, would in a few days become well-conducted, smiling and quiet. Such patients and such changes were often seen, and

were the effect of the Sister's "good and honest talke suche as may comforte and amend them," together with the example of actions suitable to such daily conversation. Fortunate the poor to have such friends: fortunate the physicians and surgeons to have such aid in the practice of their art.

At the end of the list of the seven kinds of officers is the sentence: "There are also as in a kynde by them selues III Chirurgiens in the wages of the Hospitall geuyng daily attendaunce upon the cures of the poore."

The *Chirurgiens* were to do their utmost for "the poore of this Hospitall, setting aside all fauoure, affection, gayne or lucre." "Also for your stipend and fee geuen and payd out of this house, ye shalbe redy at the commaundement of the Almoners of this house, and Hospiteler of the same to view and loke upon such diseased persones as here from tyme to tyme shalbe presented." They were to say if the patient were curable or not, so that none should be admitted who were incurable, none rejected who were curable.

The *Porter* was to keep the doors, and see who went in and out. At seven in the evening, in summer, he was go into every ward where the poor men were, and see that they were in good order and that the appointed prayers were said.

"And whatsoever poore persone shalbe founde a swearer or an vnreuerent vser of his mouth, toward God or His holy name, or a contempner of the Matrone

or other officer of this house, or that shall refuse to go to bedd at the lawful houres before appointed, hym shall ye punyshe (after ones warning geuen) in the stockes, and further declare his folie vnto the Almoners of thys house that they maie take suche order with him or theim, as shal seme meet by their discretions."

The *Biddelles* were to walk the city, and, if they saw "any persone infected with any lothelie, griefe or disease," were to inform the almoners. They were to see that discharged patients did not counterfeit disease or beg, and to stop sturdy beggars asking alms within the city and its suburbs.

The *Visitour of Newgate* was to visit all the captives in the prison of Newgate "and minister vnto them suche ordinary seruice, at times conuenient, as is appointed by the kynges Maiesties booke for ordinary praier": and he was to "learne without booke the moste wholesome sentences of holie Scripture, that may comforte a desperate man," and once a quarter he was to do service in Christ Church.

No physician was appointed for some years, probably because it was thought the hospital could not afford one; since in the original plan the charity towards hospitals on the part of the medical profession which is now exercised throughout the country was not yet expected by the public.

The estimate of the yearly charges is next given,

and these are divided into "Charges certeine and charges vncerteine."

Charges certeine

Are firste the yearely wages and fees of those Officers and seruauntes, that necessarilie serue and attende for the poore, as ensueth, and after them the charges of housholde Reparacions and suche lyke.

To the Hospiteler	x.l.
To the Renter clerck	x.l.
To the butler	vi.l. xiiis. iiid.
To the Cooke for his meate, drinke and wages	vi.l.
To the Porter	vi.l.
To III Chirurgiens	lx.l.
To VIII Biddles	xxvij. xiiis. iiid.
To these and to the other for their liueries	x.l.
To the Matrone and XII Sisters for their wages	xxvij. vis. viid.
To the matrone for her boord wages at xviii pence the wieke	iiil. xviiis.
To the XII Sisters, for their boord wages at xvid. the wieke for euery of them	xl. xis.
To the Matrone for her liuerie	xiiis. iiid.
To the Sisters for their liueries	vil.
To the ministers of Christes church, by the kinges maiesties assignement, that is to saie, a vicare, a visitour of Newgate, V Priestes, two clerckes, and a sextein, yearly	C and vil.
To the ministers of the church within the Hospitall, by the same assignement, that is to saie, to a Vicare, a clerke, and a sextein	xxiiil. vis. viid.
To certeine men of Law and other persones, geuen in fees by the kynges sayd majestie, yerely by patente	xxviiil. iis.

Charges of Houshold

For the dietes of an C. persones, at twoo pence the persone for euery daie	iiiCl. vis. viiid.
For lxxviii lode of Coeles, at xvis. the lode	liiiil. viiis.
For woodd yerely	xxiiiiil.
For candles yerely	vl.
For yerely reparations of the Hospital and tenementes, apper- teinyng to the same	xl.
Somme of the Charges { viiClxxxl. certein { xviiis. iid.	

The charges vncerteine (for asmuche as it cannot certainly be knowen to what they may amounte) are here sette forth without Sommes, onely to sygnifie vnto you, that there are many charges more to be considered, than certeine accompte can be made of.

Charges uncertein

For Shirtes, Smockes, and other apparell for the poore, niedefull, either at their commyng in or departure. For Sugre and Spices for Cawdelles for the sicke, Flaxe for Shetes and weuyng of the same, Soltwiche cloth for winding sheets, bolles, bromes, Baskettes, encence, Juniper asshes to boocke their clothes. And also money geuen to the poore at their departure, whiche is measured accordyng to their Journey and nede. The whiche vncertein charges amounted one yeare to the sum of lxl.

So cometh the certeyn charges of this house yerely, to the somme of viiClxxxl. xviiis. iid. besyde the vncertein expences, and other extraordinary charges, whiche can not be rated, ne accompted.

Toward the whiche is yerely receiued by the endowment of the kynges maiestie, iii. C. xxxiiii℥. viis. viii℥. And by the like endowment of the Citie of London, iii. C. xxxiiii℥. viis. viii℥. The whiche in the whole is vi. C. lxvi℥. xiiis. iiiii℥.

So is the Hospitall charged yerelie of certeine (beseyde the vncertaine expences), ouer and aboue the somme of their reuenues, C. xxxi℥. viiis. viii℥. Which onely ryseth of the charitie of certeine mercyfull citizeins, for whose continuaunce with the encrease of moe, we earnestly praie vnto the founteine of mercie, Jesus Christe, the lord of all, to whome for euer apperteigne, the kingdome, the power and the glory, worlde without ende. Amen.

After this clear statement of the affairs of the hospital there is a form of daily service for the poor, for every morning, afternoon, and evening, as well as "the letany," which is to be said on Sunday, Wednesday, and Friday. At 8 A.M. and 4 P.M. the hospital bell is to be rung for half a quarter of an hour. The patients are to kneel if they can, and if they cannot are to attend in their beds. Evensong prayer is to be at 7 at night. It begins with the Our Father: then the minister says, "Praise we the Lorde," and the poor reply, "Let us geue hym thanks for euer and euer." Psalm cxxi., "I will lifte up myne iyes vnto the hilles from whence my helpe commeth," is next to be recited. The service is then ended by the following prayer:

"Almighty God kyng of kynges and lorde of lordes,

that onely gouernest and kepest all them that put their trust in the, kepe us thy poore members, this present nyght, that we maie rest and slepe in the remembraunce of thy moste holy name: To whom with the sonne and the holy ghost, be al honour glorie and praise, worlde without ende. Amen.

“God saue our souereigne lorde the kyng: al the Gouvernours of this house and the holie church vniuersal and graunt us peace in Christ and grace for euer. Amen.”

A patient when cured, and about to leave the hospital, was to say a thanksgiving upon his knees in the great hall before the hospiteler “and twoo masters of this house at the least,” in the following words:

“We magnifie and prayse the O lorde that so mercifully and fauourably haste loked upon us miserable and wretched synners, whiche so hyghely have offended thy diuine majestie, that we are not worthy to be nombred among thy elect and chosen people; our synnes beyng great and greuous is daily before our eyes, we lament and be sorie for them and with sorowful harte and lamentable teares we call and crie vnto the for mercie, have mercy vpon vs O Lorde, have mercy vpon vs and accordyng to thy great mercie wpe awaie the multitude of our synnes and graunt us now O lorde thy moste holie and workyng spirite, that setting a syde all vice and ydleness we maie in thy feare walke and go foreward in all vertue and godlines. And for that thou hast moued O Lorde, the hartes of godly men

and the Governours of this house, to shewe their exceeding charitie towards vs in curing of our maladies and diseases, we yelde moste humble and hartie thanks to thy majestie and shall incessauntly laude and praise thy most holy and glorious name: Besechyng the most gracious and mercifull Lord, according to thy holy woord and promes, so to blesse this thyne awne dwelling house, and the faithful ministers thereof, that there be here founde no lacke but that their riches and substaunce may encrease, that thy holy name maie thereby be the more praysed and glorified to whom be al laude honour and glory worlde without ende. Amen."

The patient having thus given thanks received a passport¹ to show where he had been, and that he was no wandering beggar or knave, and he was sometimes also given money to help him home.

The passport is made out for a native of Northamptonshire, showing that patients then sometimes came, as they do at present, from great distances.

¹ A PASSEPORT
TO BE DELIUERED TO THE
POORE

*To all Maiours Bai
liefes, Constables &c.*

Know ye that A. B. tailour borne in the towne of S. T. in the countie of Northampton beyng cured of his disease in the Hospital of S. Bartholomews in West Smithfelde in London, and from thence deliuered the 13 daie of August in the syxt yeare of the Reigne etc. hath charge by us A. B. C. the Gouvernours of the same to repaire within — days next ensuyng the date hereof to his said place of natiuitie or to Westhandfield, the place of his last abode, and there to exhibite this present passe porte to the head officer or officers in either of the places apointed that they maie take further order for his demeanour.

Eighty-five years later, and perhaps in 1552, the carriers to Northamptonshire started from the Ram in Smithfield, and the proximity of this inn to the hospital gate may explain why that county chances to be mentioned in the form.¹

The revenues drawn from the king's beam and similar dues, and from Blackwell Hall, having increased, it was decided by an act of Common Council² in the reign of Philip and Mary, on August 5, 1557, that the income derived from Blackwell Hall should be in future given to the hospitals of King Edward VI., namely Christ's Hospital, Bridewell, and the hospital of St. Thomas the Apostle. The hospital of King Henry VIII., that is St. Bartholomew's, was to continue to receive the five hundred marks guaranteed by the city, and it has done so up to this year.

A small book, printed in black-letter, was issued in 1557, with the title, "The Order of the Hospitalls of K. Henry the VIII and King Edward the VIth viz. St. Bartholomew's, Christ's, Bridewell, St. Thomas's. By the Maior, Cominaltie, and Citizens of London, Governours of the Possessions, Revenues and Goods of the sayd Hospitalls." It begins with the record of a court signed by the clerk, Mr. Goodfellow :—

¹ "The carriers of Northampton to and from all other parts of the country thereabout, are almost every day in the week to be had at the Ram in Smithfield."—"I. The Carriers, &c., London, 1637" (Arber's Reprint).

² Memoranda, Appendix, p. 79.

OFFLEY MAIOR

Martis vicessimo Octavo die Septembris Anno Phil. et Marie
quarto et quinto.

At this Court it was agreed that all the several Articles and Ordinances hereafter mentioned, and expressed, and openly read to the Court here this day Concerning the Governance and Ordering from henceforth of the house of the poore in West-Smithfeild and the Hospitalls of this City, lately devised by Sir Martin Bowes, and Sir Rowland Hill Knights, and diverse others of my Masters th' Aldermen, and the Commoners of this City, being Governours and Surveyors at this present of the said Houses, and other Revenues of the same whatsoever, shall be entred of Record, and from henceforth be put in due Execution from time to time, according to the true meaning of the same.

GOODFELLOW.

The surname of the lord mayor is familiar to many readers of English literature, for a dedication to his grandson John Offley immediately precedes the pleasant conference of Piscator, Venator, and Auceps, wherein the last so poetically describes the lark and the nightingale, and the second hopes that the watery discourse of Piscator will not be long ; and Piscator, in spite of the remonstrance, enlarges at length on his art, and pleads in its glory that the four first named in the list of the Apostles were fishermen, and that the whale, a fish, is the largest of living beings. Sir Thomas Offley, the lord mayor, had reason to consider hospitals, for an epidemic fever raged in his mayoralty, and during nine weeks of

it seven aldermen¹ were carried off. He did not die till 1582, and was buried in the church of St. Andrew Undershaft, where his kneeling figure is to be seen on his tomb, with that of his wife, and above them verses on the text "Vanitas vanitatum omnia vanitas."

By me a lykelihood beholde
How mortal man shall torn to mold,
When all his pompe and glore vayne
Shal chaynge to dust and earth agayne,
Such is his great incertaintye,
A flower and type of vanitye.

The year of this "Order of the Hospitalls" was that of the height of his grandeur, for besides being Lord Mayor of London, he was mayor of the staple, and was knighted on February 7, 1557.

The two knights mentioned were both famous citizens. Sir Martin Bowes was a goldsmith, who was lord mayor in 1545. Sir Rowland Hill was four times master of the Mercers' Company, and was lord mayor in 1549. He gave £200 to St. Bartholomew's Hospital during his lifetime, and £40 each to Christ's Hospital, Bridewell, and St. Thomas's at his death.

After the order of the lord mayor are printed "The Ordinances and Rules for the Governors of the Hospitalls in the Citie of London; To be redd in every of the said Hospitalls at a full Courte once every

¹ Grafton's Chronicle.

Quarter, either xiiii days before, or after the Quarter day:—

“WHEREAS the most excellent and worthy Princes our late Sovereigne Lordes Kinge Henry VIIIth and King Edward the VIth of their bountifull benignitie and charitable devotion towardes the succour and sustentation of the poor in this Citie, Have geven and graunted by their Lettres Patents with Indentures of Covenants and bandes to the said Princes and their Successors by the City made for performance thereof, to the Maior and Cominaltie Citizens of this said Citie, Aswell iiij several Hospitals, (that is to say): By King Henry the viijth one Hospital called St. Bartholomews the little, and by King Edward the vjth iij other Hospitalls, called Christs Hospitall, Bridewell place, and St. Thomas Hospital; As also certain Lands and Tenements; towards the reliefe and maintenance of suche Poor as there are releved, and have also by their Kingly Prerogative, graunted unto the Maior and Cominaltie, for the better Government of the same amongst other things in the said Lettres Patents, authority and power to elect and chuse Governours and Officers, And also to make and constitute good and holsome Ordinances for Godlie maintenance thereof, by vertue of the which Lettres Patents We the said Maior and Cominaltie have made and ordained these Rules and Ordinances in maner and forme following.”

The number of governors of the four hospitals and their procedure is then stated. There are to be fifty-six at least, fourteen of whom are to be aldermen, “six gray cloaks and eight callabre¹ with fifty-two grave Commoners, Citizens and Fremen of the said Citie whereof

¹ *Calaber*, a little grey beast of the bigness of a squirrel whose skin is used for fur. (An English Expositour or Compleat Dictionary by *John Bulloker*, Dr. of Physicke, Cambridge, 1680. Sixth edition.)

four to be Skriveners at the leaste." Two of the aldermen "of the Auncients Graye-clokes to be Governours generall of all the said four hospitalls, the Senior of those twaine to be Comptroler and the other Surveior." Three other aldermen, one of whom a "gray cloak" shall be president, and thirteen commoners, of whom one shall be treasurer, are to be attached to each hospital. None are to stay in office more than two years. On St. Matthew's Day in each year a general court shall be held in Christ's Hospital for electing new governors. Auditors general of the accounts are at the same time to be chosen. St. Bartholomew's differs from the other hospitals in not being required to elect governors at once to fill death vacancies.

The election finished, the bedells shall deliver up their staves, and go out so that "the opinion of the Court may be harde touchinge the doing of their duties." If approved, their staves are returned to them.

Lists of suitable men to be governors are to be considered before the meetings on St. Matthew's Day, and after the elections have been confirmed by the lord mayor and aldermen, the treasurer of each hospital shall summon a court and call to it all governors, "the ould remaininge as also those that be new elected, and every Man to take his place accordinge to the degree of the Companie whereof he is free except he be such a one as have born th' Office of an Alderman, or Shrieffe, or hath fined for the same, who shall take place

between the Aldermen and the Thresorer ; then shall the Clerke read the general charge of every Governor as followeth."

This charge is different from that of the governors of St. Bartholomew's of 1552, and is so worded as to apply to Christ's Hospital, St. Thomas's, and Bridewell, as in fact does the rest of the book. Then follow directions as to choice of "almoners, scruteners, and surveiors." The letters patent and grant from the king and covenants are then to be read. No chief officer of these hospitals is to be admitted or removed without a general court, and no leases are to be let in reversion more than a year before the termination of an existing lease. The special charges which follow refer to the other hospitals, and chiefly to Christ's Hospital, and not to St. Bartholomew's, where the "Ordre of the Hospital," of 1552, had already settled these matters.

On November 4, 1561, a new seal was made for sealing the writings of any of the hospitals. It was to be kept by the chamberlain in a purse sealed with the seal of the lord mayor and such of the aldermen of the grey cloak as should be present when it was used, and all writings to pass under the seal were to be first examined by three aldermen and four commoners, and were to be subscribed by them. This seal is still used, and all leases granted by the governors of St. Bartholomew's are taken to the chamberlain's office at the

Guildhall to receive its impression. It bears on one side the shield of the arms of the city, and on the other the figure of a saint holding a cross in his left hand, and with the right raised holding the emblem of his martyrdom, for the saint seems to be St. Bartholomew. He is surrounded by a border of flames.

On April 24, 1561,¹ the lord mayor issued a precept to the aldermen for continuing the weekly contributions in support of the hospitals. He was Sir William Harper, a most generous merchant taylor, who founded Bedford grammar school.

On September 25, 1604,² the Court of Aldermen ordered that all governors of Christ's Hospital, Bridewell, St. Thomas's, and St. Bartholomew's Hospital should be elected at Christ's Hospital on St. Matthew's Day in each year, and at no other time or place.

The Court of Aldermen, as time went on, seems to have grown less powerful in the affairs of St. Bartholomew's, and the aldermen on October 5, 1697, complained that they had not always been summoned to courts. Various difficulties arose; the sealing of leases was sometimes postponed as a form of protest, and the hospital having presented a Mr. Mossop to be vicar of Little Wakering, the Court of Common Council presented instead the Reverend William Owen, curate of the parish, and he was accordingly appointed under the common seal of the city on November 1, 1781.

¹ Memoranda, p. 18.

² *Id.* p. 20.

At length, on June 20, 1782, the Court of Common Council and the persons acting as governors came to an agreement; and in accordance with its terms an Act of Parliament, 22 George III., was passed in that year, which confirmed the agreement, and under it the hospital is now administered.

The Act¹ begins by mentioning the foundation of the hospitals, and then states the articles of agreement between the city, and, so far as St. Bartholomew's is concerned, its president, the Right Honourable Thomas Harley, alderman, and John Darker, its treasurer. The Act states that from September 27, 1557, to September 21, 1564, three aldermen, a treasurer, and eight other citizens, were chosen as governors, with a few other governors for each of the hospitals, at Christ's Hospital, and that similar elections took place every St. Matthew's Day to 1587. After that courts were occasionally, but not yearly, held at Christ's Hospital for electing governors down to 1652. After that the governors were always elected at the hospitals themselves. The lists were sent every St. Matthew's Day to the clerk of Christ's Hospital, and were by him given to the lord mayor, who handed them to the town-clerk in the presence of the aldermen without objection or alteration. Charles II. for a time by certain commissioners appointed presidents, treasurers, governors, and officers.

The articles of agreement come under four heads:—

¹ Memoranda, p. 139.

I.—That the governors in the list which on September 21, 1781, was delivered to the town-clerk of the city of London, and those elected since with the lord mayor and aldermen and certain members of the Common Council, shall be the governors of the hospital, and shall elect the presidents and treasurers and all officers in future, and administer the hospital.

II.—That this body, as governors of the House of the Poor commonly called St. Bartholomew's Hospital near West Smithfield, London, of the foundation of King Henry the Eighth, may take legal proceedings and be sued, and that the treasurer shall pay all costs.

III.—The seal belonging to the four hospitals is to be restored to the chamber of the city, and is to be kept by the chamberlain. All leases are to be left at his office, and sealed there.

IV.—The Common Council is to nominate forty-eight of its members, "out of which number the names of twelve shall be sent to St. Bartholomew's Hospital," and that these shall act as governors, and their names be printed in the list, so long as they remain on the Common Council, which also shall nominate from time to time as vacancies occur among these twelve.

The several representatives sealed this agreement on June 15, 1782, and its articles were embodied in a public Act of Parliament passed in that year as 22 George III., cap. 77.

The payments made by the Corporation of the City up to 1912 were £233, 6s. 8d. annuity from Blackwell Hall, £100 representing the 500 marks agreed upon with King Henry VIII., £10 out of the now abolished duties of Package and Scavage, and £4 quit-rent out of the Brew House, Broken Wharf. In that year they desired to pay £13,893, 6s. 8d. in 2½ per cent. Consols, to be invested in the names of the Official Trustees of Charitable Funds for the benefit of the hospital, and the hospital agreed to this, thus extinguishing the annual payment of 500 marks which the city had made under the agreement with Henry VIII.

The constitution under which the hospital is ruled to this day was established in 1547, and confirmed, with an alteration in but one important particular, in 1782. Most of the offices created by the Deed of Covenant of December 1546 and the letters patent of January 1547 exist at the present day. The treasurer, the almoners, the physician, the surgeon, the rentar, the steward, the matron and sisters, the porter bearing a figure of St. Bartholomew on his staff of office, and the beadles with silver badges engraved with the hospital arms, are all parts of the present life of the hospital. The New Order shows the charitable intentions and business habits of the citizens, and the new governing body has always administered the hospital in a spirit worthy of its ancient history and religious beginning.

XV

THE LEDGERS



THE receipts and expenditure of the hospital have been recorded in a long series of ledgers since it began to admit patients under the charter of King Henry VIII.

The style of handwriting in these books has changed from period to period, the buying power of the sums of money mentioned has varied, and the articles of food, of medicine, and of furniture, on which money was spent, have in great part altered again and again in their nature. With all this variety, a constant accuracy of record has prevailed. Sir George Jessell, Master of the Rolls, in a judgment passed in November 4, 1878, in a suit instituted in the Court of Chancery by bill of complaint, filed on behalf of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, against Sir Benjamin Samuel Phillips and others, as to the tithes of Christ Church parish, the amount of which had been fixed by an award of February 24, 1545, bore testimony to the fulness and accuracy of these accounts.

"I come to the evidence. There is a fulness and

detailed particularity about it which we very seldom find in respect of such ancient transactions. It seems that the books of the hospital have been preserved. A great variety of hospital documents have been preserved from the time of the passing of the Act of Henry VIII. to the present day ; they are all produced under the order, and are perfect." The result, the Master of the Rolls concludes, is that the plaintiffs, as rectors of the parish, are entitled to receive from the defendants the tithes at the full rate of 2s. 9d. in the pound.¹

Thus the case at once shows the care with which the accounts have been written and preserved, and the importance of such preservation.

The first ledger is fifteen inches in height and eleven in breadth, and within it is written :

"The Accomptes made by the Treasurers and Gouvernours of the hospytall of Sainct Bartholomewe in West smythfelde in London founded by that moost famous and victorious Prynce Kyng Henry the eight and geven to the Maior and Cytezens of London for the relief of their poore, from the tyme of their first possession therof. Aswell of all Landes, Rentes, Reuenewes, and casuall Receptes, As also of all other profectes, with the

¹ An Act of Parliament (42 and 43 Vict.), *Christ Church (City) Tithe Act*, 1879 (Ch. xciii.), was passed July 3, 1879, commuting these tithes into a fixed annual sum of £1800 from September 29, 1878. The same Act (clause 16) allowed the governors of St. Bartholomew's to pay the vicar of the parish of Christ Church an annual sum of £150 in addition to the annual stipend of £40 which they pay him, "and so long as such additional annual sum shall be so paid the said governors shall not be required to find and sustain five other priests to celebrate divine service in the church of the said parish, or to pay them the yearly stipend of eight pounds, as provided by the charter constituting the hospital."

particuler employeng and bestowyng of the same as followeth."

The accounts begin with "Certeyn Receptes Receyued by Sir Martyn Bowes Knight by thandes of George Tadowe and other aswell for Plate, Tenthes, Oblacons, Arrerages of Accomptes as for Tombes, Stones, Leade, Iron, and suche lyke solde by the same George (as particulereye may apeare) out of the late Gray Freyers and the late parishe of Sainct Nycholas, with paymentes paide by the said Sir Martyn for the obteynnyng of the Kinges Lettres patentes for the foundacon of the late Hospitall of Sainct Bartholomewe and of the late Gray Freers, now called Christes Hospitall, with the paymentes for the newe erectyon and furnysshynge of the same, From the feast of thanuncyacon of our Ladye Anno Regni Regis Edwardi Sexti primo, forward as followith."

Six separate sums received are then stated, amounting in all to £515, 8s. 5½d.; "whereof," says the account, "the saide Sir Marten askethe allowaunce of money by hym paide fore the foundacon of the Hospytall for the poore and the newe Erectyon of the late Gray Frieres as followyth." The legal charges were considerable:—

Fyrst of money paide to Master Palmer the audytor for his paynes in searching the particulers and for the wreyting and ingrossyng of the same into parchment . . . £4, 6s. 8d.
Also of money by hym paide to Master Duke for his paynes

- in drawing the draught of the Indentures and Letters
patentes £6
- Also of money payde to Master Chauncellor of the Augmentacons
of a Rewarde to be gyven to Kinges learned Counsell for
their paynes taken in overseying the graunte and the In-
dentures betwene the King and the Cytie £8
- Also of money paid to master Duke for new wryting of the
Kinges graunte made to the Cytie and for Ingrosyng of
the same and for the new wrytyng of the Indentures and
Ingrossyng of the same £15
- Also of money payde to Anthony Strynger for the Inrollyng of
the particulers and for hys paynes in gettyng the byll
sygnd £3
- Also of money payde to Master Crookes for a Commyssion of
dedimus potestatem dyrected to the Lorde Mayor of London
the Lorde Cheif Baron and others to entice into the Spyttle
and for the retorne of the same 41s.
- Also of money paid for twoo lyke Commyssyons of dedimus
potestatem for taking of the Surrenders of Sainct Nycholas
and Sainct Ewens and for the retorne of the same 44s.
- Also of money payde for the charges of twoo men rydyng to
Banbury to the late parson of Sainct Nycholas to take
the surrendre of hym there and for horsse hyer for
theym 33s. 4d.
- Also of money payde to Master Cotton Servaunt to the Clarke of
the Hanaper for the Charges of the Sygnett and pryvey seale
of the letters patentes and Indentures £4, 13s. 4d. And
for the pety fees of the same 40s. And for the wrytting,
strayling and enrolling of the same £14. And for the velome
and drawing of the letters 13s. 4d. And for the Seale of
the Indentures 20s. 4d. As by a bill appereth . . . £22, 7s.

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Also of money paid for a case for the letters patentes . . . 6s. 8d.
 Also of money paid to Master Goodwyn for drawyng of a booke
 of papper for an Acte of Parlyament of confyрмаcon of the
 graunte from the King to the Cytie with the Raytall of the
 letters patentes and Indentures at dyvers tymes before he
 was retayned of the Counsell of the Cytie £5
 Also of money paid to Master Dukes Servauntes for their charges
 in rydyng to the Courte and brynggyng home the Indentures
 sygned 10s.

Intercalated among these legal expenses are the half-year's wages due at "thanunciation of our lady" 1547, to five "Bedles of the Hospytall" at 26s. 8d. each, and "Also of money paid for viii blacke staves pomeled and veralled with Tynne, with the Armes of the Cytie on the toppe and pyked with Iron at thende, for the viii Bedles to walke with in their handes, at iiis. apece."

It is easy to imagine George Wyllyamson, Richard Richardson, Peter Ardern, Willyam Lamporte, and Walter Tompson, these first beadles, walking about the city and in the hospital full of authority with their staves in their hands; and we can almost see Master Duke's servants arriving on horseback with the duly signed indentures, and depositing them in the keeping of Sir Martin Bowes, to remain safely with him and his successors in office in the hospital to this day.

William Cordall, the first steward, was repaid for various disbursements, such as 17s. for "twoo postes and

twoo boxes of yron for stockes for the almes-boxes thone for the Hospytall and thother for Chrystes churche," and for canvas, and flockes, curtains and curtain rings. Two upholsterers were paid for bedding, coverlets, and mattresses. One of these bills shows that there were but ten patients in the hospital on Easter Eve 1547: "Also of money paide to Nycholas Chrystian upholster for tenne mattresses of flockes at 3s. 8d. le pece 33s. 4d., and for tenne Course Coverynges at 15d. a pece 12s. 6d., for the poore people beying in the Hospytall upon Easter Eve."

Five entries are for repairs of Christ Church, amounting to £21, 17s. It was well whitewashed, and one item gives us an idea of how it was decorated: "To the paynter for making of certeyn scriptures and other thinges about the same churche xl s., and for Spanyshe whyte for the same x s."

The total sum expended in the year is not written in, but an addition of the items shows that it was £209, 7s. 0½d.

The next account is that of Andrew Judd. He was a skinner, and was great-grandson of Robert Chichele, Lord Mayor in 1411 and 1421, brother of Henry Chichele, Archbishop of Canterbury, the founder of All Souls College. Judd became Lord Mayor in 1550, was knighted, and was the founder of Tonbridge School. Stow mentions that his house was in Bishopsgate Street. He died September 4, 1558, and is buried in

Great St. Helen's Church.¹ His monument there is designed in two arches. The dexter arch shows Sir Andrew in armour kneeling, with his four sons behind him, and the sinister, Dame Mary his wife, with her daughter. Three pillars flanking these arches support an entablature, above which in an arched panel are his arms. Below the figures are oblong panels, with an inscription, recording his marriages, children, and death as well as his life's work.

To Russia and Muscoua
 To Spayne Gynny without fable
 Traveld he by land and sea
 Bothe Mayre of London and Staple
 The Commonwelthe he norished
 So worthelie in all his days
 That ech state full well him loved
 To his perpetuall prayes.

This account contains many more details, and shows that the work of the hospital was increasing. It is headed:—"Thys ys the Accompt and Reconyng of me Andrewe Judde, Alderman and Treasurer for the poore for the Hospytall of Sainct Bartholomew of all the Receyptes and payments made by me, the forenamyd Androwe from the XIth day of August Anno 1547 unto Mighellmas Anno 1548, as yt appereth by the particulers hereafter followyng."

It begins with money received from John Laurence

¹ J. E. Cox: "Annals of St. Helen's, Bishopsgate," London, 1876.

the Rentar, of the lands belonging to the hospital, amounting to £333, 18s. 4d. One rent valued at 8s. 6d. was paid in kind :—" Item I charge me *received* the last day of May An^o 1548 of Master Reynoldes, fyshemonger by the handes of Cordall stuarde for a barrell of hear-ryng due to the Hospitall for Rent every lent."

A list of "Bequestes gevyn to the poore of Saint Bartholomewes Hospital" follows. They amount to £237, 10s.¹

A list of gifts comes next, amongst which is one of forty shillings from "the Queenes grace." This was King Henry VIII.'s widow, Catharine Parr, who had already married Lord Seymour of Sudeley, and who died on September 7, 1548, before the end of this account.

The charity which giveth in secret was not wanting, for a gift of £10 and one of 20s. have the note, "by one that wolde not be namyd"; nor was the charity of the widow absent, for Joan Ayez, widow, gave 3s. 3d.

	£	s.	d.
¹ Robert Meredyth, mercer, August 11, 1547	6	-	-
William Brothers, November 28, 1547	-	20	-
Fyshlaye Jenkins, December 1, 1547	10	-	-
John Myller, December 7, 1547	20	-	-
Elizabeth Symson, December 21, 1547	40	-	-
John Knight of the Mint, February 8, 1548	-	10	-
William Mery, grocer, January 22, 1548	100	-	-
John Cartar, draper, January 22, 1548	10	-	-
John Kemes, Merchaunt Taillor, August 3, 1548	3	6	8
Sir John Cootes, Alderman, October 6, 1548	6	13	4
Mr. Tolowse, Alderman, December 12, 1548	20	-	-
William Hunton, skinner	20	-	-

John Cootes was Lord Mayor in 1542, and in that year John Tholouse was sheriff. The former was buried in St. Stephen Walbrook, the latter in St. Michael, Cornhill.

John Royse, mercer, gave £6 to buy fifty coverlets. Richard Howlett¹ gave £2 to help a poor man named Jasper Corpus to his health. The total sum was £54, 11s. 7d.

Then follows a list headed "Money Receyuyd for the Benevolence of the Wardes for the Hospitall Anno Domini 1547." Aldermen Barnes,² Hynde,³ Whyte,⁴ and Jarvys⁵ made payments for several wards, the names of which are not given, amounting to £91, 2s. 6d., to which are added £2, 13s. 11d. obtained by the sale by the steward of "lattyn candlesticks," old brass and pewter, and £1, 1s. 4d. for letting booths within the hospital during the time of Bartholomew Fair.

The boxes in the hospital were emptied each week, and yielded in the year £8, 10s. 5d., to which were added : 2s. "of a poore man that dyed in the Hospitall," 2s. "receyved of the Matrone which she founde in the purse of a poore woman that dyed in the hospital," and 3s. 2d. "receyved of the Matrone which she had of Robert Chappell that dyed in the hospitall."

The next heading is "Money receyved for the fiftenes to the use of the poore." These payments were sometimes made by the alderman of the ward, and

¹ Of Sydenham, Esquire, in the parish of Lewisham, whose funeral on September 20, 1560, and the fish dinner after it, are described by Machyn (Camden Society, 1848), p. 243.

² Lord Mayor 1552-3.

³ Augustine Hynde, clothworker, sheriff 1551.

⁴ Sir John White, Lord Mayor 1563.

⁵ Richard Jarvys, sheriff 1546.

sometimes by his deputy, and were mostly for half fiftenees. The total was £298, 5s. 1d., and this concludes Andrew Judd's whole receipts, which came to £1028, os. 4d.¹

Sir Andrew Judd bought feathers for the beds at 2s. 4d. the stone. He paid six shillings for two ladders, one of thirty staves, and one of twelve. Thomas Preston, hosier, made "jerckyns sloppes and hosen for the poore." The treasurer paid "for a byble for the church 6s. 8d." This was probably Grafton's "Great Bible" which was first issued at 10s. The table furniture of the hospital is shown by two items "paide to Mr. Curtys for xii depe platters and xii porringers with eares weighing all lx poundes at vi*d.* the pound—xxx*s.*," and "to the saide stuarde for belles booles and trenchers for the poor." Thomas Curtys, M.P. for London in 1547, and Lord Mayor in 1558, was a pewterer, so that these platters and porringers were no doubt of pewter. A tailor was often employed to make garments for the poor as—

¹	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Aldersgate Ward . . .	3	10	—	Dowgate	13	7	—
Coleman Street . . .	7	18	5	Chepe (half fifteenth) . .	25	6	8
Portsoke	2	5	—	Algate	2	10	—
Cryppelgate	19	—	—	Vyntre	7	7	4
Byllyngsgate	15	15	—	Tower	10	11	—
Wallbroke	16	12	6	Queenhythe (part of half) .	9	11	1
Cornhill	8	—	—	Bridge (half fifteenth) . .	23	3	5
Lym Street	1	—	—	Cordwainer Strete (part of half)	23	8	—
Farington without . .	16	13	1	Faringdon within	24	3	7
Brode Strete	12	10	—	Bassinghall	7	—	—
Barnard Castill . . .	6	—	—	Candelweeke Strete (not half)	8	—	—
Bishopsgate	6	5	—	Breade Streat	18	3	—
11.				2 c			

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Twoo payre of hose for ii boyes	4d.
For making of a frocke for a gerle	8d.
For making of iiii cootes for the poore	2s.

Mr. Wyseman's clerk was paid 6s. 8d. "for making of our booke to cotype our graunte gevyn unto us by the Kinges Majestie to the use of the Hospitall." Mr. Raulins, grocer, was paid £8 "for a long Kentyshe cloth to gyve the Susters lyvereis withall." "A kertyll and a petycote and a kertyll and a wastcote" were made for 20d. "A payre of ballance and scales, to wegh the bread for the poore," cost 2s. "Twoo styltes for twoo men and one stylte for my ladye Forman's¹ boy with the ledders and the bucles" cost 6s. These styltes were wooden legs. New pewter and brass cost 47s. 6d., and better booles and trenchers were bought for the poor.

Precise entries as to the kind of food are not numerous, so that the following deserve note:

A hogshed of whyte wyne	26s. 8d.
A barrell of redd wyne	9s. 10d.
4 barrells of bere	12s.
11½ dozen of bread	11s. 6d.
1½ carkys of vele	8s.
A rybbe of beff and 4 peeces of poreke	3s. 4d.
10 carkes and 4 joyntes of motton	52s.

The ale consumed in a month cost £3, 12s., and the bread 53s. 6d.

¹ Wife of Sir William Forman, haberdasher, Lord Mayor 1538.

In Andrew Judd's year it was arranged that most of the food should be bought by the steward, and by him accounted for. Judd's surgical payments were :—

In primis paide to Martyn surgeon for cutting of a boye of the stone	10s.
Item gyven in rewarde to Richard Wetstall for his paynes taking amonge the poore	20s.
Item paide unto George Vaughan surgeon for his quarter wages due at Mighellmas anno 1547	30s.
Item paide to Thomas Baylei for hys paynes taken to dresse the poore the space of six weekes	20s.

These were the first sums of money paid to the surgeons. Their regular wages were paid later in the year, and were—William Gartar, £5 for the whole year ; Thomas Bayly and George Vaughan, £12 each for wages and drugs. They also received money for particular cases as :—

Paide to Willyam Gartar surgeon the 13 day of Marche for healyng of Fraunceis Hake that was burnt with gonne powther	5s.
Paide to Gartar for healyng of Willyam Tornar of a sore legge	5s.
For healyng of Jone Smythe of a sore arme	} 5s.
For healyng of Agnes Charwarde of the byting of a dogge	
For curing a sister	5s.

Gartar in all received for such cases £22, 13s. 4d. At the beginning occasional help was now and then employed, as :—

Item paide to Thomas Tayler for his paynes taken to dresse the poore the space of six wekes	20s.
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William Gararde,¹ alderman, was treasurer for the next year, 1548-9. His total receipts were £903 12s., which included a bequest of £40 from Sir Richard Gresham. Sir Richard died February 21, 1549, and, though the money bequest which he left was a handsome one for the time, St. Bartholomew's Hospital owes him a far greater debt, for he urged upon the king its refoundation, a service which entitles him to be regarded as one of its greatest modern benefactors. Alderman Gararde's accounts, like those of the other treasurers, illustrate the commodities and prices of the time and the daily life of the hospital, though much more might have been learned had the steward's purchases been given in detail instead of under the general heading of "Achates." His payments for wood and coals in each year are mentioned separately.

Gartar, Bailey, and Vaughan, the surgeons, each received £15 for the year, with a further "reward" of £1 each, and some extra payments, such as two shillings for going to Mile End to cut off a leg. Mrs. Fysher, the matron, received for the year £3, 6s. 8d., and each of the eight beadles the same sum. The eleven sisters received 40s. each. A tailor was paid for making three pair of "sloppes" 12d. "A paraphrase to be redde to the poore" cost 10s.; "a statute book," 10d.; "a standyshe," 12d.; "pennes," 1d.; seven ells of brown canvas cost 8d. the ell; "whyted canvas," 9d. the ell;

¹ Lord Mayor 1555-6. Sir William Garrard died 1571.

three smocks, 20d. ; "a shift for Agnes Hall, whose leg was cut off," 2s. 8d. ; "double Southwick, at 8d. the ell" ; "for 32½ elles of brode barras at 7d. the ell" ; "for weving 129 elles cloth that was sponne in the hospitall, 21s. 4d." ; "for flaxe which made seventeen payre of sheetes" ; "for a fethered tyke, 6s. 8d." ; "pair of hose for Luce Lysewood, 12d." Shoes were often given to the patients, and the cost of a pair was 8d. Patients at departing received sometimes a shilling, more often 5d., 6d., or 8d. "Item to an Yrishe man and twoo maides at their departing, 2s. 4d." To the healed and departed £4, 16s. 8d. in all was paid. Surgical apparatus, such as wooden legs, were given, and 16d. was the usual price for one. The phrase "A truss for John Browne that was brusten" shows the vernacular expression for hernia.

The clothes of the patients were sometimes taken out of pawn. "Item paid for a smocke that was bought being at gage, 6d." People were from time to time paid for boarding the sick poor : "for fynding of a childe for v weeks at 8d. the week." The parlour seems to have been the official sitting-room of the authorities ; the matron kept it in order, and received "for making clean the parlor 2s." An entry belonging to the next year shows that its chairs and settle presented a gay appearance owing to their coloured cushions : "Paide for stuffyng of sixteen cushens made of olde vestiments for the parlor 6s. 4d., and for making 1s. 1d." Another

item records the purchase of the material: "Item of Henry Vaughan for dyverse copes, vestiments, stoles and fannelles £18, 12s. od." Mr. Vycars (better known as Thomas Vicary), used often to give out money in small sums, and was duly repaid.

In 1549-50 John Blondell, mercer, acted as deputy treasurer for Mr. Thomas Whyte, alderman,¹ who had been elected October 30, 1549. Executions took place near the hospital, and hence: "Item Received for breaking of the grounde for four Spanyardes whiche suffred in Smythfelde and buryed there, 10s." The remains of the library were being sold, and the treasurer received £1 for old books. A book "boxed and bounde to regester the Treasurers accomptes in," cost 10s., and a "reame of writing paper," 3s. 10d. A painter received for washing doors and painting scripture on the walls, 6s. 8d. The weaver received 2d. an ell for weaving 175 ells of cloth. The hospitaller was paid 3s. 4d. for reading of the chapter to the poor for a quarter. One surgical improvement cost a good deal, "for a greate kettill wayeing 34½ pounds at 9d. the pound for the surgeons to boyle with, £1, 5s. 10d." The sisters were both cheered and rewarded: they with the matron received 2s. for their wake goose, and the eleven sisters received among them for their good spinning—one shilling. Four persons were boarded

¹ Sir Thomas White, founder of St. John's College, Oxford, was Lord Mayor 1553. John Blondell's widow married Sir Robert Avenon, Lord Mayor 1569-70.

out till rooms were empty at a cost of 4s. 2d., and "a poor woman that kept a childe with a broken backe before yt couldbe had into the house" received 4d. A buggie to Mile End cost 8d. Another waycharge is: "Paide to twoo proctors to gyve them dryncke by the way 8d."

One entry mentions the short-lived title of Bishop of Westminster, which came to an end in 1550. "Paid to the bushop of Westmynster by the handes of Mr. Blackwall towne clarcke for a release of the patronage of Saint Nycholas Churche £10, os. od." The surgeons Gartar, Bayley, and Vaughan this year received £18 each.

Mr. Blondell's receipts in all were £1245, 17s. 4d. and he spent £1107, 15s. 4d., so that £138, 2s. od., he says, "restith in my handes for the foote of this myne accompt," which sum he delivered to his successor.

Nycholas Wilforde was the next treasurer, but died during his year of office, and Richard Grafton, grocer, was appointed deputy treasurer, and presented the accounts for the year.¹ Grafton, though a member of the Grocers' Company, was a printer, and had at this time the sole right of printing the statutes and acts of parliament. He lived and had his press in the

¹ "The accompte of Richarde Grafton Grocer Deputie Treasurer for the performance of thacompte and Charge of Nycholas Wilforde merchaunt taillor who deceased being treasurer of the hospitall of saint Bartholomewes in West Smithfelde in London. And for that he dyed before the yere was expyred I the saide Grafton was elected and appointed to performe the rest of his yere and to make perfect hys whole accompt which thing I have done in suche sorte as after may apere fyneshed in October anno 1551."

cloister of Christ Church,¹ so that he was a convenient printer for Dr. Caius, who lived in St. Bartholomew's, and employed him in 1552 to print his book on the sweating sickness. Grafton's career as a printer came to an end after his printing on July 10, 1553, the proclamation announcing the accession of Queen Jane. Had he been a man of higher station he might have lost his head, but after a short imprisonment he suffered no worse penalty than the loss of his office of royal printer, and in the same year was elected one of the members of Parliament for London. In 1562 he published an abridgment of the *Chronicles of England*, and in 1568 his "*Chronicle at large and meere history of the affayres of England.*" Thus he is remembered with Holinshed, Hall, Stow, and Fabyan, a group of writers who are called *Chroniclers*, as if to depress them below the dignity of historians, and who are laughed at by Cowley for their prolixity :—

I more voluminous should grow
 (Chiefly if I like them should tell
 All change of weathers that befell)
 Than Holinshed or Stow.

They may bear his scoff, since it was after reading Holinshed, Hall, and Grafton that Shakespeare wrote the historical plays from which most Englishmen have drawn what knowledge they have of our mediæval kings.

Grafton received £912, 18s. 4d. from the sources already mentioned. One gift illustrates the difficulties

¹ His annual rent was £6, 13s. 4d., which suggests a large house.—*Rentall*, I.

as to coinage of those times :—" Received of Mr. William Chester for the bequest of Robert Tempest his sonne in lawe 95 angelles and in currant money 2s. 6d. At 10s. the angell amountith to the some of £47, 12s. 6d. Item more Received of the same Mr. Chester for the increase of the same angelles 6d. in a pece £2, 7s. 6d.—summa, £50." Victuals and repairs cost from £24 to £37 a month. Fish and cheese were paid for separately :—

6 cades of Sprottes at 16d. the cade .	-	8s.	-
2 cades of redde hearing	-	13s.	4d.
An hundred of new lande ¹ fishe .	£1	3s.	6d.
A waye of Essex chese	£1	4s.	-

There were now twelve sisters who were paid each 40s. a year, and the matron, Rose Fysher, received £3, 6s. 8d. a year, and 4s. more for "keeping the parlor." The three surgeons had £18 a year each. £1, 13s. 4d. was paid for the weaving of 133 ells of linen cloth at 3d. the ell. "Paide for a payre of shoen and for making of twoo payre of hosen for Willyam the foole 1s." Money was given to the poor who had been healed to go to the places whence they came—1s. was enough for a man to go to Oxford, and 1s. 8d. to go to York. The great yard before the hospital was paved with 96 load of stone at a cost of £2. A carpenter was paid 3s. 4d. for four days' work in the hospital. The total of Grafton's expenditure was £862, 2s. 5d. Allowances were to be made him for money lost "by

¹ i.e. Newfoundland.

the abatement thereof by vertue of the fyrst proclamation,"¹ and "by the abatement of the second proclamation." By the first £24, 2s. 10d. was lost out of £96, 11s. 5d., and by the second £25, 3s. 4d. out of £75, 10s. 0d. The library next the Guildhall chapel belonged to the hospital, and paid a rent of £5 a year. It is interesting to learn that fire dogs were sold by weight: "Paid for a dog of yron waying 45 lb. at 2½d. the lb.—9s. 5d.," and also cisterns: "Paide for 2 water sesterns of newe leade wayeng 24 cwt. 24 lbs. at 20d. the hunderyd £2, 1s. 2d."

Grafton's successor as treasurer was Thomas Palley, fishmonger. He received from the Companies £333, 6s. 8d. Dr. Hill, the king's physician,² gave 10s. One item is £1, 0s. 8d.: "Received at Mr. Vycars handes the 14th of May for money that was gyven by dyvers persons that came to see the wenche that was shamfully carded and torne with woll cardes by her maistres."³ Booths set up in the hospital at the time of Bartholomew

¹ In 1551, 9 ounces of alloy were added to 3 ounces of fine silver and coined into 72 shillings. In 1552 this base money was called down causing great loss to the people. Fleetwood, in his "*Chronicon Preciosum*" (London, 1707) says: "I have by me now, an Account of that Time wherein, by the first Proclamation (dated July 9, 1552) a College lost (out of an £118, 6s. 11d.) £29, 11s. 8½d. And by the second Proclamation (dated Aug. 17) immediately following out of £45. 3s. the College lost £15. 1s. which was a 4th and a 3d part of every One's Cash, in the Space of two Months."

² Dr. Alban Hill, a fellow of the College of Physicians elected in 1552, and a friend of Dr. Caius. Caius: "*Annals of the College*" (Cambridge, 1912), pp. 17 and 51.

³ Henry Machyn's diary (ed. Nichols, Camden Soc., 1848), p. 17, records this case: "The xvi day of Aprell rod through London in a car a woman with a bannor purtyd with a yong damsell and a woman, with a carde in the woman's hand, cardyng her mayd nakyd, the wyche she left butt lytyll skyn of her,—of the wyche the damsell ys lyke to dee."

fair yielded £1, 4s. 4d. John Disc was steward, and paid monthly for the diet of the house ; £3, 7s. 4d. was paid to 96 of the neediest of the people healed during the year. The matron received 6 yards of red "welshe fryese" for her livery at 22d. the yard, and the porter 1½ yards of blue at 7s. 4d. the yard. Mr. Vicars received 4 yards of fine russet at 15s. the yard for his livery, and even a far inferior person was well clad, for there is an item : "1 yarde 3 quarters of ploncket" for the foole at 7s. 4d. the yarde. These were all given at Christmas. There were "waynscot beds standing in the chymney in the women's warde," and ten new beds were bought, six in the gallery and four in the great chamber. A joiner's bill was signed by Mr. Vicars and Master Grafton.

After Grafton's account follows "the Rentall made by Thomas Hone for the next year, Michaelmas 1551 to the Nativity of St. John the Baptist 1552. The Close contained twenty-four tenants, and the list of them begins with Johannes Caius, £4. Under the heading of "reparacyons" is noted the employment of three carpenters for thirty-one days at 12d. a day each, and of other carpenters for five days and four days at 10d. a day, and one carpenter for half a day's work received 6d. Two sawyers employed for ten days each received 18d. a day. The sisters seem to have had their quarters in a part of the hospital called the sisters' house, with the sisters' yard adjoining it, which

was repaired July 18, 1553. Thomas Palley the elder, the treasurer for 1551-2, paid Roger Rogerson, book-binder, on January 24, 1551, "for the paper bynding and making of 4 greate bookes for the necessary business of this house, viz., a Journal, a Repertory, a boke of survey and a boke for the accomptes." The second ledger in which these accounts are written was probably this last book, and the corresponding Journal is also extant.

Thomas Hone or Hoone gives another Rental, and William Harper,¹ merchant tailor, renders an accompt as Treasurer for the year 1552-3. Mrs. Fysher, the matron, accounts for money received for "swynglyng towe" coming from the flax spun in the wards. Herrings were bought at 23s. a barrel. Four dozen of brooms purchased suggest that the wards were well kept. The accession of Queen Mary led to some restoration in the church, a service book was bought for 4s., a Latin lydger and a manual for 30s. The choir door was rehung, two tapers were bought, and 3s. 4d. was paid "for making up of the aulter."

The Rental for 1553-4 follows, and a separate account of several pages rendered by Philip Bolde, cloth-

¹ Lord Mayor 1561-2. His house was in Lombard Street. He was a great benefactor of the Grammar School of Bedford, his native town, and a passage in Machyn's Diary (p. 292) shows that he enjoyed sport: "And after dener to honing of the fox, and ther was a goodly cry for a mylle, and after the hondes kyllyd the fox at the end of Sant Gylles, and ther was a grett cry at the deth, and blohyng of hornes; and so rod thurgh London my lord mare Harper with all ys compene home to ya owne plase in Lumberd strett."

worker, in relation to the demolition of the church of St. Nicholas "in the flesh shambells," and for building fourteen new houses there for the use of the poor in the hospital of St. Bartholomew's. The church had a steeple, the timber of which and that of the building was sold. The tomb of Mr. Pensons the butcher was sold for £1, 6s. 8d. Some of the cut stone was sold for the houses of great people. The account of lead removed covers the greater part of four pages. The total was 25 foder¹ 16 hundredweight 2 quarters 22 pounds. Fifteen labourers were employed for a week, at a total payment of £2, 9s. 4d. The bricklayers received 12d. a day, and the labourers from 1s. to 8d. a day. The carpenters, plumbers, and plasterers were paid by piecework.

There is no landmark to show where this church of St. Nicholas stood, but its parish book has been preserved. It begins with twenty pages of vellum, and the rest is of paper. The first entry is a long inventory headed: "Thes be the goodes and ornamentis longynge unto the churche of Seint Nicholas in the fleisshamelis of the Cite of London beyng in the warde of Faryndon infra." Thirty-four service books are enumerated, eighty-nine vestments and altar hangings, four chalices of silver, two silver censers, a silver ship and spoon for incense, a silver chrismatory, and silver candlesticks—fifteen silver articles in all, besides nine of latten or

¹ One foder = 19 hundredweight.

copper gilt. Then comes a list of ornaments and goods belonging to the chantry of Our Lady : six books, one chalice, and twenty-eight altar clothes and vestments. Then those of the altar of the Trinity, including one chalice and seven vestments, and of the chantry of St. Katharine, one mass book, one chalice, and five vestments and altar cloths, and two "cruettes" of tin. Then some ornaments of the Brotherhood of St. Luke, and then several other goods of the church, as : "Item a mytre for Seint Nicholas Bisshop with a N and a T on euery side therof of the gifte of John Leche and sette with dyuers stones." On the last page of vellum is an entry as to the parish bells beginning with an initial decorated with red and blue : "In the yere of oure lorde MCCCCLVIII and in the yere of the Regne of Kinge Edward the fourthe after the conquest the ninthe and in the moneth of March the xv. day Maister John Pygge Suffrigan of London halowed solemly be note in the Churche of Seint Nicholas in the flesh-shamelys V Bellis now hanging in the stepill of the said church, the which V Bellis he halowed and named like as apperith here folowyng be writyng. The lefte belle is halowed and named Thomas in the wurship of Seint Thomas of Canterbury.¹ The IIde belle is named Margarete in the wurship of Seint Margarete. The IIIde. belle is named the Trinite in the wurship of the

¹ The words remain clear, but the ink of the letters of the Saint's name has been taken out.

blessid Trinite. And the IIIIth belle that is to sey the mene belle is named in the wurship of our blessid lady. And the V belle is named Nicholas in the wurship of Seint Nicholas. And the litell houslyng belle is named Jesus in the wurship of the holy name of Jesus. And at that time Sir Thomas Eyre being person of the seid church, and John Wrichte and William Abell being churchwardeynes."

The paper part of the book contains the churchwardens' accounts from the thirty-first year of Henry VI. to the eighteenth year of Henry VIII.,¹ beginning with the record: "xxxi of kinge Henry VI.—Be itt remembred that John Jamys and Wylym Abell were chosyne and made church wardeyns be the hole assent of the goodemen of the parisshe of Seynt Nicholas in the flesshamus the firste day of October in the reying of oure kyng aforesayde." The receipts and expenses of each year are carefully set forth. Some of the payments may be considered in connection with the hospital records of payment, as showing the prices of that period:

Item payde to Thomas Holywode book byndar the 25 day of April	
(33 and 34 Hy VI) in party payment of a more some for	
bynding of the bokis of the saide chirch	6s. 8d.
Item payde for a quayer of parchemyn for An Inventory of the	
goodes of the chirch	3d.
To John Harpenden for endityng of the parchement	4d.

¹ The accounts of this parish from Michaelmas 1526 till Michaelmas 1546 are bound up with the first volume of the Journal, which also contains those of Christ Church for 1546-1548.

Item payde to a Shepster¹ for cloth and the amending of An
Awbe the which a ratt hadde gnawne in the vestry 5d.

To return to the ledgers. John Baker, mercer, was treasurer from Michaelmas 1553, and made up his account November 6, 1554. The beadles at the present day have silver badges on their coats bearing the hospital arms, and in his time all the "officers of the house" wore "scochyns of the armes of the City," for twenty-four of which he paid 8s. In most great houses of the time, the candles were made at home.² The wicks seem to have been bought separately, for the treasurer paid for ten pounds "of candelwyke to make candells." The table in the parlour, which was the room corresponding in function to the present committee room in the clerk's office, was covered with four yards of green cloth.

The restoration of the ancient ritual required some expenditure. At the present day altar stones are occasionally to be found as steps, as basements of stoves, or in the general pavements of churches; and in Edward VI.'s reign they had often been removed to make way for wooden tables, and were sometimes sold. Thus Mr. Baker paid £3 "to hym that bought the alter stone of Christes church for the same ageyne as appereth by a decree." He also paid: "For twoo

¹ A sheepshearer: J. O. Halliwell, "Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words," 4th edition, 1860.

² Cf. Letter of Dr. De Lasco to Chapuis in Friedmann's "Anne Boleyn," London, 1885.

aulter clothes of black chamblyth with the Dome and Trynitie" for St. Bartholomew's Church, 40s., and for the same "for 8 yardes of three quarter clothe whyte for alter clothes," 4s., and again "for ornamentis for St. Bartholomew's as for alter clothes, a cloth of silk for the pyx and for the Sepulchre and mending the organs, 47s. 4d.," and "to Clement Cornwall for Crosse, sensors, vestymentes and a coope of velvett for St. Bartholomewes church \pounds 9, 13s. 4d." For the same church were also bought "twoo newe crewettes 12d., twoo gyrdells 4d., a baskett for holy brede 4d., holy water sprynkler 2d., a pyx and a chrismatory, an antiphoner of parchment \pounds 1, 10s., a grayle and a mass booke of parchment \pounds 3, a Venyte book 3s. 4d." For Newgate were bought a vestment of red velvett, 6s. 8d., and a mass book, 10s. For Christ Church an antiphoner, price \pounds 1, 10s., a pyx, and a chrismatory, 5s., a cross with a foot and a staff, and a ship to put incense in of copper and gilt, 20s. Thus do these mere accounts show the altars decorated and mass once more celebrated in the church of St. Bartholomew the Less with all the solemnity used when it was known as the chapel of the Holy Cross.

The rental from Michaelmas 1554 to the Nativity of St. John the Baptist 1555 was drawn up by the rentar, Henry Richardson, and begins with the rent of Dr. Caius. Richard Malorye,¹ mercer, was the new

¹ Lord Mayor 1564-5. "He dwelled in Cheapeyde at Soper Lane end, at the signe
II. 2 E

treasurer from Michaelmas 1554 to the same feast 1555. Mr. Hycklyng, the vicar, the last member of the old order to remain in the hospital (for he was one of the three brethren who acknowledged the supremacy in 1534), is no longer mentioned, so was probably dead. Occasional payments are made for the keeping of patients for whom there was no present room, as: to a woman for taking in a poor child, 12d.; to the keeper of the spital called the Lok for keeping two men for one month, 13s. 4d.; to a man for keeping a man for a month, 6s. 8d. The matron and the eleven sisters together received 3s. 4d. for their "wake goose." Mr. Vicary paid money to several patients on their going out.

Geoffrey Walkeden then gives the account of the rents for 1555-6, beginning: "Furste of John Kayes yerlie £4," and this is followed by the account of Alexander Clemow, treasurer from Michaelmas 1555 to Michaelmas 1556. He received in rents and money from the companies, £1083, 10s. 11½d. The profits of the great beam were £197, 2s. 3d., of the beam at the water side £86, 8s. 9d., and of the beam of the styliard £89, 6s. 10d. People seem sometimes to have made a donation to secure the admission of a patient. Thus there was received "of a smith by the hands of the steward for admitting the smith's man 10s."

of the Golden Key." His wife Anne died at the birth of her seventeenth child in April 1560. Machyn's Diary: notes p. 379 and p. 232.

The items of provisions for the year do not mention bread or meat, which are probably included in the steward's account, but there are many entries as to fish—"2 hundred of fish, barrell of herringes, 12 bushell of salt fish, $\frac{1}{4}$ of cod fish, 100 of small bremes; fifteen pounds of butter, a firkin of butter, Essex cheese, and 13 bushells of pease at 3s. 4d." are entered.

The account for fuel is: 40 loads of coals at 14s. 8d., "as by atayle apperith," 20,000 billets at 7s. 1d. the 1000, 12,000 billets at 9s. the 1000.

The surgeons were now paid £20 a year each, the water bearer £1, 6s. 8d.; and the total payment to the eleven sisters was £22.

"Paid to the Goodwyf Hall for helyng of childrens hedes as by her bill apperith," 7s. 4d.; and further, "for heling of sore heedes," 6s. A chalice cost 44s. 10d. Two hundredweight of flax cost 35s.

To the lazar houses 26s. 8d. was paid. These were Hammersmith, Highgate, Kingsland, Knightsbridge, and the Lok. The whole year's receipts were £1854, 6s. 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ d., and the expenditure £1419, 2s. 8d.; "and so restith to this house" £440, 3s. 8d. (*sic*).

The next account of rents is that of Edward Gilbert, 1556-7, for a year and a quarter, and begins: "First, John Keyes for one year and one quarter, £5." This account is in a precisely vertical court hand, and is very elaborate. Jefferey Walkeden was treasurer 1556-7, and received £2708, 2s. 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. The steward expended

from £37 to £25 a month "for the dyette of the poore." Edmond Tetlow, the rentar, was paid £6, 13s. 4d. a year, and the clerk £5, 6s. 8d. Stephen Garter, Thomas Bayly, and George Vaughan, the surgeons, received £20 a year each, and the masters of the "Spittel houses" £22, 4s. 6d.

The treasurer for 1557-8 was John Marshe, the elder, mercer. Sir Henry Bydyngfeld, chamberlain and captain of the guard to Queen Mary, and M.P. for Norfolk, then lived in the hospital. He probably came there from the Tower, where he had had charge of the Princess Elizabeth for a year. Marshe's total expenditure was £1929, 15s. 4½d., and his receipts £2079, 1s. 8d. At the end of this account, for the first time the actual signatures of four auditors appear.

Edmond Style, grocer, was treasurer for 1558-9.

Ambrose Nicholas,¹ salter, became treasurer 1559-60,² and continued in office till 1566. The diet cost from £30 to £37 a month during his tenure of office. In 1565-6 his total receipts were £1640, 19s. 0½d., of which he expended £1555, 2s. 11¼d.

He was succeeded by Edward Brighte, ironmonger, who held office from 1566 to 1572. Among Brighte's casual receipts was Mr. Thomas Revill's fine of £100 for not taking the office of sheriff, and 6s. 8d. from the Lord Keeper that he gave the poor on Easter day.

¹ Lord Mayor 1575.

² The first volume of the Ledger ends with the account of 1560-61.

At this time a new ward was opened, and "a good charitable man of the Cytte of London" gave £6, 13s. 4d. towards making new beds in it. Thus the usefulness of the hospital was increasing, and the governors seem to have encouraged their staff by rewards. Bedon, the surgeon, was given 40s. extra on June 28, 1567, in consideration of his pains, and the matron on October 25, 1567, for her wake goose 6s. 8d. This wake goose was afterwards given in each year to the matron, and often also to the sisters. Lady Champyon on December 9, 1568, paid £100, the legacy of her husband Sir Richard Champyon,¹ knight, alderman and draper. An annual pension of forty-six shillings and eightpence was paid to an "old father Wotton," and a pension was sometimes paid to a retired surgeon. A ream of writing-paper for the house in 1571 cost 3s. 4d.

Martin Calthorpe,² draper, became treasurer in 1572; John Harte,³ grocer, in 1573; and Robert Howse,⁴ cloth-worker, in 1574. In his time five poor women were granted a pension of 2s. 6d. a year each for life. The reason is not stated, but it seems likely that they had been in the employment of the hospital. They were Mother Kinge, Nurse Wynter, Alice Lawton, Joanne Bowland, and Goodwyfe Threyle.

¹ He died October 30, 1568, having been Lord Mayor in 1566. This lady was Barbara, widow of alderman Henry Heardson (notes to Machyn, p. 347). Stow (ed. 1633, p. 138) describes her fair alabaster tomb, with her comely figure between the two kneeling aldermen in scarlet, in the church of St. Dunstan in the East.

² Lord Mayor 1588.

³ Lord Mayor 1589.

⁴ Sheriff 1586.

William Sherington was the treasurer of 1575-6, and the monthly diet bill was generally £40 or above, but whether the increase was due to the new ward or means that the cost of food was greater, there is nothing to show. There was a view dinner at Cletherhouse at the marking of trees which cost 26s. 2d., and a "serche dinner" on March 19, costing £3, 3s. 4d.

Nicholas Backhouse¹ was treasurer 1576-7. Alderman Olyff gave a legacy of £40, but the payments exceeded the receipts by £20, 12s. 6d.; and in 1577-8 William Webbe,² salter, being treasurer, the payments exceeded the receipts by £156, os. 11½d.; but in 1578-9 William Hewett, clothworker, being treasurer, the receipts exceeded the payments, and in the following years the deficit was soon made up.

In 1579-80, William Masham, grocer,³ being treasurer, Robert Chidley's rent is recorded for the last time, and he probably died in this year, and was the last resident who had lived in the hospital in the time of the old order of master and brethren, and who had heard mass in the chapel of the Holy Cross and remembered the commemoration there of Rahere and Richard of Beaumeis and King Henry I., and the other ancient benefactors.

¹ Sheriff 1577.

² Lord Mayor 1591. He married the daughter of Sir Christopher Draper, Lord Mayor in 1560, and died July 4, 1599 (Stow). His widow erected a monument to him in the church of St. Dunstan in the East.

³ Sheriff 1583.

Richard Maie,¹ merchant taylor, was treasurer in 1580-81. The fuel paid for in his time consisted of "great coles" and "small coles" and of 40,000 billets at 11s. 8d. a thousand.

Richard Platt,² brewer, was treasurer 1581 to 1583. The payments as to diet for the patients were made to the steward, those for the lazar houses, six and sometimes five in number, to the porter, those for the sisters to the matron, and those for drugs to the apothecary. The view dinner March 18, 1582, cost £4, 3s. 6d., and a dinner at viewing the wood at Clitherhouse 33s. A bible and service book for St. Bartholomew's Church cost 42s. The view dinner April 1, 1584, "at the Pope's head in Lumber street," cost £4, 9s. 8d., and there was also paid May 22, 1584, "for a courte dinner at the Castle in Paternoster row," 30s. 2d.

William Coles was treasurer 1583-4, and was succeeded by Richard Hale, grocer, in 1584-5. The monthly diet bill in his year ranged from £35 to £50. The three surgeons were given a benevolence of £10 in addition to their regular pay of £20 a year each. Some Irish beggars seem to have been patients, and the hospital had to contribute to sending them home:—

Item, Paied to Mr. Wanfield, Tresorer of Brydwell by precepte of Sir Thomas Pullison Lord Mayor and the Corte of Aldermen

¹ Buried in All Hallows, Bread Street.—Stow (ed. Kingsford), i. 347.

² Founded a free school in Vintry Ward.—Stow (*id.*), i. 249.

towarde the charges of the poore Iryshe Beggars to Brystow	
the xi of December 1584	£5
Item Paied more to him for the same cause the xv day of the	
same monthe	£5

The fuel account consists of coles, sea coles, and billets.

John Lacey, clothworker, was treasurer 1585-6. All the monthly diet bills were now above £40, four over £50 and two over £60.

John Newman, grocer, was elected treasurer September 17, 1586, and held office till 1596. He paid £75 in one month of 1586-7 for the patients' diet, and never less than £50, but the matron's wake goose remained constant at 6s. 8d. She received 50s. "for aqua vite for the poore for one yere ended at our Lady day 1587." The next year the diets were mostly over £60 a month, and the accounts show no signs indicative of an impending Spanish invasion.

The third volume of the Ledger begins with 1589. In 1590 Lord Mordaunte had taken a house in the hospital close at £5, 6s. 8d. a year. This was the peer who sat upon the trial of Mary Queen of Scots. John Diconson was paid 50s. "for keeping a poor lunatyke woman during her liffe," an entry showing that the hospital felt a responsibility for every kind of patient brought to its doors. Ten shillings were paid "to James Jones a poore man sente into the howse by my Lord Buckhurste by the consent of the allmaners." This was the first Lord Buckhurst, who in that year

became a Knight of the Garter and perhaps the 10s. were given because treatment could do little for this patient. The matron had to give a strict account of the linen, and paid 5s. "for three sheets lost by a sister that is dead." The matron in 1591-2 received "for her paynes for making scurvy drinke for one yere" 20s., and her spinning-wheels were mended at a cost of 11s. 10d. In 1592-3 the view dinner cost £5, 13s. 7d. In 1593-4 "Mr. Danyell sariaunt at lawe received for one yere's fee 40s." It was apparently a retaining fee, and was repeated in succeeding years. In 1594-5 twenty "tapestry coverlettes were bought at 8s. 8d. the pece," and 10 firkins of butter at 17s. the firkin. The affection which most people who have served St. Bartholomew's feel for it is shown by gifts such as the legacy of 20s. of Henry Hawarde, late steward, in 1595-6.

Robert Hampton was treasurer for 1596-7, and on February 19, 1597, Thomas Smythe, haberdasher, became treasurer. The view dinner cost £8, 9s. 6d. more than before, and the monthly diet bill reached £88. Perhaps less control was exercised over expenditure, for the end of the year saw the house in debt £135, 5s. 5d. The next year the monthly diet bill reached £107 in one month, but the whole income was somewhat larger, so that there was a credit balance of £93, 0s. 12d.

In 1598-9 Lady Townsende¹ left £66, 13s. 4d., "to

¹ Probably the widow of Sir Roger Townshend and daughter of Sir Michael Stanhope.

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the intente that sixe of the impotente persons of this house shoulde have delivered unto them yerly sixe rugge freise gownes to be continued for euer." Lady Blanche¹ bequeathed £9, 10s. od., and altogether £119, 13s. 4d. were received in legacies. The governors gave "to the Chirurgions towarde theire dinner at Easter 10s." Small bills for particular operations in addition to their annual stipends were now paid to the surgeons. In 1599-1600 Thomas Bodley, the founder of the library at Oxford, came to live in the close in a house for which he paid £5, 6s. 8d. to the hospital.

Thomas Smythe held office till 1601, when he was succeeded as treasurer² by Richard Moor, dyer, who was

¹ Widow of Sir Thomas Blanche, Lord Mayor 1582.

² The general income, expenditure, and surplus in the reign of Queen Elizabeth may be shown.

Year.	Receipts.			Payments.			Year.	Receipts.			Payments.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
1558-9	2029	12	0½	1968	2	7½	1581-2	1802	5	6	1303	12	5
1559-60	1992	0	2	1760	11	7	1582-3	1986	0	7½	1696	10	2½
1560-1	2166	5	2½	2143	3	2½	1583-4	1928	1	3½	1796	13	3
1561-2	1818	11	5½	2073	10	1	1584-5	1782	4	2½	1529	5	9½
1562-3	1543	10	1½	2037	6	3½	1585-6	2504	1	0½	2038	2	3
1563-4	2031	9	11½	2129	16	5	1586-7	2609	6	3½	2194	18	1
1564-5	1823	15	3½	1639	2	1½	1587-8	2562	5	1½	2163	2	7½
1565-6	1640	19	0½	1555	2	11	1588-9	2690	8	1½	2310	10	5½
1566-7	1748	10	6½	1653	3	2½	1589-90	2894	14	1	2368	13	6
1567-8	1812	17	5½	1492	7	2½	1590-1	2763	4	3	2236	0	8½
1568-9	2012	7	8½	1628	10	1¼	1591-2	2535	3	5½	2261	3	6½
1569-70	1812	13	1	1296	19	8½	1592-3	2479	2	5	2042	3	7
1570-1	2012	7	0½	1619	18	2½	1593-4	3207	4	3	2552	13	0½
1571-2	1768	7	4½	1659	12	8½	1594-5	3351	11	10	3007	11	4
1572-3	1560	9	6½	1520	1	1	1595-6	2979	15	3	2855	15	10
1573-4	1468	6	4½	1383	6	7½	1596-7	2887	11	3	3022	16	8
1574-5	1602	13	0	1483	10	6	1597-8	2966	14	8	2873	13	8
1575-6	1629	19	1	1526	14	9	1598-9	3356	8	8	2984	0	0
1576-7	1642	17	8	1663	5	2	1599-1600	3872	5	11	3611	11	1
1577-8	1450	6	11	1606	7	11	1600-1	3777	14	3	3393	5	9
1578-9	1735	4	11½	1618	11	5	1601-2	3402	10	10	3345	6	11
1579-80	1556	7	7	1467	12	6	1602-3	3200	5	10½	2920	19	13
1580-1	1538	7	5½	1322	19	6							

followed in 1602-3 by Cornelyus Fyshe, skinner, and in 1603-4 by James Colleymore, haberdasher, who held office till 1610.

The twelve wards of the hospital were provided on March 26, 1607, with four Bibles and eight "service books of prayer" at a cost of £6. The view dinner was held on the last day of March, and its cost was £9, 19s. 6d. A supper for the auditors was held October 9, 1607, and 24s. 4d. were paid for it. In 1608-9 the sisters were given 40s. extra "in regard to the hardness of the time."¹ The most illustrious name in the hospital accounts appears in 1609-10: "Doctor Harvey, phisition, £25."

In 1611 Thomas Juxon, merchant taylor, became treasurer, and held office till his death in 1620.

Flax and wool were regularly given out to the sisters, spun in the hospital, and taken away to be woven. Alexander Simpson received 31s. 4d. for weaving 94 ells of linen cloth at 4d. the ell. A new wash-house, with a furnace in it, had been built. The wards were furnished with tables and settles, and three years later "waynscott chests" were provided for the sisters to keep sheets in.

In 1614 an "apothecaries shop" was first erected in the hospital, and on June 1, 1614, brass mortars and

¹ John Chamberlain to Sir Dudley Carleton, London, October 21, 1608: "Our weekly bill little abated—not past 11 in all; the whole number being 247; of the sickness 127." October 28, 1608: "Our bill was this week 240 in all; of the sickness 102." Dudley Carleton to Sir Thomas Edmondes, London, March 30, 1609: "And I know not what malum omen brought us so near the hospital, for we have been neither of us very well since our coming hither."—Thomas Birch, *The Court and Times of James I.* London, 1849.

weights to be used there were purchased at a cost of 41s. 4d., and on October 10, 1614,¹ also a great brass mortar with two iron pestles, and a block for the same to stand upon. The mortar is believed to be the one still in use in the "apothecaries shop." The whole was well fitted; shelves were put up for pots, and divers implements provided, at a cost of £12, 5s. 7d., together with drugs, herbs, and simples. A cellar was made under the great hall of the hospital.

In 1617 the signature of Martin Bond as auditor appears, and he discharged that duty in the two succeeding years. In 1620 Mr. Juxon, who had been treasurer since January 25, 1611, died, and on December 2, 1620, Martin Bond was elected treasurer. He held office till 1643. His portrait hangs in the committee room, and on its table is an inkstand with the date 1619, his arms, and the inscription, "The guifte of Mr. Martin Bonnde."

The income in the first year of Mr. Martin Bond was £5388, and the expenditure £4321, 14s. 5d. The receipts seem to have increased steadily, unaffected by the stirring political events of the times. The monthly diet bills were now never below £80, and frequently over £100. Besides its rents, the hospital regularly received occasional fines, the profits of Blackwell Hall and of the beames and of the search of leather, as well as some small fees for burials, rent for a standing in Bartholomew fair, poundage of bread, and from time to

¹ Volume III. of the Ledgers ends with the year 1614.

time legacies. The counting-house table was covered with new green broad cloth at 11s. a yard, and the old table cloth was used to cover seats.

In 1521 Sir James Kirton came to live in the Close, and a James Pagett in 1629. Two new wards were opened in 1629. They were called St. Mary Magdalene and St. Katherine, and pictures of the two saints were bought to hang in these wards at a cost of £3.

The first part of the accounts of payments in 1629 is, as usual, that of the steward (Martin Llewellen) for the monthly diets. Nine of these are over £100, and the rest over £90. Then follow the payments to the lazar houses. Then the annual payments of the staff, beginning with:—

	£	s.	d.
Dr. Sampson Price, vicar of Christ Church	40	0	0
Five ministers, each	8	0	0
Henry Goodcole, Visitor of Newgate (and £6 extra)	10	0	0
Two clerks each	6	0	0
Sexton	4	0	0
Daniel Toutewill, vicar of St. Bartholomew's (and £6, 13s. 4d.)	13	6	8
Thomas Langley, hospitaler	13	6	8
Richard Collins, parish clerk	6	0	0
Thomas Andrewes, sexton	4	4	0
Martin Llewellen, steward	10	0	0
Jane Andrewes, matron	6	13	4
And to her for her maidservant	0	40	0
13 sisters (between them)	31	10	0

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	£	s.	d.
One new sister for $\frac{3}{4}$ of the year	0	37	6
Dr. Harvey, physician	33	6	8
Joseph Fenton, surgeon	30	0	0
John Woodhall, surgeon	30	0	0
Clement Wright, surgeon	30	0	0
Richard Glover, apothecary	40	0	0
Robert Lentall, surveyor of the workmen	6	0	0
James Mullins, surgeon for the stone	15	0	0
Mr. Calthorp, counsellor at law	0	40	0
4 beadles each	6	0	0
6 outside beadles each	3	6	8
Frances Worth for the cure of scald heads	58	0	0
Paid for the charge of persons cut for the stone (in five months)	8	9	9

These accounts were audited July 1, 1630, and the audit is signed Daniel Hills, Jacob Pennyngton, Richard Croshalve, William Smith. The accounts are always in nearly the same form and order, but under Mr. Bonde a slight increase in elaboration is noticeable. In 1630 Sir Edward Richardson came to live in the Close. Viscount Baninge and Viscount Camden each bequeathed £50. The auditors made a note that certain debts, amounting to £389, 13s. 3d., adjudged "deperat," be left out of the following yearly accounts. In 1632 Sir John Leman, from whom perhaps the street is named, bequeathed £100. This year Frances Worth received no less than £123 for cure of scald heads, and the surgeons for extraordinary cures £19; and there

was paid : "to Dr. Smith phisicon at the motion of Dr. Harvey in Gratuity and in respect of his paines taken as the deputy of Dr. Harvey in his absence by order of Court October 15, 1633, £10."

Dr. Edmund Smith graduated M.D. from Caius College, Cambridge, and was elected a fellow of the College of Physicians June 25, 1632. He lived in Shoe Lane.

In 1635 John Byrome gave the hospital 20 barrels of beer, valued at £6. There was this year a balance of £3200, 15s. The Treasurer acknowledges his responsibility for this money, but no mention of investment of any kind occurs.

In 1637 Lady Ducie bequeathed £50, Richard Tuffnaile and William Lord Petre £10 each, and Sir Paul Pindar, the remains of whose beautiful house still adorned Bishopsgate Street Without when I was a student at St. Bartholomew's, gave £50. The next year he gave £100, and two unknown benefactors £300. There were now 15 sisters, who were paid 50s. a year each. Sir Paul Pindar gave another £100 in 1639. There was a great dinner in Easter week, of which Mr. Bond paid one fourth of the cost : £8, os. 22d. It was attended by the treasurers of the four hospitals, the three surgeons and surgeon for the stone of St. Bartholomew's, its apothecary, the two "outhouse chirurgeons," and Mrs. Worth, the curer of scald heads.

In 1641 Jane Andrewes, the matron, died, and

bequeathed £50 to the hospital. Mr. Fountaine received 40s., being now the "counsellor at lawe" to the hospital. Benony Blague, the clerk of the hospital, received, as in many previous years, £8 for drawing and ingrossing the accounts.

In 1642¹ Arabic figures appear for the first time in the accounts in the report of the proceedings of a court which discussed certain debts which reduced the apparent surplus from £2437, 18s. 6d. to £1798, 17s. 5d., at which sum the court fixed it. All the figures of these particular calculations are in Arabic numerals, but, with this exception, the accounts continue to be in Roman numerals up to and including 1673-4. The Rental of 1674-5 is altogether in Arabic numerals, which have ever since been used.

In 1643 William Ashwell, alderman, and Oliver Markland were appointed to act as treasurers with Mr. Martin Bond, who died during the year. Ashwell held office from January 27 to June 4, 1643, when Oliver Markland, innholder, became treasurer, and held office till August 20, 1656, when Richard Mills was elected. Markland was probably ill, for he died in August 1658. Examples occur of the care which was taken to help patients on their discharge. Thus, in 1644: "Paid Samuel Smith tailor 20s. for taking to be his apprentice John Smith sometime a patient in this house"; and in

¹ Volume V. of the Ledger includes the years 1629-1642, Volume VI. 1643-1655, Volume VII. 1656-1671, Volume VIII. (a thin one) 1672-1674.

1646, "Paid Anthony Waller for taking to bee his apprentice Ralfe Somerfield some time a patient of this house, 20s." In 1650 Viscountess Camden left £100, and Clare Buck, widow, £20; and in 1652, Mrs. Monnox, widow, left £20. All through the Commonwealth times the view dinners were continued as before. The legacies of 1656 amounted to £235. In 1657 was received "the legacy of Doctor Harvey, late Phisicon of this house deceased, £30." Edward Arrys, the surgeon, who was a governor, and had resided in the Close since 1654, and was an auditor in 1655 and 1656, made a gift of £125.

Richard Mills was treasurer in the year of the Restoration and till 1677. In the year of the Great Fire of London, the income for the first time reached five figures, and was £10,976, 16s. 9d., and in the following year it was £9743, 17s. 8d.

The fire necessitated the formation in Mills' time of a special heading in the accounts, "The Rentall hereafter mentioned is for the Rents of howses lately burnt downe who have made contracts to rebuild their howses." In 1674 a legacy of £20 was received under the will of Margaret Blague, the matron, who died early in the year.¹ The monthly diets ranged from £125 to £148 fuel cost £224, 19s. 2d., and candles £47, 6s. 1d. The apothecariesbills amounted to £330, 18s. 2d. Katherine,

¹ The next three Ledgers are somewhat smaller. The volumes are 1674-1689 1689-1702, 1702-1717.

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Ingram received £46 for curing scald heads. The view and other dinners cost £45, 15s. 1d. Mary Libanus, the new matron, received £40 a year, like her predecessor. The total receipts of the year were £12,209, 3s., the expenditure £8194, 8s. 6d., and the balance £4014, 14s. 6d., "of which said some there is in an Iron chest in the Treasury £3838, 1s., the keyes where of are in the hands of Rowland Winn, Esq., and the key of the Treasury doore in the custody of Richard Mills, Esq., and there resteth in the hande of Christopher Cawthorne, Renter, £176, 13s. 6d., being the just Ballance of this Accompt, which together maketh £4014, 14s. 6d." This is signed by nine governors and by Richard Chiverton, the president. In the next three years the receipts were £11,400, 11s. 8d., £10,542, 4s., and £10,268, 2s. 7d., and the expenses £7255, 9s. 11d., £6455, 10s. 3d., and £5067, 9s. 11d. After this the receipts did not reach £10,000 again till 1692-3.¹

Anthony Hinton became treasurer December 12, 1677, and was succeeded November 20, 1678, by Henry

¹ The receipts and expenses were, for the intervening years:—

Year.	Receipts.			Expenditure.			Year.	Receipts.			Expenditure.		
	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
1678-9	8838	6	0½	6480	8	7	1686-7	7593	11	2	7552	1	10
1679-80	8027	11	0½	6479	0	7	1687-8	8336	10	5	7781	11	0
1680-1	7376	9	0½	5983	19	5½	1688-9	7658	10	0	7559	7	11
1681-2	7750	8	2	6521	18	1	1689-90	7317	15	7	7274	16	1
1682-3	7806	5	0	6977	14	3	1690-1	9213	13	9	7566	1	9
1683-4	7807	13	1	6787	10	6	1691-2	9269	13	10	8615	8	6
1684-5	7774	18	6	7744	13	1	1692-3	11015	5	4	10443	8	7
1685-6	7143	7	6	6590	4	1							

Norton, who held office till 1680. In his first year there were £585 of benefactions, among which was one of £50 from William, Earl of Craven. This nobleman stayed in London throughout the plague of 1665, and Monk's biographer and physician, Dr. Thomas Skinner, after commending the Duke of Albemarle for remaining during the plague, says: "With the like compassionate care did the Earl of *Craven* continue in the town, distributing constantly the greatest part of his Revenue to supply the Necessities of the sick and perishing." The widow of Phillipps Brookes gave £200; Hinton, the late treasurer, and Joseph Henshaw, Bishop of Peterborough, each gave £100. There were now fifteen sisters, who received 50s. a year each and 22s. 6d. in addition for their livery. A small sum was spent in each year for the clothing of nurse children.

John Nicholls was elected treasurer July 16, 1681, and held office till 1702-3. In his first year the monthly diets were from £132 to £148, in 1684-5 they were £144 to £163, in 1685-6, £133-£159, and in 1686-7, £138-£164. Sixteen sisters were paid in 1684-5 and thereafter. There were now only two outhouses, Kingsland and the Lock. The special rental for houses burnt in the fire of 1666 is still continued. In 1689-90, after a disappearance of more than a century, a separate butler reappears in the accounts, and is paid £2, 10s. a year, and £1, 2s. 6d. for livery.

In 1690-1 Sir William Pritchard, who had been

president for some years, made a gift of £500, Sir James Edwards of £1000, and Mr. Thomas Hobbes, formerly cutter for the stone, £50. Dr. Richard Lower¹ left £1000. He wrote an admirable treatise on the heart, and has a kind of permanent monument in that organ, in which the projection from the internal wall of the right auricle between the openings of the superior vena cava and that of the inferior vena cava is called the tubercle of Lower.

The total of legacies and gifts in this year was £3076, 17s. 5d. Edward Colston, whose memory in the hospital is preserved to this day in the name of a ward, was one of the auditors, and in 1692-3 he purchased Mayland farm in Essex for £1350, and gave it to the hospital. In 1693-4 the lowest monthly diet bill was £167, and seven were above £200, the highest being £217. Colston gave £650, Sir Edward des Bouverie £100, and Charles Feltham, the late apothecary, bequeathed £76, 9s. The total of gifts and legacies was £2160, 19s. 2d. For several later years no diet bill reached £200. In 1695-6 the payments exceeded the receipts by £174, 3s. 6d., which the treasurer paid. There was also a deficit in 1696-7 of £24, 13s. 6d., and in 1697-8 of £40, 6s., but in 1698-9 there was a surplus of £657, 14s. 10d., and Mr. Treasurer was repaid £239, 3s. In 1700-1 the receipts reached £11,178, 7s. 7d., and the expenditure was £9721, 1s. 8d., so that there was a

¹ His Christian name is erroneously entered as Edward in the Ledger.

balance in cash of £1457, 5s. 11d. This balance was used to defray the cost of new buildings in West Smithfield, including that of the present gateway in 1701-2.

In 1702-3 Peter Joyce was elected treasurer, and held office till 1721. Hitherto all the cash had been kept in an iron chest from year to year, but this year £30 was received as interest from the New East India Company, and in the following year there are two notes of investment: "Paid and lent the Old East India Company the 10th June 1704 per Bond £500," and "Paid and lent the East India Company trading to the East Indies the 14th August 1704 per Bond £500." Money was received for the subsistence of soldiers admitted to the hospital—£5, 1s. 4d. in 1702-3, £10, 13s. 6d. in 1703-4, and £16, 16s. 4d. in 1705-6. Richard Guy gave £200, and Charles Bernard, now become Serjeant Surgeon to the king and always called Serjeant Bernard, £28. Certain debts in 1704-5 were recorded as "Desperate." At the audit in 1706-7 it is noted that there are in the treasury two East India Bonds for £500 each and one for £1000 at 5 per cent. Another was added in 1708-9. In 1710-11 seventeen sisters are paid 50s. each for the year and 22s. 6d. a piece for livery. Streynsham Master was one of the auditors. A gentleman with these names is buried in a family tomb in the church of St. Bartholomew the Great, the inscription on which, after relating his ancestry,

mentions that he died June 22, 1724, aged 42 years, and records his service :

The said Streynsham Master
Commanded several ships in ye Royal Navy
and did in the year 1718
particularly distinguish himself
in ye Engagement against ye Spaniards
on ye Coast of Sicily ; by forcing
the Spanish Admiral in Chief
to surrender to him.

In the same tomb is buried his grandmother, Ann, wife of Richard Master of East Langdon in Kent, to whom Streynsham the auditor may often have listened. She was born in the second year of King James I. and died January 30, 1705. Shakespeare was still writing in her girlhood, and English was enriched by all the poems of Milton and of Dryden during her lifetime. She might easily remember the execution of Raleigh as well as that of Strafford, and of Laud, and of King Charles. Edgehill, Marston Moor, and Naseby were successive pieces of news in her time. She witnessed the rejoicings at the Restoration ; heard accounts of the Fire of London while it was still burning ; was told of the flight of King James, of the coming of King William, and of the accession of Queen Anne. She had perhaps still sufficient interest in life to inquire the cause of the bonfires for the victory of Blenheim. I should like to have sat next Streynsham Master, who if not the above naval officer

was certainly a descendant of this Mrs. Master, at the audit dinner of 1711, and to have heard his recollections of what his venerable ancestress told him of past times.

In 1711-12 the hospital had two physicians, Dr. Levett and Dr. Salusbury Cade, but only remunerated the former, because Dr. Cade, having been nominated by the College of Physicians, received payment from the estate of Dr. Baldwin Hamey in accordance with the terms of Hamey's will. Miss Prisca Coborne, after whom a ward is at present called, gave £200. Another form of investment, "Exchequer notes for £1000," is mentioned in 1713-14. The income of the hospital in that year reached the sum of £19,604, 10s. 10½d. Its work was steadily increasing, and in 1714-15 there were twenty sisters. Francis Ashton gave £1000. The use of investment grew, and in 1715-16 interest money, £750, was received from the East India Company and £399, 4s. 6d. from Exchequer bills. The monthly diet bills were now nearly all over £200, and the maximum was £237. The audit and view dinners cost £64, 7s. 3d.

Dr. John Radcliffe died November 1, 1714, and left £500 a year for ever to St. Bartholomew's for mending the diet of the patients. This legacy was received in 1716-17. This munificent Oxonian also improved his own college in the university, built and endowed the Radcliffe Library there, and founded, for the improvement of medicine, the travelling fellowships which bear his name. The infirmary which enables Oxford to teach

medicine and the noble astronomical observatory there are also due to his bequests. "Honour the physician," says a very wise man, "with the honour that is his due," and the world of learning may well do so when it contemplates at Oxford the additions to the University of Radcliffe and at Cambridge those of Caius, and considers that in London it was the munificence of a third physician, Sir Hans Sloane, which founded the British Museum, and that it was the breadth of his interests which made it a storehouse of the materials for the pursuit of every branch of learning.

In this year, too, Mr. Richard Newcourt made a gift of land in Hampshire, in St. Helen's, and at Rotherhithe. Thus the income was £30,753, 2s. 10½d. All the monthly diet bills were for the first time over £200. The expenditure was, however, only £10,887, 8s. 6½d., so that a balance remained of £19,865, 14s. 4d. This volume of the Ledger ends with a "Particular account of the Public Securitys in which the cash, December 19, 1717, consisted"—a record which is interesting as showing that the practice of investment was now well established. The investments were:

Tallyes and orders on the Land Tax for 1717	. . .	£10,000
Tallyes and orders on the Malt Tax for 1717	. . .	£2,000
East India Company's Bonds	. . . . .	£18,500
South Sea Bonds	. . . . .	£900

It was evidently the intention of the governors to form a permanent endowment fund, independent of the

fluctuations of rent. The following year the investments amounted to £21,400, and were :

East India Bonds	£6500
South Sea Bonds	£900
Four Tallyes and orders on the Malt Fund (1717) .	£2000
Twenty-four Talleyes and orders on the Malt Fund (1718)	£12,000

A legacy of £50 every fifth year under the will of Dr. Edward Tyson was received in the year 1717-18. He had died August 1, 1708. This great writer on the anatomy of animals was physician to Bethlem Hospital, as is mentioned in the Dispensary :

“Legions of lunaticks about him press,
His province is lost Reason to redress.”

Garth describes him as seeing patients in his crowded library :

“Abandon’d authors here a refuge meet,
And from the world to dust and worms retreat.
Here dregs and sediment of auctions reign
Refuse of fairs, and gleanings of Duck lane.”

Among the accounts of this year £8, 10s. 6d. is “allowed the Renter for the loss by the fall of guineas.”¹ £53, 11s. were spent in insurance of the hospital from fire. The total income was £32,080, 16s. 4½d., and of

¹ A proclamation of December 22, 1717, ordered that guineas should pass for 21s. only.—Salmon: *Chronological Historian*, 2nd ed.; London, 1733.

this £10,255, 15s. 7½d. was spent, so that the balance was more than double the expenditure, and the same was the case in 1718-19.

Richard Brocas succeeded Peter Joye as treasurer in 1721, and held office till July 6, 1723, when Robert Witham was elected treasurer, who held office till his death in January 1730. The income varied little, the monthly diets ranged from £233 to £262. Three guineas were paid for use of a cold bath for patients. An increase in the money spent on stimulant is observable. It was in 1724-5 £92 on spirits and £61, 15s. on wine, and in 1731-2 spirits £104, 2s. and wine £72, 9s. No trace of any great loss on the South Sea investments is to be found. 200 South Sea annuities, bought at 103¼, were sold December 22, 1727, at 101¾, and the loss was duly entered. On Robert Witham's death the auditors record that he owed the hospital £2524, 10s.

Samuel Palmer was on January 24, 1730, elected treasurer. Rebuilding had begun, and in his year of office thirteen shops in the cloisters were pulled down and "laid into the New Building." The uses of bathing had become apparent, and in 1729-30 the sum of £48, 16s. was paid for the use of the bagnio in the street once called after it and now known as Roman Bath Street. The bill for coal in 1730-31 was—for sea coal £401, 19s., and for old and small coal £75, 19s. 10d., but this included not only coal for the wards but allow-

ances of it to the several official residents. There were twenty sisters, and they received among them £50.

On December 27, 1731, Robert Gray was elected treasurer, and in that year the executors of Thomas, Earl of Thanet, gave the hospital £500. In this and two succeeding years Samuel Smith, father of William Smith, whose daughter was the mother of Florence Nightingale, was one of the auditors.

Henry Bowater became treasurer, January 11, 1733, and held office till his death in 1734. In this year a legacy of Edward Colston's of £500 was spent in the purchase of a house at the corner of Newgate Street.

Robert Westley was elected treasurer December 21, 1734, and held office till 1743; and on March 24 in that year Thomas Sandford was elected, and continued in office for ten years. The income of the Hospital was generally a little over £20,000. In 1746 a new volume of the Ledger begins, much larger than any before and with a different arrangement. This volume goes on to 1770, and for each set of years after this there were two volumes, labelled Receipt Ledger and Pay Ledger, or Creditor Ledger and Debtor Ledger. In the Receipt or Creditor Ledger there is a page or half page of account with each tenant, and many of these within the hospital are concluded by the pulling down of the house in 1757, 1765, or 1766, to make way for the operations of rebuilding. Soldiers' subsistence continued to be paid and subsistence for sick and wounded mariners.

Subsistence was also paid for the parish poor and for patients in what were called the Foul Wards. In 1746 George Newport gave £5000, and in 1745 some subscribers at the Guildhall, £1000.

John Tuff was appointed treasurer May 24, 1753. He absconded, and was dismissed from his office in June 1760. James Gibbs, the architect, left the hospital £100 in 1754, and Edward Nourse, the surgeon, £100 in 1760.

On July 3, 1760, John Darker, after whom a ward is still called, was elected treasurer, and held office till 1784.

Benjamin Kenton, after whom a ward is also called, was a friend of Mr. Treasurer Darker, and gave £50 in 1770, and at his death £5000. He had been a waiter at the Crown and Magpie tavern, and showed such civility and sagacity that, on a vacancy, a number of the customers bought him the tavern. He throve there, but owed his large fortune to a secret in relation to India. This was not some state affair, nor the knowledge of a dark transaction with a rajah or nawab, nor of some intrigue among the directors in Leadenhall Street—no, it was how to bottle beer so that on the long hot voyage round the Cape the cork might not fly out. The art consisted in leaving a small empty space above the fluid in each bottle. Thus were gallant soldiers and the servants of the Company enabled to quaff draughts of beer in Hindostan, and through their enjoyment

Benjamin Kenton became a rich man. The Vintners annually commemorate him to this day.

In 1774, a Mr. W. Gardiner, of Richmond, a Lisbon merchant interested in astronomy, offered £2000 to St. Bartholomew's "as a sacrifice for God's having put it in his power to overturn Sir Isaac Newton's system."¹

Dr. William Pitcairn, the only physician who has ever been treasurer, was elected March 4, 1784, and held office till his death in the treasurer's house in the hospital, on St. Catherine's day, 1791, at the age of eighty. He is buried in the church of St. Bartholomew the Less, and a ward is called after him. He had studied at Leyden under Boerhaave, and received the degree of M.D. at Oxford when the Radcliffe Library was opened. He came to London in 1749, and was elected a Fellow of the College of Physicians in 1750. He became a censor in 1753, senior censor in 1762, and president of the College from 1775 to 1784. He was physician to St. Bartholomew's from February 22, 1750, to February 3, 1780. Before he came to live within the hospital, he dwelt in Warwick Square, where the College of Physicians then was. His portrait, by Sir Joshua Reynolds, is at the College of Physicians.

Richard Baldwyn was elected December 15, 1791, and held office till 1812. An engraved portrait of him hangs in the clerk's office of the hospital.

¹ W. Cole : *Collectanea for Athenæ Cantabrigienses*, sub Nevile Maskelyne.

Hugh Powell succeeded, and held office till 1821, when Thomas Courtenay became treasurer, and continued in office till 1824, when Richard Stephenson was appointed, who absconded in December 1828. Thomas Helps was chosen June 4, 1829, and continued in office till his death on June 4, 1842.

James Bentley, from June 23, 1842, to 1855, was the next treasurer. He founded an annual prize of five guineas in the Medical School for the best series of reports of cases in the wards.

William Foster White was elected February 7, 1855, and held office till his death in June 1874. His portrait is in the Great Hall of the hospital. He was succeeded on July 22, 1874, by Sir Sydney Hedley Waterlow, Bart., who resigned in 1892. His portrait, by Herkomer, is in the Great Hall. He was born in 1822, became an alderman in 1863, sheriff in 1866, Lord Mayor in 1872. He sat in three parliaments, was knighted in 1867, and created a baronet in 1873. He gave an estate of thirty acres at Highgate to form a public park, was actively concerned in many philanthropic works, and was a man of remarkable natural ability. He had taken for some months an old country house in Kent, the owners of which were embarrassed. The house contained part of the fine library of the first Earl of Aldborough,¹ and

¹ The arms of Lord Aldborough are supported by figures of fame and of a knight in armour, and some lady of the family had written on one of the book plates:

"How well the motto with supporters suits;
I hate those arms whose sole supports are brutes."

other interesting books. I had been looking at these, and remarked at dinner that I wondered that the owners could not decide to live very quietly and read their books, and prove that

“When land is gone and money spent,
Then learning is most excellent.”

“My father,” said Sir Sydney Waterlow, “used often to repeat those lines to us, and to say, ‘Mind, boys, that it never comes to that with you.’” Sir Sydney Waterlow died in 1906.

Sir James John Trevor Lawrence, Bt., son of Sir William Lawrence, Bt., surgeon to St. Bartholomew’s, and himself a student there, and for some time a surgeon in the army, was elected July 28, 1892, and held office for more than twelve years. He and his sisters founded, in memory of their father, a research scholarship and gold medal in Pathology of the annual value of £115.

Henry Ludlow Lopes, 2nd Baron Ludlow, was elected treasurer January 26, 1905, and resigned his office June 11, 1908, after a period of very useful and arduous work in the hospital service.

William Mansfield, 2nd Baron Sandhurst, was elected November 5, 1908: and long may he continue in office.

The treasurer was from 1547 a very important officer, but the president also took an active part in the affairs of the hospital. The office of president has become more and more one of dignity, while the treasurer

is the responsible head of the administration of the hospital.

The statement of the hospital accounts is now issued in each year by the treasurer in a printed volume of forty pages.

Besides the general balance-sheet and lists of investments, there are eleven separate accounts. The net estates income in 1911 is £67,655, 11s. 10d., and the excess of expenditure over income is £15,330, 7s. 10d. This is chiefly due to the expenditure required to meet the purchase of land from Christ's Hospital and of the erection of new buildings, the Out-Patient rooms and the Pathological laboratories.

In 1549-50, when the hundred beds of the new order were all employed, the expenditure was £1107, 15s. 4d., and this has increased in 1911 to £92,886, 18s. 8d., with 687 beds, giving relief to 8436 in-patients, while 127,421 out-patients were treated in addition.

At present the means of the hospital are for the time insufficient for all it has to do ; but it is freeing itself from the debts which have been unavoidably incurred in the purchase of land and the erection of new buildings, and, like London after the fire—

“ Already labouring with a mighty fate,
 She shakes the rubbish from her mounting brow,
 And seems to have renewed her charter's date,
 Which Heaven will to the death of time allow.”

XVI

THE REPERTORY



HE Rentar is directed in "The Ordre of the Hospital of S. Bartholomewes" to keep a book called the Repertory, into which he is to enter the foundation of the hospital and also deeds, leases, obligations, acquittances, and other specialities. In the margin he is to note in English a brief summary of each article, and he is to make an alphabetical calendar or index at the beginning of the book. The first book of this kind is a folio which has been rebound.¹ It begins with an alphabetical table of contents, as directed in the Ordre, and the heading of the first page of its text is "Mannors Landes Tenementes and other possessions appointed by the Kinges Maiestie to the Maiore Cominaltie and Citizens of the Cittie of London as followeth": and this is dated in the margin, "the first day of October in the thirty-eighth year of King Henry the Eighth." The first item is:

¹ On a blank page at the beginning is written in an eighteenth century hand, probably that of Thomas Pitts, who was appointed Rentar in 1762: "This book contains an account of the Estates and Revenues of St. Bartholomew's Hospital in the reign of King Henry the 8th. Also several plans."

The yearlie value of the possessions of the late Hospitall of St. Bartholomew's beside Weste Smythfeilde . £300, 12s. 3d.

A series of headings which were embodied into the agreement between the King and the City are then set down, and these are followed by "Parcell of the landes and possessions latelye of the Monastrye of Saint Bartholmewes Weste Smythfeilde London made over." In the margin is added: "For the hospitall of St. Bartholmewes in West Smithfeilde London." Under this heading the tithes of St. Sepulchre and parcel of the rectory of St. Sepulchre, Newgate, are first entered, and then certain moneys called "token money, Ester money, and Prentisse money," yearly issuing from the rectory and from tenements in back lanes in Newgate, as also out of profits of oblations, marriages, baptisms, &c.—about £3, 6s. 8d. a year.

Next is given an account of "The late house of the Graye Freres in London," which is written as a summary of the pecuniary value of the place as it then was, but is also worth study as a picture of the desolate condition of a recently dissolved religious house.

One low room, one other, two more, one on the left hand and the other on the right of the entry going up to the fratrie: the common buttery and the common kitchen: two little chambers, one to south and one to north of the kitchen, all "now being decayed": one garden plat and a parcel of void ground on the north side of the kitchen are mentioned, and one great hall 72 feet

long and 24 broad, with a chimney. The great chimneys of old times were taken for signs of hospitality :

“Look to the tow’red chimneys which should be
The windpipes of good hospitality,
Through which it breatheth to the open air,
Betokening life, and liberal welfare”;¹

and no doubt this Franciscan one had often smoked to the benefit of the poor and the wayfarer.

Next come three low rooms on the west side of the little cloister and under the great hall : one chamber or hall situate beside the kitchen, and one cellar under it. The little cloister, enclosing one rood of land, had been converted to the use of a garden. The fratrie above the west side of the (great) cloister, 140 feet long, all paved, contained three settles and nine tables, all of wainscot and of joiner’s work : while part of the dortor, with twelve little rooms on one side separated off by partitions “as semeth as lettell studies,” was decayed.

The library, which stood on the north side, was ceiled with wainscot, and was 129 feet long, and 21 feet wide. There were one nether lodging with a little hall and two chambers, with chimneys, one buttery, one coal-house, one kitchen, and a parcel of void ground, between the said lodging and London Wall, in the tenure of Richard Tredwaye, one of the king’s footmen. The chapel house stood along the east part of the great cloister, 60 feet by 27 feet, and there were divers little

¹ Hall : Satire II.

rooms above in the dortor on the east side of the cloister: eight little rooms on the south side of the cloister above in the dortor, several decayed: and the quadrant in the great cloister, measuring three roods. "Stuffe remaining in parte of the said roomes" included in the library 28 desks and 28 double settles, all of wainscot, "and also there be certeyn olde books upon the said deskes." It is noted that part of the side of the said cloister is covered with lead. The body of the church "unto the quier" measures 150 feet long and 70 feet broad. It is covered with lead and paved with stone, and in the same are four old fronts of altars with figures gilded and environed with strakes of iron. The choir with two aisles, 130 feet long by 80 feet broad, is covered with lead. There were two pair of old organs, one desk, two great candlesticks of latten and eight tombs "all envyroned with little strakes of yron." Such was the forlorn state of the house where the brethren of St. Francis had dwelt for three hundred years.

After this account of the Gray Friars follows "the yearly vallor of all mannors, landes &c., and other possessions to the said hospital of St. Bartholomew's belonging" in London, its suburbs, and the counties: and the proportion of stipends &c. to be paid, and other charges. In the margin is written: "The Hospital of St. Bartholomew's in West Smithfeilde by the foundation of our Lord the King Henry the 8 In the Honour of the holye and undivide Trinity." The account of

stipend shows that under the corporation formed by the charter of 1544 there were a surgeon and five sisters. Money was provided towards the food and apparel of one master, one priest, four chaplains, one clerk serving the choir, one hallower, one alterest, one chirurgeon, five servants or ministers, and five women or sisters to wait upon the poor thither repairing, "according to a testification thereof to the Reverend Father in Christe Edward Byshope of London, Martin Bowes knight, Lord Maior of the saide cyttie and other commissioners of the king by Thomas Birkhod, Cleark and master of the said Hospitall the third day of Maye 38 Henry VIII." The master's stipend was £20, the vicemaster's £4, 6s. 8d., the surgeon's 53s. 4d., the matron's 26s. 8d., and the four sisters 20s. each, all with livery. The master was allowed for diet £20, 16s. a year, the vicemaster and chaplains £15, 12s., the matron and four sisters £12.

A list of annuities chargeable on the estate is given, and a summary of the rents.

Then follows the Inventory, taken and made May 3, 1546, by the master and fellows, of all the plate, jewels, and ornaments belonging to the church there, with other provision made for the poor in the said hospital by William Cordall and John Taylor and William Nores.

In the Vestry, under the heading of "Plate and jewels," there were two chalices and two patens of silver parcel-gilt, a cross of copper gilt, and two old

crosses of copper gilt, two staves for pectors, two cross staves of copper, one pyx of latten, and one censer of latten—the whole valued at 16s. 11d.

Of vestments there were:—A best cope quartered with crimson velvet and blue with lions of gold and flower de luces, valued at 40s. ; two copes of blue velvet embroidered with flowers of gold, 31s. 8d. ; two copes of white damask with crimson velvet and “the offreyes with black Lyons in the scochin behind the back,” 3s. 4d. ; a cope of black velvet with flowers, of the Lady Hall’s gift, 3s. ; two copes of red damask wrought with flowers and angels of gold, 10s. ; two copes of red velvet with the garter wrought in them, 10s. ; one vestment like unto the best cope, 26s. 8d. ; one whole suit of vestments of black velvet embroidered with flowers of gold both for deacon and subdeacon, lacking a stole, 26s. 8d. ; a vestment of white damask, 5s. ; a vestment for the priest of red velvet embroidered with cloth of gold and green velvet, lacking a stole, 13s. 4d. ; a vestment of russet velvet embroidered with gold and wrought in the back with blue velvet and gold, 16s. ; a vestment of tawny velvet and the back of red velvet, 6s. 8d. ; an old vestment of white fustian wrought with the garter and ostrich feather, 12d. ; an old vestment of black worsted, the back of red velvet wrought with the roots of a tree of gold, of Mr. Clever’s gift, 3s. 4d. ; an old vestment of white fustian for Lent, 12d. ; a canopy of cloth of gold to be over the Sacrament, 13s. 4d. ; 40 pieces of

old cloth to hang before the images in Lent, 3s. 4d. ; 11 corporal cates, 12s. ; of cloths to bear the Sacrament in, 8d. ; 2 sockets of latten in the rood-loft for tapers, 6d. ; the cloth and the orfringes to hang before the altar, 1s.

Then follows the list of books :—4 processioners, 16d. ; 2 journals, 8d. ; 1 manual, 4d. ; 2 mass books of parchment, 2s. ; 1 mass book of paper, 2d. ; the legend of paper, 4d. ; 6 antiphoners, 6s. ; and 6 grayles, 4s. A few articles of latten are then mentioned, and one pair of great organs and a pair of small, and 4 old cornets of lead. Some sockets, candlesticks for the rood-loft, and a lamp complete the list of church furniture. The other parts of the hospital were less well provided.

The Hall had two tables with one form and the high “bord” with a form and one cupboard. There was a coffer in the reading place, and in the fireplace were a pair of “andyrans.”

The Buttery had a bin for bread with three ambries and three old locks. There were two chests for bread, two cupboards with two or three locks respectively, and a leather pot worth fourpence. Of pewter the buttery contained one old salt cellar and a pottle pot. Three latten candlesticks, six tablecloths (two of diaper), four towels (two of diaper and one plain), and six napkins were its other contents.

The Kitchen had 4 brass pots, 4 brass pans, a chafer of brass and a little brazen mortar with a pestle. It

had also 2 chargers and several platters, 11 dishes, 11 saucers, and 5 pottingers. There were 2 "gredyrans," a skinner, a frying pan, 6 broches, 2 dripping pans, 2 trevets, 2 great clacks, pothangers with a bar of iron and two pothooks, and a little stone mortar.

A special list is made out of "Stuff remaining in the custody of the sisters here for the relief of the poor." These were 2 old pieces of green say with the images of the Holy Ghost and of Our Lady, with borders, a table, a carpet, 2 forms, 2 cupboards, a bason and ewer, a bauker, 2 old cushions, 4 jointed stools, and a counter. A note indicates that these all belonged to the hall.

Six other rooms are mentioned. The new parlour in the garden, and the chamber above the said parlour, had hangings and bedding. The inner room, called the men's room, had 13 bedsteads with some bedding. Some of the bedsteads had heads barely furnished and the most part little or nothing upon them. The inner room, called the women's room, had 22 bedsteads, 9 being barely furnished. The outer room, "where poor men do resort," had 10 bedsteads, 4 barely furnished. Of 20 pair of sheets provided by the master, only 10 remained. The buttery for the poor had some brass, pewter, and iron.

This inventory shows us the hall with its open fireplace, with a high table at one end and two tables lower down, and shows that the practice of reading aloud at meals was kept up. There was a buttery for the society

and a separate one for the patients, and ale was served out from a black jack.

There were 23 beds for men, of which only a few were ready for occupation, and 22 beds for women, of which 9 only were furnished, and the store of bed linen was but 10 pair of sheets. Thus the 100 beds of the New Order were a very large increase upon the nominal number kept up by the master and chaplains of 1544. They lodged some 20 patients, and from the number of old bedsteads remaining in 1544 it seems just to estimate that under the Old Order the master and brethren and sisters cared for from 50 to 60 patients. There was space for 100 under the New Order because the rooms of the master and brethren were thrown into the patients' part of the hospital.

To return to the Repertory book: the next note it contains is of the parts of the hospital estate retained by the king, which were: Crockhorne Alley in Holborn, a rent in Friday Street, and lands at Raynham and at Ducketts. After three blank pages there is a second copy of the Summary of the estate and of the Inventory. Then come many blank leaves, and then twenty-one plans, some of the year 1617, and some of rather later date, inserted in the book. Nine of these plans relate to the hospital and its neighbourhood, and a tenth, fastened into a book of drawings,¹ without names, of plots of ground, belongs to the same series.

¹ Labelled, "Plan book No. 3."

The other plans are of various estates or of parts of them :—Cletherhouse, near Willesden ;¹ three fields at St. Pancras, Middlesex ; a field and some houses off the highway from St. Albans, called Sallypath ; Hethe in Oxfordshire ;² and the remaining seven in Essex,—the manor of Dunton, Downham, Ronwell, Burnham, marsh and oyster bed, Hatfield Heath, Hockerell,³ Little Wakeryng,⁴ and Shernwood Marsh.

After the maps is the statement of a law case with five questions asked about the duties of the vicar and the hospitaller, and the opinion of four doctors of law on the same—Henry Martin, Henry Barker, John Amye, and John Hayward. This was probably Sir John Hayward (1564–1627), the historian, and member of the College of Advocates, who lived in the parish of St. Bartholomew the Great and is buried in its church. He wrote the History of Henry IV., whose conduct to Richard II. raised the question of the deposition of sovereigns. Queen Elizabeth asked whether there were no treason contained in it. “No, madam,” said Bacon, “for treason I cannot deliver opinion that there is any, but very much felony.” “How and wherein?” asked the queen. “Because he

¹ Cletherhouse. This map has Willesden church at the top. It gives the names and acreage of the fields : Rowkhowlls, Little Rowkhowlls, Long Rowkhowlls, Great Rowkhowlls, Great Campe, Little Grene, Great Vince, Little Vince feilde, Bollsteres, Gate feilde, Great Sellandes, Little Sellandes, Grene feild, Bente feilde, Prayle, Noke feilde, Prayle Pightell, Woodcrofte, Whitfeilde.

² A survey, taken September 17, 1617, of a tenement held by Sir William Cope, son and heir to Sir Anthorne Cope deceased, “and now to Robert Goodson.”

³ Showing strips in three common fields.

⁴ Two small maps.

had stolen many of his sentences and conceits out of Cornelius Tacitus," replied Bacon.

The ten maps of the hospital and its surroundings have fewer particulars than could be wished but deserve careful examination.

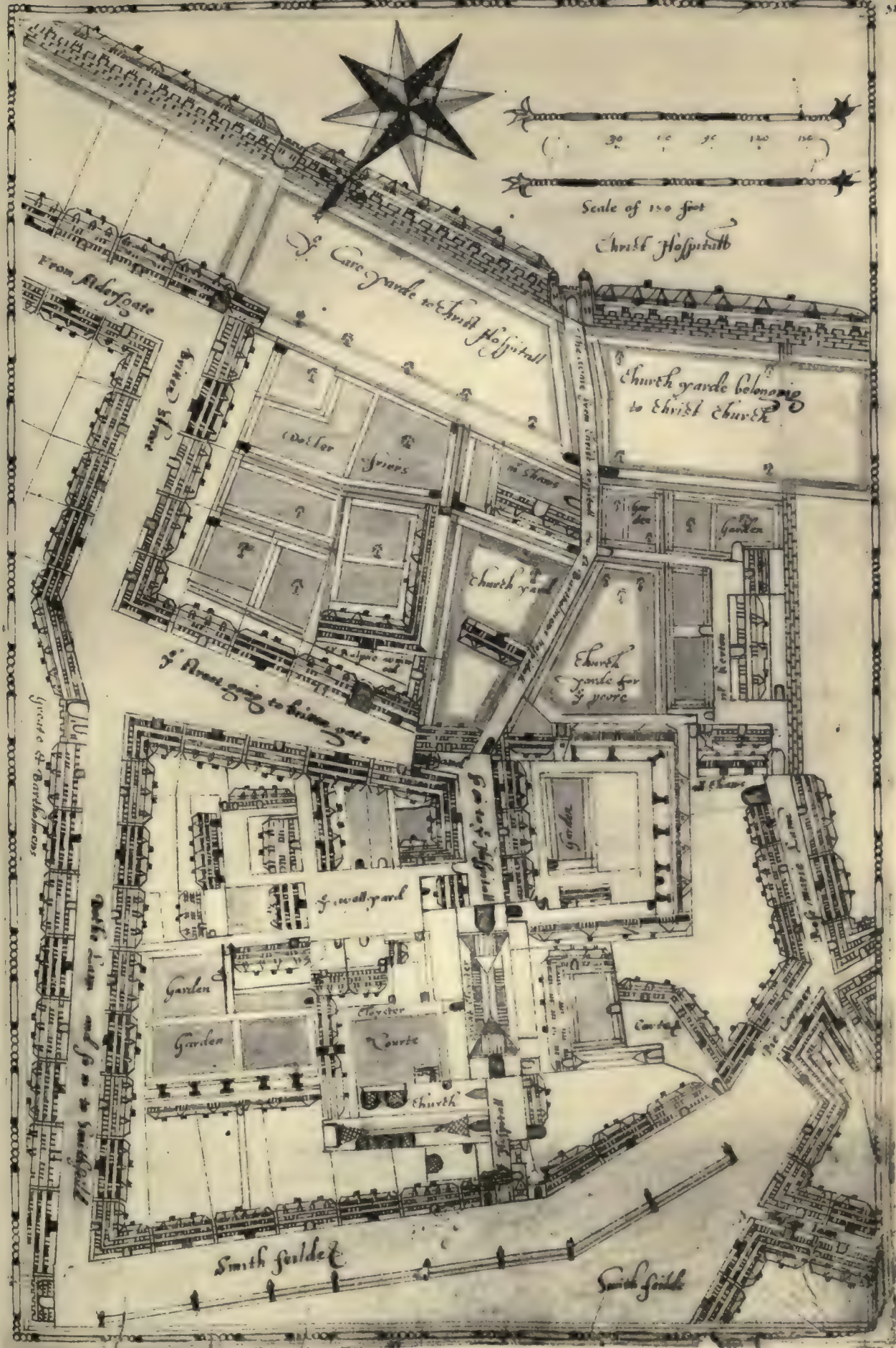
What seems the oldest map (No. 5) shows the city wall with a gate, that by the Greyfriars, in it and outside the wall "the ditch from Aldersgate and so along the graie Freres Garden and so to Newgate." On the hospital side of the ditch is a path, "the waie from Aldersgate betwen ye ditch and the mode wall belongynge to Litle St. Bartholomew's Hospital." This mud wall kept the water out of the hospital lands, and beyond it were five gardens. The two nearest Aldersgate were Dr. Frier's, and between them a "waie to ye ditch" went. The others were Mr. Sharpe's, Mr. Phillipe's, and Mr. Kerton's, and a plot on the same line at the Smithfield end is also marked "Mr. Kerton."

Several houses marked "Mr. Kerton's" and one "Mr. Sharpe's" fill up the front obliquely towards Smithfield, occupying part of the site of the present west wing. Behind Mr. Kerton's houses are two more gardens of Mr. Kerton's, and behind them "the church yearde of lettell St. Bartholomew parish and Hospitall," and in it, towards the north corner nearest Aldersgate, is a drawing of a small building, "ye chappell." This was one of the chapels (St. Andrew and St. Nicholas) near the Little Britain gate, and bones of those buried in the church-

yard were exposed when the foundations of the bath-rooms at the west end of the south wing were dug. This burial ground was distinct from that round the chapel of the Holy Cross (now St. Bartholomew the Less), in which in old times the brethren and sisters were buried. The "Britten gate" (Little Britain) is marked with houses on each side of it. Within it on the map is written, "and so to the hospital." Houses and a green occupy the space between this way to the Smithfield gate and Mr. Sharpe's house. Outside the Britten gate is written "Strete out of Britten gate." This is the street which till a few years ago led from the Little Britain gate to the end of Duke Street on one side, and that of Little Britain on the other.

In the map, on the left-hand side of this street, as you approach the hospital, is a house with a forecourt and gate, with a large garden behind it up to Dr. Frier's garden, and with a long wing built along the edge of the churchyard. The space in front of the house is marked "Sir Ralph Winwood's court," and the garden, "Sir Ralph Winwood's garden." Only a very small part of the hospital buildings towards the Smithfield gate appear on this map, and they have no label upon them.

The most instructive map of all (No. 2) gives the whole ambit of the hospital. It also belongs to the period of Sir Ralph Winwood's tenancy (beginning in 1612), but is a little later than the one just described, since a large part of the city ditch is filled up—that on



each side of the way leading from Christ's Hospital to St. Bartholomew's Hospital. One part is marked "ye Care yarde to Christ Hospitall," and the other "Church yarde belonging to Christ Church." "The waie from Christ Hospitall to St. Bartholmewes Hospitall" bisects the churchyard of Little St. Bartholomew's shown in the former map, and the little chapel is in the part called "church yard," while the other part is named "Churche yarde for ye poore." The way opens just within the Britten gate into a broader passage marked "so on to ye Hospitall," which leads into the great cloister. This has a gate at each end; the western one leads past St. Bartholomew's the Less to the Smithfield gate. On the hospital side the church has a green court surrounded by the little cloister. Directly behind this are two houses, one of which was probably the vicarage. Behind these a large patch is marked "ye well yard." Houses intervene between this and "ye street going to britten gate." That street, Dacke (Duck) Lane, Smithfield, Pie Corner, and Rosemary Lane (all named), as well as Cock Lane and Giltspur Street (which are marked but not named), are continuously fringed with houses. Between the end of Rosemary Lane and up to the ditch, a wall without battlements is shown. The houses and gardens of Mr. Kerton and of Mr. Shaw (or Sharpe) are marked as in the other map, and so are Dr. Frier's garden and Sir Ralph Winwood's house and garden.

The angle of Britten Street (Little Britain) as it goes towards Aldersgate is shown, and on the west side of Smithfield, Hosier Lane is marked. An open court with three sides on the south side of the great cloister has on its west side a long building, which is probably the great hall of the hospital. Beyond the houses on the far side of Duck Lane is written—"Greate St. Bartholmewes." Twenty-six green garden plots and two churchyards are within the hospital boundary.

The other plans are: No. 1—The inside of Little St. Bartholomew's Church in 1617. Near the west end, on the north side, is "Ye Poors chappell," and between that and the belfry, which is in the present situation of the tower, is "ye bodie of ye church," and east of it "ye Quier." There is a "south ille," and out of that a vestry leads. "Ye chauncell" is railed off to east of the choir, and near the south corner of the chancel, in the body of the church, is what seems the pulpit, with pews near it.

No. 3—Hosier Lane, with its opening into Smithfield, and some gardens behind the houses of the lane. On the north side, at the west end, an "entrie" leads from the lane into "Bell Allie," and a little east of this is a house with a large garden.

No. 4—St. Nicholas Flesh-Shambels, and the street leading to Chepeside, west to east. On the north side of this, behind the line of houses, is Byrame's Courte, and near the east end a straight street, marked St.

Martin's, opens into St. Nicholas Flesh-Shambles. There are no other names of streets.

No. 6—This map is to show the new houses built by the hospital and let to tenants in St. Nicholas Flesh-Shambles. These are marked "ye court and tenaments belonging to Sainte Bartholmew's Hospitall," and are to the south and east of "a new church yarde belonging to St. Sepulcar's." At the south end the way into this churchyard leads into "Chickelane and so along into Smithfeilde and ye Pennes." A street opposite this, going south, is labelled "and to Cowe lanne." On the left of the map is "an allie from Chick lane to the Shore," and at the top is a double row of gardens, and "ye Shore ditch runninge from Smithfeilde bares downen in to ye common shorr." The new churchyard of St. Sepulchre's abuts on this.

No. 7—This map shows the churchyard belonging to Christ Church and "a waie from Christ Hospitell called ye walke and so in to litle St. Bartholmew's Hospital." This way goes up to the gate with turrets near the Greyfriars, in the city wall. On the right of the way thither is "ye church yard for ye poore of ye Hospitall." There is a passage from the walk to Mr. Kirton's house, and so into Kirton's court, and on to "Rose Marie Lane." Near this lane is Mr. Shaw's yard.

No. 8—Docke Lane (afterwards Duck Lane, then Duke Street, now part of Little Britain), leading into Smithfield.

Along the edge of each is a continuous row of houses. The "poore chapple" projects towards Smithfield from "the medle Ille of the church." The hospital is marked as joining on to the middle aisle. The inner cloister is between the hospital and the way to the Smithfield gate. On two garden plots, between the Docke Lane houses and the hospital, is written "Mr. Cotton's garden," and within the Smithfield corner of Docke Lane, on the hospital side, is written the tenant's name, "Woode," and farther along Smithfield, "Alline, Bedow, Lewine, Alline, and Griffen," who were also tenants.

No. 9—"Ye Plat of ye Gray Friers." This is bounded on one side by "a parte of London wall." The great cloister of Greyfriars is shown, and there is a yard between the church and the cloister, and then the great church of Greyfriars called "Christ Church." Its east end is in "Fowle lane or Chickin lane." Within the farthest east part of the wall is a "Bowlinge allée." The little cloister is some distance west of the great cloister. On the south side of the Greyfriars is Newgate Street, with Warwick Lane leading out of it, and houses belonging to St. Bartholomew's marked at the eastern corner of the lane and Newgate Street. To the east, again, are "Newe gate Market, Mele Market, and St. Nicholas flesh shambles."

No. 22—A map on a larger scale, showing Sir Thomas Bodley's house. It was that afterwards occupied by Sir Ralph Winwood. Sir Thomas was its tenant

from 1599 to 1612. Sir Ralph Winwood succeeded him, and his lease ran from 1612 till 1635; then Lady Winwood had it till 1655, and then Mr. Lewis. All this time the rent was £5, 6s. 8d. The matron's garden is marked on the right of the way leading to the Greyfriars gate in the city wall. A path from Petty France to Rosemary Lane is shown.

The earlier pages of the Repertory show St. Bartholomew's during the short and soon forgotten prevalence of the charter of 1544, and add something to our knowledge of its first state under the charter of 1547. The maps belong to a later period than those times of disturbance and recovery—to the reign of King James, when men had long enjoyed peace, and looked forward to its continuance, and when the wish of his own poet Dempster seemed likely to be fulfilled :

“ Et fœlix regnes, munitus amore tuorum,
Et tua possideant non nati sceptrâ nepotes
Imperium latum genti cessura Britannæ.”

XVII

THE JOURNALS



THE Journals are records of the meetings of the governors of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, sometimes meeting as the Court or supreme governing body consisting of all the governors presided over by the President, sometimes as the Treasurer and Almoners, the general administrative body, and sometimes in various committees charged with particular duties, whether permanent or temporary. These Journals begin in the reign of Edward VI. and continue to the present day.¹ The first meeting recorded was held :

1549. *October 4.*—"At the assemble yn the persons of Mr. Dobbs, Mr. Whyt, Mr. Lyon, Aldermen : Mr.

¹ The first volume has four distinct parts bound together :—I. The Churchwardens' Accounts of St. Nicholas in the Shambles from 1526 to 1546 ; II. The Churchwardens' Accounts of Christ Church from 1546 to 1548 ; III. A list of persons healed in the hospital from 1549 to 1550 ; IV. The Journal, 1549 to 1561. These parts are all on paper, and were early bound together, as they have a common title-page in an early hand, in which each is mentioned. Some blank leaves and an imperfect contemporary index occupy the remainder of the volume. From the end of September 1561 to October 22, 1566, there are no notes.

Clarke, Mr. Vycars,¹ Mr. Morton and John Blundell, thes thynges were don :

“The master coke, the butlar, the porter, the viii bedelles and the matrone shall have for theyr wynter lyuerys to Marche russett frysse for ther cottes and for a pettycotte.”

This was all the business transacted.

October 18 was the next meeting, and the same governors were present, with the addition of Mr. Wylford. Only two matters are recorded :—

“Brought yn by Mr. Judde the same daye to the ewsse of the pore—xxs. Agreed at the same time at the request of the three surgeons for bycawsse thynges perteynyng to their facultey be very dere that they shall have every one of them xviii *li.* a yere and that to be payed them quarterly from mykelmas last passed.”

October 30, a third meeting was held :—“Att the asemble yn the persons of Mr. Wylford, Mr. Dobbs, Aldermen : Mr. Colte, Thomas Vycars, William Gerodt, Nycolas Wylford, and John Blundell. Report made by Mr. Wylford and Mr. Dobbys Aldermen that yt ys agreyd befor my lord the mayer and the hole benche that ii aldermen and ii comoners of this howse shall always be exercers of the vi lazor howses abowtt this cetey for one yere and they to make report to the

¹ Also spelled Vickers, Vycars, Vicarie, Vycarie, Vycary. Except where transcribing a precise passage, I have used the form Vicary, as it appears on the title-page of the book attributed to him.

hole company what thynges they do fynde ther owt of order. By consent of all the company Mr. Thomas Whyt Alderman was elected tressurer of the hospytall for this yere ensewyng: by the same consent Mr. Brycket was lycensed to have a key of the backegate to com yn at his plessure. Yt was grawnted to William Hewe to have a lettyle room adjoining to his howse by the garden of the hospytall from Crystmas next for iij s. iiij d. a yere. The porter had a grawnt of the hous next unto the gate wheryn John Heming paveyer dwelyth at his avoydance with the yarde belongyng to the same."

These entries show the kind of business transacted and the language of the time, with its varying orthography.

Great men now and then tried to influence the governors: thus on November 16, 1549, Lord Morley, in person, asked for the renewal of the lease of a farm in Essex to a farmer there; but the governors had a better offer, and in the interest of the hospital accepted it in spite of the persuasive language of so accomplished a person as the translator into English verse of Petrarch's *Trionfi*. On June 7, 1550, at the request of Sir William Herbert, master of the horse, Taylor his servant was given leave to continue his occupation of a stable belonging to the hospital. On May 31, 1578, a letter from the Queen's Council came for staying the grant of a lease in Somersetshire. This was in the

interest of Sir Amyas Paulett. It was resolved that no lease be made till he return out of France into England from the Embassage of her Majesty. Sir Amyas came in person on January 27, 1582, and asked a lease for the parsonage and fryerney of St. George Hinton. This was referred to the next meeting, and then granted.

November 23.—Eight old broken albes were given to the matron for the poor, and “a lampe withall therunto belongyng to hang in one of the wardes of the poore.” *December 7.*—Leave was given to Mr. Hawkyns to go to Oxford for one year to have further light in the Greek tongue. *December 9.*—More room is needed for patients, and certain stables are to be taken into the occupation of the hospital, and altered for lodging the poor.

1558. *March 8.*—Mr. Alderman Wylford and two others are to ride to the Lok and to Myle end to report on the lazar houses. *May 21.*—21 pairs of sheets and one odd sheet were delivered to the matron, cut out the same day of cloth woven and spun by the sisters. *June 7.*—A kettle was bought “containing 34½ pounds and bound aboutt with a bande of yrne for the Curgeons to sethe and boyle their necessaryes yn.” *June 13.*—Mr. Chydley delivered a record of importance as to the water supply—“a copey of the Boke taken outt of Domysdaye for the watur to make a brevyate outt of

yt to shewe yt to my lord chawncler." *August 30.*—In the presence of Master Lyon Alderman, Mr. Dobes, Mr. Clarke, Mr. Wylford, Mr. Morton, Mr. Vicary, it was agreed that there shall be a dresser made oute of the larder house next the kitchen unto the entry to serve forth the meat of the poor. "Item that the systers of this howse shall fetch the bred and the drynk at the buttery barre." "Item that the vestry howse shalbe made a store house for all vyttalles and other necessaryes for the pore." The hospital was not to have more than 100 poor persons at once. *October 18.*—Richard Grafton, grocer of London, was to have all the rooms which Hugh Willaby held from the decease of the same and for such rent as another may well give. He was to pay 40s. a year. This was the famous printer who issued Caius on the Sweating Sickness and wrote Grafton's Chronicle. Standing or hanging tables were to be made in every ward where need is for the poor people to feed upon at the discretion of Mr. Vicary. After 7 of the clock at night from Michaelmas to Lady Day in Lent, the gate of this house shall be shut, and at 8 from Lady Day to Michaelmas, only the officers of the house to go out after these hours. Mr. Bykerton, a tenant, is to give up tippling in his house within a fortnight or to leave. Two other tenants have similar warning. *November 8.*—Sir Thomas Hickling resigned the vicarage to Dr. Denman. *November 22.*—Received from Mr. Judde mayor of London at the burial of my lady his

wife thirty gownes of mantle freize for the poor of this house: 20 for men and 10 for women. There were also 12 gownes of white freize bought by the governors. All these gowns are committed to the discretion of Mr. Vicary. The preachers of the French Nation are to be allowed to preach in the Fraternity at the late Gray Friars. 29 new shirts and 13 smocks have been given by one unknown. *December 13.*—30 sacks of coals have been given to the poor by one unknown. Alderman Barrows has given 44 gownbands, some frocks of russett freize, and one white sleeve of white freize.

1551. *January 10.*—£10 given by one unknown. *January 29.*—A gift of three gurdy of turpentine.

1552. *April 23.*—Coals were bought at 15s. a load. *May 16.*—This day it was ordered that Philip Grene shall be dismissed for that his leg is incurable, and for that he might have it taken off to be eased of his pain and for that the said Philip hath reported that his leg can be healed for the value of forty shillings and that the said forty shillings is granted to be given unto the surgeon that will undertake to heal the same Philip's leg. *May 17.*—John Bott of Ticehurst in the county of Sussex brought to Mr. Vicary two pots of half "sovaryns" bearing with it a piece, an angell and six "testors," which was the money of Richard Golden and of the patient that died May 6 last past, and the bringer thereof had for his pains 6s. 8d.

1554. *July* 7.—William Abraham, butcher, to serve the house with beef and mutton at 1d. a pound. In November his price was the same, but on April 27, 1555, it was 1½d. a pound. On August 17, he contracted for 1¼d. a pound, and was willing to pay back the odd farthing which he had received since last mid-summer. His signature, "Be me Wyllam Abram," shows that he could write. From St. John Baptist's Day 1556, till Ash Wednesday he agreed to supply beef and mutton at 1½d. a pound, "good, holsome meate for man's bodie," and from Easter, 1557, to the following Shrovetide the price was the same, but for the like period from Easter 1558 he was to have 1¾d. a pound. After this the contract and price for meat are no longer mentioned, being probably included in the steward's bills. In the seventeenth century they appear again, and are shown in the following table. The stone has been calculated throughout as of 14 lbs. A stone of 8 lbs. is first mentioned in 1843 and has since been used, except from 1851 to 1858, in which period the stone of 14 lbs. was employed.

July 28.—Robert Cock of Prytwell sent two cheeses to the hospital. *August* 11.—Mr. Vicary to buy "such implements as long to the priest of Newgate to celebrate wythe the dyvyne service to be done in Newgate." *October* 2.—Mr. Vicary to have oversight of all officers within the hospital. The poor to be admitted on

YEAR	DATE FOR SIX MONTHS CONTRACT	BEEF per stone in pence	MUTTON per stone in pence	YEAR	DATE FOR SIX MONTHS CONTRACT	BEEF per stone in pence	MUTTON
1554	July 7	14	14	1770	September 13	27	27
1558	Easter	24½	24½	1778	March 27	31	31
1656	December 6	...	28	1786	September 27	31	31
1687	July 9	...	22	1805	March 20	52	52
1688	Michaelmas	...	26	1812	September 23	59	59
1692	April 16	...	28	1818	March 18	45	45
1694	April 21	...	29	1818	September 24	57	57
1696	July 4	...	26	1821	March 23	45	45
1696	October 31	...	24	1828	September 24	38	42
1700	October 5	...	26	1843	March 4	57½	66½
1700	November 2	18	...	1851	March 11	71	71
1701	May 3	25	32	1852	March 9	64	64
1704	October 23	20	20	1854	July 26	89	89
1706	April 13	20	21	1856	September 9	80½	80½
1709	April 18	20	...	1857	March 10	90	102
1715	October 5	20	28	1858	March 9	63	83
1717	October 5	21	28	1868	March 10	77	77
1730	October 3	21	24	1878	March 12	75½	119
1737	October 20	18	18	1888	March 8	84	84
1746	March 20	22	24	1900	March 5	70	63
1747	September 24	18	16½	1911	March 9	70	59½
1749	March 16	21	24				

Mondays only. *December 22.*—The governors gave the hospitaller, "Sir Robert Smythe," for his livery a gown faced with satin which had belonged to Sir Davy Cromwell, clerk, who had died in the hospital.

1555. *January 12.*—Mr. Wysdom, the physician, made his request to have a book that was Sir Davy Cromwell's called, "a course upon the astronomy." Other books of this clergyman's library had been given on January 21, 1554, to John Felde. Mr. Wysdom was perhaps the Gregory Wisdom who was admitted a licentiate of the College of Physicians December 4, 1582. *April 1.*—James Morrys, the cook, gives notice he will depart at midsummer. *May 4.*—This day the surgeons made their request to have a hot house for the poor to sweat in. The house was probably heated by a wood or turf fire on its floor, which was then swept out, and the patient wrapped up in blankets admitted and seated on a wooden stool, the door being closed for a time, so that a copious perspiration rapidly came on, after which the patient, well wrapped up, was carried back to bed. I once saw such a sweat house in use on the shore of Lough Allen, near the entry of the Shannon into the lake. It had been built by her relatives for a dropsical woman. *May 20.*—Roger Long, "one of the poore of this howse, diseasyd of the fallyng Evyll or Syknes, ys sent unto Highgate Spyttell ther to remayne." This

was a procedure adopted in chronic cases of incurable illness, in which, as in epilepsy, the hospital felt a continued responsibility. Sometimes payment was made for surgical treatment outside the hospital. *June 22.*—

“Money grauntyd to the helyng of a sore leg: this day yt ys orderyd that Annys Rudston shall haue v.s. delyueryd her to gyve to Alleyn a surgyon in Charterus lane, viz. at ii paymentes, the one half in hand and thother when she ys hole: 11s. 6d.” *August 17.*—“The

spytler is to serue only upon the poor and to say the seruyce to them accordyng to the foundacyon of the howse in the chappell appoynted for the same.”

September 21.—The “new maisters” are named—three aldermen, a merchant taylor, a mercer, a haberdasher, a fishmonger, and a skinner. *September 23.*—The president, surveyors, almoners, treasurer, renter, scrutiners are named. *November 4.*—A parclose and mats for the chapel for the poor, and all other necessities for the ministration for the altar were provided.

1556. *February 15.*—Roger Trygg was admitted to be clerk of the court. It was decided later that he should be paid £4 and 26s. 8d. yearly: the year to begin at March 25, 1556. *March 21.*—This day it is agreed that Mr. Treasurer shall buy one Omilie book and one surples to the use of the church, and the same to be delivered to Sir Robert Smyth, vicar (who had been nominated Feb. 1, on the death of Dr. Denman).

September 3.—A chamber before let for 6s. 3d., is to be made into a wardrobe to place the “douffe and frises” in. Two keys of it are to be kept by the almoners, and they have authority to cut out the same frises into garments. *September 26.*—It is ordered that Mr. Vicary shall cause a lock to be made to the counting house door, with three keys, for the safer keeping of the evidences belonging to this house. The names of the new master and of the several officers are set down. *November 7.*—The fall of money has caused losses.

1557. *January 16.*—The brewer is to be paid 3s. 2d. for every barrel of beer, “till God doth suffer the prime of grayne to fall in price.” *February 20.*—The note that 30 quarters of rye are to be bought shows that the patients sometimes had rye bread. *April 24.*—The cloth delivered by the weaver was this day cut into eight pair and one “flaxen shetes,” and nine pair woollen. *April 25.*—Forty-six loads of coal, at 14s. the load, were bought. *July 31.*—Two patients are sent to the Lock as they are found to be lepers, there to remain. *October 2.*—The steward is to allow every one of the poor in the hospital one half loaf of bread by the day during October, and if this seems to the governors not enough at the month’s end, then to be amended. *October 23.*—The brewer is to supply for the poor single beer, “good hol-some drynke for man’s bodie,” at 2s. 4d. a barrel.

1558. *April 30.*—The first mention of soap occurs ;

the matron is to be allowed fresh soap to wash her clothes. *August 13.*—Southwych at 6d. an ell is bought of Mr. Alderman Avenon “for the buryall of poor people.” *October 8.*—“This day Mr. Vickers brought into this court certen articles for the good order of the poore, and it is ordered that the same shalbe written in a table and sett upp in the Greate Warde by the discession of the Almoners, and the same orders to be kept in euery poynt under the paynes conteyned in the same.”

1559. *February 21.*—Barrels of herring are to be provided against Lent for the poor. *March 11.*—A box was delivered to Mr. Wethers containing writings concerning the water that should come from St. Bartlemy to the hospital, one under the seal of King Henry VI., the other an indenture between the prior of St. Bartholomew's and the master of the Hospital of St. Bartholomew. *June 10.*—Mr. Vicary to provide a bible and other books needful for the hospitaller. *October 21.*—The steward to allow one $\frac{1}{2}$ d. and one farthing in bread to each of the poor “untill such time as God shall send the grain to be cheper that brede be legyer.” *November 15.*—The Lord Mayor to be asked that water be conveyed to St. Bartholomew's Hospital which is wrongfully kept away.

1560. *July 9.*—St. Thomas's Hospital sent a poor man incurable there, and to be sent on to a lazar

house. He was sent to Highgate. *September 18.*—
 "This day it is orderyd that Mr. Vicarie may shewe
 the evidence for the water to Sir Richard Sackfeld to
 use his advise therin." *October 26.*—The buttery over
 the chapel ward to be repaired.

1561. *September 20.*—A list of the out houses is
 given :

	KEEPER
Mile End	John Stafford
Highgate	William Parker
Kingsland	Cuthbert Harrison
Lock	Thomas Waman
Hammersmith	John Golsynyper
Knightsbridge	Henry Fryer

1566.—A memorandum of October 22 is one of
 the last notes in business of an old master of the
 hospital. It is an agreement between Robert Chyd-
 ley, Esquire, and Sir William Garralt, Knight, Pre-
 sident of the Hospital: "That whereas Mr. Robert
 Chydley holdeth by lease one great tenement belongyng
 to the said hospitall made to him by Edmond Stapell,
 bishope of Meathe in Ireland, then master of the fore-
 said hospitall," for the yearly rent of £3, Robert Chydley
 is content to convey surrender of the unexpired term, or
 by his will to bequeath it to the masters and governors
 of the hospital to the use of the poor. They to pay
 one month after 4os. yearly for the unexpired term.

1567. *September 3.*—Bushopp, the porter, is to have
 the house at the Smithfield gate.

1568. *March* 13.—The governors to meet at 7 A.M. to make a general view of houses and lands. *May* 29.—Money was given to patients to enable them to reach their homes. “This day it is graunted by the courte that Gryffen Davye shall departe forthwith into hys countrey, and also that he shall have 20s. in his purse to bringe him home in consideracion that he is lame and impotent.” The same day “it is ordered that ther shalbe a pare of stockes of wood made and deliuered unto Robert Nicholas the constable of this libertie for the punyshment of vagabondes and such like.” *August* 28.—The highway in Kentysestrete, which belongeth to the hospital, is to be paved with hard stone as far as the house of the poor called the Locke.

1569. *July* 2.—A maidservant's clothes who had been cured of a sore leg in the hospital are enumerated: “3 pastkerchers, 4 neckerchers, 2 bed clothes, 2 cotlins, 1 crosse clothe, 2 par of white sleves, 3 par of ruffes, 1 par of gloves, a silk girdell, and a kassock of black clothe.”

1570. *June* 10.—The renter clerk to enter into the great book the whole particulars that passed between the King and the City.¹ *July* 29.—Ordered that two old bibles belonging to this house shall be rebound,

¹ On Dec. 21, 1546, Sir Roger Cholmeley, Sir Martin Bowes, Sir Ralph Waren, Sir Roland Hill, and Robert Broke were made commissioners to take possession of St. Bartholomew's Hospital for the King. They made a return. In January 1547 the grant to the City was made.—*Calendar of State Papers, Henry VIII.*

and that Mr. Vicary shall buy one new service book and three psalm books in metre for the church.

August 19.—William Maken, servant of my lady Dacres in the south, let rooms in my lady's house which lately was Mr. Pers Pennantes, to a victualler during Bartholomew fair. He is to shut up a door into the hospital during the fair, as it disturbs order.

1571. *March* 16.—A list of bedding : Coverlettes 72, Blankets 15, Matresses 15, Bolsters 38, Pillows 22, Frysse gowns 33. An account of the deficiencies incidentally gives the earliest list of names of wards :

High ward	Chapell ward
Childhouse ward	Garden dorter
Sollers ward	Cloister dorter
Longe ward	Sweating ward
Armytes chamber	Sisters' chamber

The last name shows that the sisters slept in a single chamber. In all 98 pairs of blankets were lacking, by which it is perhaps to be understood not that so many were lost, but that they required to be supplied. *June* 17.—Difficulties arose about inhabitants of the close selling drink. It was resolved "that William Appary, vitler, dwellyng in my lorde Mordauntes rentes, shall with spede sell all such drynke as is in his house, and that done go to sell no more nor vitill any more in his said house." In the house were 2 barreles of strong beer, 1 barrel and half a kilderkin of strong ale and a rema-

nent of strong beer. *June 30.*—The organs in the church are to be sold. *September 15.*—The agreement with Lord Ryche as to water coming to the hospital from Great St. Bartholomew's is ordered to be entered in the Repertory. *November 24.*—The governors took the responsibility of deciding whether operations should be done. One of the poor wants his leg cut off. They think the time of year unsuitable, and decide that he shall go to a lazar house to remain till the spring. *December 29.*—"This day was a letter sent to the gouernors of this house from my lorde maior for thentente they shold mete together to take some good order for the avoydinge and abolyshenge of the commen beggers and diseassed persons lyeing and being in the stretes and to returne an awnswer of ther doing in wrytinge to my lorde maior and the bishop of London on monday next following at eight of the clock."

1572. *July 26.*—A lock and two keys ordered to be made for the gate next lord Mordaunt's. *August 9.*—Sergeant Hale to be paid £7, 10s. "for the charges of the netherhouse for passinge of an acte of parlyament concernynge the bequeste and graunte made to this hospitall."

1573. *April 18.*—John Kettell admitted to stay two or three months, and if he cannot be cured those who petitioned for his admission are to remove him.

1574. *May 22.*—William Maine, hosier, to be guide

(that is, master) of the out house at Kingsland, an order which shows that men without medical training were sometimes chosen for such office.

1575. *May* 7.—Stephen Tratt, sick and lame of his limbs, is to go to one of the lazar houses.

1576. *April* 28.—Order is taken by the court that Mr. Serjeant Balthroppe's howse shall be amended. It was in West Smithfield. He was serjeant surgeon to Queen Elizabeth. He died in 1589, and his figure is to be seen kneeling under an arch on his monument in St. Bartholomew's the Less. *June* 16.—William Mychyll, one of the poor at the Lock in Southwark, is blind; 12d. a week is to be paid him so long as he shall not use the trade of begging, but shall live well and honestly by some lawful occupation.

1577. *November* 5.—William Story, guide of the lazar house of Highgate, is to have 13s. 4d. for his charges in relation to a woman sent there to be cured. He caused her leg to be cut off, which otherwise would have rotted off.

1578. *May* 3.—Mr. Clowes, one of the surgeons to the poor, is to have the next tenement vacant in the hospital, paying as another will do.

1579. *March* 7.—John Fausett, a scholar in Oxford of St. John's College, born in London, who has a sore leg, is to be dressed and cured at the cost of the hospital.

Mr. Clowes, the surgeon, is to attend him daily at his mother's house till he is well. *August 15.*—The windows and tiling of the sweating ward are to be amended.

1580. *September 17.*—The sisters' pay is to be increased from 16d. to 18d. a week.

1581. *September 29.*—Order for the beadles: Two together are to walk through the wards (of the City) appointed every day, staves in hands. They are to go to every collector and ask if he can employ them. They are to take such idle people as they find to Bridewell, and if resisted are to call for aid to the constable, and if he refuse to help are to give his name to the Lord Mayor. If citizens die within the walls the beadles are to attend at their houses. Every Sabbath day they are to attend at St. Paul's at sermon time, and are to apprehend vagrants in the streets around: and are to do the same at the Royal Exchange daily.

1582. *March 3.*—The pavement before Mr. Serjeant Balthrope's door is to be amended.

1583. *November 8.*—The table where the governors sit is to be made longer, and new cushions are to be bought. A man is warned for having 120 lb. of cheese which has not been weighed at the Great Beam: and another for 12 bags of Spanish wool not weighed: and another certain unweighed sugars. *November 25.*—The treasurer is allowed to lend the keys of the counting house to Mr. Mills and William Squyer the clerk to search "for

a counterpaine of an Indenture made from one Breerton, master of the hospitall in the xxiii yere of King Henrie theight to one Colley barbor surgien." *December* 18.—Several people are summoned for not garbelling.

1584. *April* 6.—A new book of survey is to be bought and delivered to the clerk, William Squyer. *October* 5.—The buttery is to be paved with brick. *November* 6.—It is resolved that Robert Carpenter, white baker, shall daily serve the poor with best good and wholesome wheaten bread, and that the same shall be at the rate of every two penny loaf to be divided into three loaves, and that every one of the same three loaves shall weigh sixteen ounces a piece, Troy weight, and the same bread to be delivered every morning, Sunday excepted, to the steward of the house or his deputy by nine of the clock in the morning at the furthest. *November* 30.—Mr. Treasurer and Mr. Otwell are appointed to oversee the book of leases, and the Repertory book and the renter's book, and to set such order for the same as they may be brought to some brief form, and the same to have continuance hereafter.

1585. *March* 27.—Three or four governors are to go with Lord Riche's steward to see where the water pipe is broken. The hospital is to pay two thirds and Lord Riche one third of the cost of repair. This was the second Lord Riche of Lees, son of the Chancellor of the Court of Augmentation who had acquired the Priory of St.

Bartholomew, including the water supply from Canonbury. It was resolved on the same day, "The generall veiwe Daye to be one Munday next beinge the xxixth Daye of Marche 1585, and to meate at the Hospitall by vj of the Clocke in the morninge." *June 25.*—"This Day order is taken That the Roofe of the Cloyster Dorter, beinge the Sweat ward, shalbe made hyer for feare of the infeccon of the systers and other the officers of this house that shall repaire into the same warde." *September 20.*—The list of officers from Sir John Hayward the President to the scrutineers is issued. *November 27.*—John Lewes being presented for admission, would rather go home. He is to be given 20s. if he give surety that he, his wife and children, will go to his country, which is 155 miles hence.

1586. *February 26.*—The view of the hospital is to be on March 17 at seven in the morning "yf yt be faire wether." The steeple of the church is to be repaired: the leads of the little chapel next the Bay churchyard are to be removed. This was one of the two small chapels on the south side of the hospital.

1587. *May 19.*—Hugh Cook, the steward, applied for leave to marry, which was granted. *December 9.*—A resolution of this day shows how the town was then lighted. The inhabitants of the parish are directed to hang forth lanterns like other citizens. *February 4.*—A survey is to be taken of the lazar houses. They are to

be cleaned, since the hospital continually keeps the number of patients "limited by the kinge." Complaint was made that the baker supplied bread very coarse and of lesser weight than any other selleth. The baker was changed in consequence. *June 16.*—A new ward is to be made.

1588. *June 27.*—Up to this the Court had been accustomed to meet on Saturdays. Henceforward it is to meet on Monday mornings once a fortnight at least. *September 16.*—The almoners complain that 180 persons have to be provided for in the hospital, while but 100 are ordered in the charter. In future only 120 are to be taken in, and not above 30 at the outhouses, the whole number not to be above 150. There were 21 governors at the meeting. *December 4.*—Orders to be observed: 1. First there is a waste book to be kept by the clerk, wherein he entereth all such grants, orders, and matters whatsoever as are agreed upon by the governors at their courts, for what cause soever it be. 2. At the next Court the first thing to be done after a competent number of governors have arrived, is that the acts of the last Court be read and confirmed. If any fault "in the penninge," the acts are to be amended and then entered into a fair Leigier book. 3. All the evidence and counterpaines of leases and bonds are to be kept by the Treasurer in a presse under lock and key. 4. All leases as granted are to be briefly entered in a book with

kalendar. 5. No leases are to be granted in reversion. 6. No consideration for surrender is to be accepted till the lease is within a year or two of its end. 7. No lease except a building lease is to be granted for more than 21 years. 8. If a man has diverse tenements in one lease, as these fall in no more, except such as he has in his own occupation, shall be granted. 9. If a man sublets when the lease falls in, the tenement is to be let to the sub-tenant, or to the best tenant to be got. 10. No remote request for a lease is to be granted : yet may be noted : and a tenant in possession is to be considered. 11. No lease is to be granted without a survey first. 12. The majority is to pass a lease. 13. The tenant is to be liable for all repairs. 14. A lease is to be sealed after being read out at a court. 15. The book of debts is to be laid before the governors every court day. 16. The governors are to meet before the audit and peruse the accounts. 17. The beef of the poor is to be bought by weight without any bones. 18. The tallow is from time to time to be weighed and given to a chandler, and an account kept by the steward and hospitaller and candles received for the serving of the house. 19. For every quarter of wheat the baker is to deliver thirty-five dozen and nine loaves of bread, every loaf of sixteen ounces. The last eleven orders were adopted from those of St. Thomas's Hospital.

This was the year in which England was attacked by Spain, and at the end of the third volume of the

Journal, under the date March 27, 1588, are "the names of the Inhabitantes taken within the precincte of little Sct Barthews in weste Smythfeilde as well howsholders as servauntes for the provision of men and Armore for her maiesties' service Rated and settdowne by the right worshipfull Sir Rowland Hayward knight, Mr. Newman Tresorer, Mr. Rowe, Mr. Cogan :—this xxviith daye of Marche 1588, as followethe."

The names then follow under the two headings of Howshoulders and Servauntes, with their ages and the arms or armour each could produce. The list ends with the summary :

Summa of Calewers with one musket	. . . . .	15
Corslettes	. . . . .	10
Jacks or cotes of plate	. . . . .	1
Bowmen	. . . . .	1

1589. April 1.—A letter was received from the lords of Her Majesties Privy Council, as follows :

"After our harty comendacons whearas you receaved direcon from her Ma^{tie} for the speady levyenge of one Thousand furnyshed with Armour and Weapon to be sente presently for supply to the Towne of Ostende to thende the said number mayebe ye speadelier and more indifferently leavied and taken up within the compas of ye Cittye, wee have appointed a Certayne number to be taken out of ye seuerall libertyes : Yow shall therfore by vertewe hearof send for some of the Chieffe Officers of the Lybertyes hearunder wrytten and

in our names to requyer them to take presente order them selves within euery seuerall libertye, because there shalbe no breache of theire libertyes to take up the seuerall numbers heareunder annexed of hable men sorted with armour and weapon fitt for the purpose to be presently in a readyness to be parte of your number which are to be leavyed in and about the said Citty whearin praying yow that all expedicon maye be used, wee byd yow hartely ffarewell; from ye Court at Whytehall the firste of Aprill 1589:

your very Lovinge ffreindes

CHR. HATTON CANC^R

W. BURGHLEY

T. BUCKHURST

JAMES CROFTE

T. PEROT : J. WOLLEY : J. FORTESCUE.

To the Cheiffe officers or
the deputyes of the liberty
of St. Bartholmewes"

A note from the Lord Mayor accompanied the letter :

"I pray yow take suche Care that this letre may be soe effected that yowr number of men furnyshed accordingley maye be reddey to be shipped with ye reste one Thursday morninge nexte, ffrom my howse this firste of Aprill 1589.

MARTIN CALTHROPE *Maior*.

The hospital authorities add "iij men furnyshed," but their names are not given.

Earlier in the year, on January 12, the inhabitants of the parish had been disturbed by demands which they said invaded their privileges. They declared that they would pay no fifteenth to the Queen nor to the City, nor any tithes, nor clerk's wages, and they also refused to repair the body of the parish church. *February 3.*—The parishioners of St. Christopher's, having asked permission, are allowed to have copies made out of the "Bosse booke" for their help in relation to certain lands which they hold in Fleet Street. The book was no doubt the Cartulary, so called from the projecting knobs or bosses on its binding. It is elsewhere mentioned under the title of "Domesday."

1590. *January 17.*—There are 160 patients in the hospital, while the rule is that not above 120 be taken in. *April 4.*—Jane Cornellis, wife of John, disturbs the parish by railing against her neighbours. She is to find two sureties. *July 4.*—The doors and wall of the conduit head at Isledon are broken. It is the chief water supply to St. Bartholomew the Great and to the hospital. *October 17.*—A new parchment rental to be made by the clerk of all lands belonging to the hospital, this to be extant at every court.

1591. *January 30.*—Dame Winifred, wife of Sir George Bonde, knight, asks to have a pipe the size of a swan quill from the conduit head at Isledon to her

house at Hoggesdon. *March 13.*—Orders concerning the poor are to be newly written out. They are to be placed in the wards, and read out once a month to the poor by the hospitaller. *March 27.*—Six deputies of the ward of Faringdon Without came and said that the hospital was parcel of the ward, and liable for certain dues and for a share in setting forth 43 men for her Majestie's service. The parishioners denied this, and refused to pay or to serve. *November 6.*—The guide of Kingsland is to have the keeping of the poor lunatic woman diseased who lately lay near the wall of the artillery yard. £3 a year is to be paid him, and 20s. to buy her clothes. Half of these sums to be paid by St. Bartholomew's and half by St. Thomas's Hospital.

1592. *July 1.*—The carpenter is to buy good oaken timber for the repairs of the sweating ward. *September 2.*—"This day yt is agreade, for that the infeccoon of the plague is doughted to increase within the liberty of St. Bartholomews, That our Clarke shall procure a copy of the decrees and ordinaunces lately sett forthe by my L. Mayor for the avoydinge of the said sycknes, being very necessary to be used, And that he deliver the same unto the Constable with a precepte for the execucon therof in such sorte as is used in other places of this citty as he will aunswere to the contrary."

1593. *March 17.*—The viewday is to be next Mon-

day. The governors are to meet at 7 A.M. *June 16.*—Walter Girdler left £1600 to the four hospitals of London.

1594. *January 19.*—Notice was issued to tenants of certain ground near the Old Butts in the parish of St. Giles without Cripplegate, that the Lord Mayor had received a letter from the Queen directing the erection of a house for persons infected with the plague. This ground was most fit for this purpose, and the tenants were to have reasonable compensation for their leases. *June 8.*—The water-bearer is to keep the poor daily within the cloister of the new building. *July 6.*—The old wards to be converted into warehouses.

1595. *March 1.*—Viewday is to be Monday, March 16, at 7 A.M. *April 12.*—Thomas Lyde, Willyam Willames, William Maycock, John Fettybone, and Thomas Langley, ministers, were admitted in the room of the five preachers of the parish of Christchurch lately ordered to be dismissed by the Archbishop of Canterbury and others her Majestie's Commissioners. The vicar, John Bell, reported on their sufficiency in singing and celebrating divine service. Dee, Olyver, Lightfoot, Pratt, and Lyde (of whom the last seems to have been re-appointed) were the former preachers, and were dismissed on March 25. The new men "shall have knowledge in the scyence of prycksonge to singe and celebrate devyne service accordinge to the foundacon of our late Lorde

Kinge Henry the eight." *May* 31.—The royal commission of inquiry into hospitals and almshouses visited the hospital. It was ordered that answers be drawn from the letters patent. *August* 16.—The answer to the articles of inquiry have been perused by the governors, and copies are to be made for the jury of inquiry.

1596. *March* 13.—Davyd Doo was reported for unkindness towards the poor condemned prisoners of Newgate. He was dismissed, and William Tompson appointed visitor of Newgate in his place.

1597. *April* 30.—Ordered that curtaynes be provided for certain beds of the poor. Moveable curtains hang over the beds to this day, and are of great use in providing privacy when patients are washing and dressing. At other times they are drawn back, and thus do not interfere with ventilation. *September* 17.—The list of governors for the year contains 42 names. The livery company of each governor is mentioned.

1598. *April* 1.—Sir John Spencer asked for a pipe to his house from the conduit at Canonbury. *May* 6.—The treasurer being chosen to travel over the sea to Zeland and Holland in the behalf of the Merchant Adventurers, Mr. John Newman is appointed to be on duty for him. *October* 14.—“Whearas the honorable and vertuus Lady, the Lady Townesende hath voluntarily geven of a synceare devotyon to this Hospital one hundreth markes for an Annuall and perpetuall

releiffe and Comforte of the Poore sycke and Impotente people thereof, wee have ordered and decreade by a generall consent of Court held the xviiith day of February, Anno Dni. 1597, in satisfaccon of her Charitable purpose and intente to purchase or builde a Tenemente which shalbe Chardged with an Annuall rente of syxe rugge Freise gownes yerely, to be paydd in September, And to begine at Mychelmas Daye, videlt. Anno Domini 1599. The which said gownes soe yerly provyded shalbe kepte in a storehouse only to the releiffe of suche sicke and impotente creatures as to the offices of the hospitall shall appeare moste neadefull. And in Comemoracon of soe honorable and Charitable a Devotion yt is allsoe ordered that the said gownes shalbe marked with an Escalopp Shell, as parcell of the said Ladys Armes, or any other letres or markes as shalbe to her Ladyshippes beste lykinge."

1599. *March* 10.—John Kinnerny and Thomas Tarbooke, spurriers, complained of certain spurriers being no freemen of this city, being inmates and using the same trade within the precinct of the hospital, to the great hindrance of them and of others, being freemen. The treasurer and other governors agreed to look into this. Ordered that general view day "shalbe on munday cum a sennett," the governors to meet at 6 A.M.

1600. *March* 1.—The making of a new ward in the

cloister is to be considered, and setting up of beds there, and also the building there of a shop for the apothecary.

1601. *September* 16.—£200 was taken on loan for six months for the needs of the hospital: the loan to be renewed if necessary.

1602. *March* 29.—It was resolved that all grants be decided by the votes of the governors present at the very instant time. *November* 19.—The hospital is greatly indebted, so that the treasurer cannot supply wants that arise. This is due to many arrears of rents.

1603. *January* 15.—The governors are to wait on Lord Riche as to the water supply, with which he proposes to interfere. *March* 12.—Allen Ellwyn left the hospital £40.

Queen Elizabeth died on March 25, but the Journals contain no allusion to the event, nor any mention of her successor. Most of the entries of the Tudor period relate to leases and other dispositions of property. Those which refer to the physicians, surgeons, apothecaries, matron, and sisters are mentioned in other parts of this history. The regular procedure, the benevolence and the uprightness of the governing body, as well as the kind of business they transacted, are sufficiently illustrated in the examples given out of the minutes of these fifty-four years of the New Order.

The year 1603 was one of plague so severe as to check the advance of King James to his new capital;

and an indication of the epidemic occurs in the Journal on *July 9*, when the guides or masters of the lazar houses presented a petition in which they state that patients with the plague were sent to them.

1604. *December 1*.—James Warre, one of the yeomen of the King's Majesty's guard, asked for a lease.

1605. *February 23*.—The charge of a governor on admission was written out. It was preserved in the original form.

1606. *December 15*.—Sir Anthony Cope applied to have a lease renewed to him at Heath in Oxfordshire, which was granted. He paid to the box for the poor, before the delivery of the lease, twenty shillings.

1607. *July 4*.—The whole business related to leases. *September 19*.—Thomas Dawson, the under porter, is going the voyage to Virginia, therefore his place is to be abolished.

1608. *March 11*.—Luke Bryan, a yeoman of the King's guard, being a suitor for the Red Lion in John Street, his petition was referred to a committee. Next Wednesday at 7 A.M. is to be view day. *May 28*.—A letter was read from Lord Fenton, captain of the King's guard, and it was agreed that Bryan should have the lease. *December 10*.—William Brockell, one of the King's messengers, made suit for the lease of a house in Duck Lané. He offered 40s. yearly rent,

£5 fine, to build on a storey and to make a cellar. Owen Howes and George Sparkes his son-in-law brought a letter of recommendation from Lord Coke for the renewal of a lease in Fleet Street. *December 17.*—This was granted.

1609. *February 25.*—This court, held under the presidency of Sir John Spencer, will for ever be famous, as it saw the first appearance of William Harvey in St. Bartholomew's. He came to ask for the reversion of the office of physician. *October 14.*—Dr. William Harvey was admitted to the office of physician.

1610. *October 14.*—Mr. Walter, counsellor of the Temple, was chosen to be counsel for the hospital, and was to have 40s. a year. Beadles of this house are commanded to walk in their blue coats without any cloaks on their backs, and to have their staves in their hands, and to be more diligent for the apprehension of vagrant and sturdy beggars, as they ought to be.

1611. *June 1.*—Roger Jenkins, chirurgion, brought a letter from the Lord Chancellor as to the lease of a house in Brittain Street. The request was granted. *June 14.*—The hospital was still in difficulty about its water supply, and the Journal gives a report of a public meeting on the subject. Conduit water: an assembly was held at the house of Sir Peter Manwood in Great Saint Bartholomew's of certain honourable and worshipful persons interested in the conduit water coming from

Islington by pipes of lead to the cistern in the close of St. Bartholomew's. Lady Petre, Sir William Wyseman, Mr. Jarvis, Mr. Pidgeon in the place of Sir Thomas Neale, Mr. Dale, Mr. Thelwall, inhabitants within or near the same close, interested in the said conduit water under the title of Lord Riche; and interested in the right of the hospital Sir Thomas Lowe, president, Mr. Juxson, treasurer, Mr. Cope, Mr. Gayus Newman, Mr. Bearblock, Mr. Aungell, Mr. Shawe, Mr. Fox, Mr. Cooper, Mr. Bonde, Mr. Dorrington. Agreed that the "bowledyshe" in the conduit should be made to stand fast so as every party interested may have his equal in due proportion of water: there to be three different locks for the door, (1) for Lord Riche, (2) for the Hospital, (3) for the parish, and four keys for the latter, namely for Lady Petre, Sir Thomas Neale, Sir Peter Manwood, the Parish. The charge to be equally distributed. The document is signed by Simon Thelwall, who seems to have acted as secretary. Sir Peter Manwood was a learned man of antiquarian tastes, and his house was most likely that formerly occupied by his father, Sir Roger Manwood, lord chief baron of the Exchequer. *November 22.*—An inventory is to be made by the clerk, Thomas Squyer, of all such books as belong to the hospital, to the end the governors may the better understand and have knowledge of the same books.

1612. *March 17.*—Mr. Robert Dove, merchant taylor,

gave £33, 6s. 8d. for the use of the poor of the hospital. The hospitaller asked for an increase of his stipend, of £10, as he can hardly live because the prices of all things are come to a higher rate than heretofore. He was granted £5 a year more. The view day is to be March 18, the governors to meet at 6 A.M. *September* 16.—John Moulton, a very sufficient and learned man, asks for the reversion of the vicarage of St. Bartholomew the Less. No mention of the illness and death of Henry, Prince of Wales, is to be found in the Journal, so rigidly did the governors adhere to the actual discharge of business.

1613. *July* 21.—The vicar of St. Bartholomew the Less asked for a benevolence, in view of the dearness of the time. Christopher Ockland asked for a lease of the stone gatehouse over against Warwick Lane. This was one of the old gates of the Franciscans.

1614. *January* 22.—This day Sir Robert Cotton came on behalf of Mistress Rawlinges, widow, his mother-in-law, and made request for the augmentation of her lease of a house in which she lived in Cow Lane, in respect of the building of a gallery done by Mr. Doctor Rawlinges, her late husband, and brought letters from Lord Northampton to the governors. The governors agreed to consider it further, when more of the lease was run out. This was the Sir Robert Cotton to whose library all students of history in England owe so

much, who preserved the original of Magna Carta, and whose love of liberty as well as of learning, which may be inferred from this care, was perhaps the cause of his malevolent treatment by King Charles I.

1615. *December* 19.—William Fisher, D.D., made suit for the parlour room over the gate of the hospital towards Smithfield. William Halford, barber surgeon, applied for the lease of a tenement in West Smithfield.

1616. *February* 3.—Mr. Taylor, the churchwarden of St. Botolph, Aldrichgate, asked to peruse ancient evidence relating to the Peacock in the same street as to whether it once belonged to the Priory of Barnewell: this was in relation to a suit about the next house in which the parish was engaged.

1617. *February* 1.—“It is ordered that . . . pycture maker shall have paid him by Mr. Thesaurer £6 for the pycture late made by him of King Henry the Eight, and the same to be set up in the Court Room.” In the fourth volume of the ledger this payment is noted: “Item paied per bill the third day of February A° 1616 vj *li*. This would seem to be the portrait now over the fireplace in the committee room.¹ It is to be regretted that the name of the artist is not recorded either in the Journal or the Ledger.

1618. *June* 20.—“It is thought very meate and ordered at this courte That Syr Thomas Lowe knight

¹ Cf. vol. ii. p. 153.

President of this hospitall doe send a precepte beinge redd at this court to the constable of this parishe and the precincte therof, for the suppressinge of Tobacco sellars victulours and others of the like condicon and likewyse of Inmates and suspected persons."

1619. *April* 17.—The letters patent are to be perused by some learned counsel, to see whether the parishioners of St. Bartholomew the Less ought not to pay tithe as the parishioners of Christ Church do.

1620. *April* 8.—As there has been a general collection in the wards of London in several parishes of sums of money to be given to the King of Bohemia, the governors are requested to call on the parishioners of St. Bartholomew the Less to make a collection.

On *June* 7, the subscription was complete, 43 parishioners subscribed in all £35, 11s. od. The Lady Wynwood gave £20, the largest subscription.

1621. *June* 9.—Mr. Pagett has bought the lease of Sir James Kyrton's house of his executors.

1622. *July* 5.—James Calthorpe, of the Middle Temple, is to be the counsel for the hospital, and to have 40s. a year.

1623. *May* 9.—A committee was appointed to confer with the inhabitants of St. Bartholomew the Great as to water.

1624. *November* 26.—Matthew Hollingbury, armourer,

was chosen beadle in the room and place of Harry Turner, deceased.

1625. *January 22*—This day Mr. James Pagett has been a further suitor for the renewing of the lease of the house and garden ground which he holds in the parish of Little St. Bartholomew's, except a bit 107 feet long and 24 feet broad, which is to be taken for enlarging the churchyard. He was granted a new lease.

1626. *June 9.*—Enos Williams, minister, is to have the place of Robert Huggins, late one of the singing ministers of Christ Church.

1632. *May 17.*—Edward Lord Montagu of Boughton is to have a lease of the two tenements which he holdeth in Cow Lane, late in the tenure of Dr. Rawling, from Midsummer next for 25 years, for the fine of £100, and the yearly rent he now payeth.

1633. *January 19.*—Joseph Henshawe, vicar of St. Bartholomew the Less, was paid £10 "to buy him bookes for his further study." *October 15.*—Harvey presented to the Court articles for the benefit of the poor of this house.¹

1634. *July 30.*—It was discussed whether the governors should in usual habit attend the corpse of Sir Martin Lumley, knight and alderman, deceased. As he left no legacy to the hospital the governors decided

¹ See Chapter XX.

not to attend. The treasurer was to tell the treasurers of St. Thomas's and of Bridewell.

1635. *April* 8.—The Court house to be rebuilt, so that the President and the governors may have better room for meeting in.

1637. *July* 1.—There were now wards called Soldier and Sailor. Jane Ould, sister of Soldiers' Ward, was discharged for great misdemeanours.

1641. *July* 30.—William Hall, vicar, is to have £10 to buy books for his study in consideration of his pains in preaching. Jeremiah Gosse to be minister of the Lock.

1643. *February* 10.—Gosse was given £5, on account of pains taken in praying and preaching at Kingsland to the poor and the soldiers attending the court of guard there. This is the first indication of the armed state of the nation and the beginning of civil war.

June 2.—Mr. Saxon to have 40s., Mr. Twenbrooke 20s., Mr. Malyn 20s., "out of consideracon that they have receved greate Losses in Ireland by the Rebells." They, with Mr. George Sleigh, who was elected, and Mr. Gosse, were candidates for the office of Hospitaller. *October* 7.—Henry Boone, John Pinder, William King, surgeons, are to be paid by the treasurer £10 each "for salves about the souldyers."

1644. *June* 1.—The vicar, clerk, hospitaller, steward, renter and porter are to have £4 a year each for fuel.

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1645. *January* 13.—The clerk is to receive a gratuity of £20 and the steward one of £10 for extraordinary care in various important matters.

1646. *April* 17.—A committee of ten governors and the treasurer is formed to consider the disposition of a brewhouse in Smithfield, and as to the letting and arranging of certain other tenements, and as to a benevolence to the two children of Bonnomy Blagues.

1647. *January* 22.—William Hall, vicar, asked for increase of salary. *August* 28.—Two soldiers complained against the sister in Soldiers' Ward, where they lodge, that she used certain opprobrious and reviling speeches against Sir Thomas Fairefax, namely, wishing his head upon London bridge, and also for abusing the patients in the ward with provoking language and for denying unto them such things as they ought to have had. It was hereupon thought fit and ordered that the said sister be suspended from her place until further consideration.

1648. *June* 5.—Thomas Clark, a boy, being cured, was sent to the governors of Bridewell to be apprenticed to some tradesman. *September* 27.—The clerk is to read before the governors a list of all the governors at the Counting house a week before St. Matthew's Day, so that there may be no mistakes when the list is presented at Christ Church. Ordered that Mr. Genor and Mr. Bell, Parliament men, shall be put in their several companies

the first and put out from amongst those that have fined. Every governor to be placed in his company according to his antiquity. *December 9.*—Governors appointed to admit patients and see to their clothing. If they have none, or not enough, their parishes are to provide : and if the parishes do not, then the hospital will. If any poor soldier is admitted without linen, the matron is to procure it for him from the treasurer.

1649. *January 19.*—Complaint was made by the officers of this house that they were assessed by the inhabitants of the parish of Little St. Bartholomew's for the maintenance of the soldiers under the Lord Fairfax. The tax, they say, is unjustly set, since they have never been taxed since the first foundation, being about four hundred years. It was decided that the tax be paid by the hospital and later allowed by the parishioners, and that for the future no such assessment is to be made. *January 27.*—Shopkeepers in the close are to take down poles, waistcoats, and bodies that hang in the street whereby their neighbours' calling is forestalled and passengers molested. *February 26.*—John Bench, a poor boy, was left in the cloister as an infant of two years old, was kept some seven years at this hospital, and then sent to Christ's Hospital to be educated till fifteen. He has now been apprenticed at Bridewell to be put to some trade. *April 9.*—Mr. Treasurer propounded the necessity of a General Court. It was hereupon thought fit

and ordered that the clerk, William Cawthorne, should attend the late Lord Mayor, Alderman Raynardson, the now President, to know his pleasure concerning the said court, and whether he will recommend the business of the court to any alderman governor of this hospital, he being himself in restraint as a prisoner in the Tower.

May 12.—Edward and Thomas Kempe are to have the timber trees “that were at this fall marked to be cut downe this yere.” *August 27.*—Katherine Shaw was admitted. She had a healthy child which she wanted to have with her. The governors gave 12d. apiece out of their own purses to pay for its diet in the hospital. *December 19.*—Curia tenta die Martis post meridiem xix^o die Decembris : Anno Domini 1649. In the presence of the Worshipful Mr. Alderman Mempris, Mr. Alderman Hayes, Mr. Treasurer. Mr. Richard Edwards, Mr. Deputy Richard Morrell, Mr. Peter Jones, Mr. Abraham Webb, Mr. John Southwood, Mr. Richard Baites, Mr. Ambrose Brumskell, Mr. Wilson, Mr. Robert Smith, Mr. John Allen. This day Mr. Alderman Mempris, Mr. Alderman Hayes, and Mr. Robert Smith, innholder, were admitted governors of this hospital for two years according to a former election, and their charge read unto them. Upon reading of two orders sent to this house from the right honourable the Lord Mayor, President of this house, and the Court of Aldermen : As also upon reading another paper, wherein was written the words of the

Ingagement which is ordered and enacted by the Parliament to be subscribed [a blank], the words being these—Videlicet: “I doe declare and promise that I wilbe true and faithfull to the Common Wealth of England as the same is now established without a king or howse of Lords.” To which ingagement in obedience to the said order of Parliament and orders from the Court of Aldermen All the Governors aboue mentioned did subscribe, being all the governors that did appear this day at this Court. And it is further ordered that our Clerk William Cawthorne do direct a further Summons to be made to the Governors that have not yet appeared to the end they may have notice also to subscribe before Thursday next, at the counting house for the said hospital. *December 24.*—It being this day debated whether that the Ticket should be made and left with or at every governor’s house, that hath not appeared at the last general court for the subscription, It was by the said governors thought fit and ordered that the beadles speak with them or leave word at their houses to be at the counting house in the said hospital before Thursday next to subscribe to the Ingagement according to the order of Parliament, for that the return is to be made before Thursday or Friday next.

1650. *July 15.*—A pew in the church was given to Dr. Catcher who lived in the close. He was a

learned Peterhouse man, who took his M.D. degree at Cambridge in 1624. He died on June 1, 1651, was buried in the church of St. Bartholomew the Less, and left a bequest to the College of Physicians, of which he had been elected a fellow in 1634. A copy of Aristotle's *Historia de Animalibus*, translated by J. C. Scaliger, edited by P. J. Maussachus, and printed at Toulouse in 1619, was given by him, and is in the college library. *November 29.*—Major Pride, who was living in the hospital in 1648, had become colonel, and attended a court on this day to be admitted a governor, but had occasion to go away before his charge was read to him. A letter of application being presented by Colonel Pride from Sir Arthur Haslerigg, it was ordered that a little boy should be admitted a patient in this hospital upon Monday next. Colonel Harrison was also a governor, and Colonel John Okey applied for a lease. The titles which occur at this time in the Journals show of how many men it might be said, as of Hudibras—

“And out he rode a-colonelling.”

1651. *March 24.*—Henry Box gave a mortar and pestle of *lignum vitæ* of great value, which was committed to the custody of the apothecary. The treasurer was directed to pay 10s. towards a steel instrument for a child that is crooked. *December 19.*—Edwin Arris, the surgeon, had built a substantial house by

the south gate of the hospital. He was admitted a governor.

1652. *January* 24.—Jane Ould, a poor pensioner, is to have three bushels of sea coals delivered unto her for her firing the remainder of the winter. *February* 16.—Mr. Bushell, M.A., is allowed to teach scholars in the chapel of this parish church so long as the scholars prove not offensive to this house. *May* 8.—A wooden leg is granted to a widow at a cost of 3s. *May* 24.—There were cured last year 319 sick, lame, and diseased. *July* 14.—James Fisher, printer, was paid £9 for 500 order books, including the binding of 100 with blue and marble paper and 6 with vellum. *September* 15.—A view of the patients was made by five governors with the physician, the three surgeons, and the apothecary. *September* 27.—Forty chaldron of sea coals are to be supplied before May day next at 21s. 6d. a chaldron—the seller, if he fail, to forfeit £10. *October* 18.—It being this day taken into consideration that for several years past prayers, reading the Scriptures, and expounding the word of God hath been omitted in the church by the hospitler (whose office it is for the spiritual food to instruct the poor sick people here harboured) It is therupon thought fit and ordered by the governors present (it being consonant to former orders and commands) that the said hospitler shall every week hereafter upon Thursdays in the forenoons and after-

noons, at the hours of 10 in the forenoons and 3 in the afternoons, duly and constantly pray with the poor as the Lord (by his holy spirit) shall enable him, and also read the word of God and expound the same in the chapel of this church. And it is further ordered and required That the said hospitler at all times convenient, and when he is desired, shall visit its poor in their extreames and sicknesses, and shall pray, exhort, and administer the wholesome and necessary doctrine of God's comfortable word.

1653. *January 3.*—Some patients had diet allowed in money, but their cure was retarded by their ill chosing or spending at an ale house. Some were covetous, and tried to save the money. So all patients are to have the house diet except those the doctor reports to be feverish and such chirurgical patients as are dismembered. These are to have broths, cawdells, or other things suitable and fit for their condition from the sister. Diet money, whether whole or half, is to be paid by the steward to the sister to discharge her disbursement. The women patients are to spin flax or hemp in their several wards. Those who cannot spin are to sew and make sheets, shirts, and smocks for the use of the poor. The clerk is to wait on the President to ask him to appoint a day to come to the counting house "to thend the resolute of Parliament for the moyety of all hospitall landes toward the releafe

of the wounded and sick seamen may be considered on for the best good of this howse."

February 12.—414 ells of cloth for sheets are to be bought at 13d. an ell. *February 24.*—In obedience to a late resolve of Parliament and upon a letter from the Commissioners of the Navy, the President, Treasurer, and Governors have appointed William Cawthorne, clerk, to signify to the said commissioners that this house shall be in a condition to receive presently wounded and sick mariners to the number of 50 if there shall be urgent occasions. *April 4.*—A certificate signed by three governors was sent to the Commissioners of the Navy to say that 14 such mariners had been received, and that there was room for 30 or 40 more if there was occasion. *September 5.*—William Bury, surgeon, brought a letter from the committee of the Savoy Hospital recommending him to be the surgeon of the Lock. The answer given was that no place was at present vacant. At the next meeting a letter came from the most powerful person of the time. *September 12.*—"This day William Bury, surgeon, brought another letter of recommendation from the Lord Generall Cromwell directed to this court, that he might be admitted Guide at the Lock Spittle in the room of Richard Eden lately dead, which letter was redelivered to him to bee presented at the next Generall Court." *December 23.*—George Lambert, the porter, is to have a cloth gown every three

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years to wear about the hospital and the cloister, and a staff tipped with silver, and the hospital arms to be set upon the silver, which staff is always to remain in the hospital for his successors.

1654. *May* 13.—Sir Nathanael Brent's pew covered with green cloth is to be divided into two. *May* 22.—Upon reading a letter from the Committee sitting in Little Britain, all the sea soldiers were summoned to appear this day at the counting house, and warned that if they disorder themselves by drink or did lie out of their wards they should be dismissed. *May* 27.—This day two patients, sea soldiers in King's ward, by name Briggs, were complained against by three other soldiers that they were commonly drunk and distempered, and by reason thereof much troublesome by beating and misusing the said patients and others in the said ward. They were ordered the discharge on Monday next. *July* 17.—Mary Kidder, the buttery woman, was discharged for marrying. *July* 29.—She gave up the buttery keys. *November* 13.—This day Mr. Seth Wood showed in court his presentation from the Lord Protector and approbation thereupon under seal from the commissioners to the vicarage of Christ Church. *November* 27.—A new vicar in place of William Hall resigned is to be chosen. Ministers are to preach on trial, and to have 6s. 8d. for each sermon. *December* 12.—Robert Taylor, M.A., was elected vicar; "according to the late ordinance he was

presented to the commissioners for approbation." He is to visit the patients two days in every week, and expound the scriptures to them.

1655. *September 29.*—Ordered "That the Cellar for stronge beare in this hospitall shalbe shut upp every Sabbath-day untill fiue of the clock in the afternoon, and then not to continue open longer than one hower, and alsoe that dureing that hower noe person or persons bee suffered to drinke therein but only to fetch what beare or ale they shall want into their severall wards."

December 24.—A committee is to consider how the five priests of Christ Church are to be paid, and to draw up a petition to the Lord Protector and Council.

1656. *January 5.*—Ordered "That a greene carpett cloth shalbe bought forthwith for the great table in the Court Hall, that the commissioners now sitting there may have use of it." *March 3.*—A letter came from the secretary of the commission for trade and navigation to ask about the hospital, as they are considering a hospital for mariners. It was agreed to send the treasurers and others to give information. Constant committees and inquiries were characteristic of the time.

November 14.—It was resolved that provisions be not bought of governors. *November 28.*—It was discussed whether shops should be made in the great cloisters. The little cloister is to be used to lodge the poor on Mondays. These were the applicants for treatment.

1657. *February*.—Anne Lawrence is permitted to sell apples at the Smithfield gate as she has done, but is not to take more room than 9 foot in length from the gate on its east side towards the shop of Mr. Knight and 2 foot in breadth, and she is to pay the porter 26s. 8d. a year. *March 25*.—The cloisters are to be plastered and whitened. *June 1*.—Benefactors' names are to be written in the cloisters, the ground white, the letters and pillars black, the capitals and bases of the pillars gold. The posts and bars opening from King's ward into the cloister are to be painted white. The great gates at each end of the cloister, the door and windows of the apothecary's shop, the door posts and bench going into the matron's yard, and other windows opening into the cloister are also to be painted. The two carved figures in the cloister are to be painted in oil whatever colour the governors order. These figures remain, one a full length, the other a half length. They appear to represent patients of the hospital of the Tudor period: one perhaps was a wounded sailor, the other a soldier.¹

The door posts and benches into the little cloisters are also to be repainted, and the old writing over the hospital gate is to be repainted black on a white ground. *June 13*.—On examination it appeared that 115 benefactors gave sums under £5, while since 1613 130 benefactors gave £20 and upwards. These last are to be written in the cloisters with such others from 1547 as

¹ They were exhibited in the London Museum at Kensington Palace in 1912.

were formerly there. The names are to begin at the north end of the cloister, and are to be in a Roman hand and all capital letters. *July 6.*—The patients in the Lock are to have good Suffolk cheese instead of Cheshire.

1658. *August 2.*—The venison dinner is to be on Friday next, and tickets are to be sent to all the governors to give them notice thereof. *September 11.*—The treasurer and almoners met, but not a word is recorded of the Protector's death.

1659. *November 16.*—Frances Worts is employed for the cure of scald heads. None of the meetings mention Richard Cromwell or any matters of politics.

1660. *May 7.*—The treasurer and seven governors being present. "It is thought fitt and ordered that the shield of the States armes being the Redd Cross and Harpe be taken downe in the Court Hall and the King's arms put in the Roome thereof. And alsoe that the King's armes obscured in the two tables in the Counting house be refreshed and made good at the charge of this house." Thus quietly in St. Bartholomew's was royalty restored. *September 17.*—Ordered that the clerk leave out of the list of governors to be read at Christ's Hospital on St. Matthew's Day, Colonel Gravend, Alderman Ireton, Colonel Okey, and Mr. Moyer; and it is ordered that Colonel Okey and Alderman Ireton be hereafter wholly left out and omitted in the table of governors' names.

1661. *January* 5.—Colonel Apesley and John Hawkins, surgeon, and one other, appeared at the court and asked for an answer to the King's commendatory letter as to the appointment of surgeon to the Lock. Neither President nor treasurer being present, this business was postponed. *January* 7.—Colonel Apesley appeared, and desired that the King's letter might be returned to him, for he understood that it was obtained upon a false information against John Haselock, viz. that he was one disaffected to the King and a friend of the Fanaticks' party, and did embalm the Protector, whereupon this Court did deliver the said letter to the said Colonel, he promising to deliver the same into the hands of Mr. Gervis Hollys, one of the Masters of Request. *August* 27.—Haselock had died, and what then took place shows how steadily the governors adhered to their duty even in opposition to royal influence. The King wrote in favour of John Knight for the post. John Dorrington, Josiah Westwood, Ralph Fitch, Thomas Devonshire, and Ralph Foster, surgeons, were also candidates. John Dorrington was elected. The following memorandum was written :

“The said Mr. Knight deliveryd his Maiesties lettre on his behalf for the said place, and this Court being much inclined to serve his M^jtie therein with reference to the due discharge of their Truste towards the poore : Whereupon the said Mr. Knight was twice called in, and

the Court did by Mr. President Demand of him if hee would make the said howse his habitation, and constantly attend the poore in his owne person (which was alwaies the former guide's duty), there being an absolute necessity for the same, not only for the due preparing and administration of Phisick to the poore and to assist and help them in their extreammes of sicknes which frequently happened to end distempers and cures, but also to provide meat, drink, fireing, lodging, and other necessaryes about the poore, and carefully to see distributed att every meale to each patient his quantity and proportion, and to keepe alwaies in good order and government the said poore, which cannot be effected without personall attendance, without the dayly hazard of the welfare, if not the lives, of the poore patients, hee being the only person intrusted by this house therewith on whom they can rely.

“Whereupon Mr. Knight replied that he would be there as often as hee could, and when he could not doe the same himselfe, hee would doe it by his Deputy, or words to the like effect. By which the Court found that hee could not soe execute and attend the said Busines to discharge the same according to duty, and as it ought to bee for the poores good.

“And also the Court had a respect and tenderness to his Maiesties displeasure if they should have conferred the said place upon the said Mr. Knight, hee being

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constantly soe neare the King's person, and the Bussines of the said place soe offensive and nautious."

October 5.—Edward Cawthorne, the clerk, being dead, his brother William was elected clerk. The list of officers for the year was confirmed :

Dr. John Micklethwaite,	} Physicians.
Dr. Tearne,	

Henry Boone,	} Surgeons.
Joseph Byns,	
Thomas Woodhall,	

Francis Bernard : Apothecary.

Edward Mullins : for cutting the stone.

John Dorrington : guide at the Lock.

John Kent : guide at Kingsland.

Stephen Huggins : minister at the two outhouses.

Frances Worth : for the cure of scald heads.

Samuel Broadstreete, hospitaller.

William Cawthorne, clerk.

Humphry Fox, steward.

Peter Moulson, renter.

George Lambert, porter.

Margaret Blague, matron.

Mary Horne, cook.

Edward Stanley,	} Beadles.
John Kingston,	
Thomas Lenton,	

November 25.—The Countess of Holland desired the governors to join with her in demolishing the conduit in Great St. Bartholomew's, and taking up the leaden pipes from Canonbury conduit, which for many years had been no way useful.

1662. *February 10.*—Two children left in the hospital were put out at nurse with Goodwife Watts at Ware, George at 2s. 4d. a week and Bartholomew Pillar at 2s. *April 14.*—Ahasuerus Fremantle, clockmaker, is to be paid £10 to repair the clock of the parish church so it go true for both dials in the cloyster and in Smithfield, and strike as other church clocks do: not to be faster or slower in one week than $\frac{1}{4}$ hour. The King's arms over Smithfield gate are to be new made and painted in a handsome manner. *June 23.*—Return of hearths and stores required by the sheriffs of London: 37 in the wards and in officers' houses and lodgings 37. *December 14.*—Auditors and governors are to dine in the Great Hall after the audit.

1663. *July 8.*—It is clear that the steward lived in a good house, for on this day it was resolved that Mr. Treasurer Mills having no London house, he shall have the steward's house, now vacant. Humphry Fox, the steward, had died, and there were six candidates for the vacancy; of these Thomas Poultney had a letter telling the royal pleasure as to his loyalty under the hand of Sir Henry Bennet, one of his Majesty's principal

secretaries and also a recommendation from the Lord Mayor and certificate of the Marquis of Winchester and the large testimony of Sir Robert Peake, knight, in behalf of the said Poultney concerning his loyalty to his late Majesty and his serviceableness at Basing Garrison, and also upon reading a letter from his highness the Duke of Albemarle on behalf of John Baynes, on a vote by hands the place by general and free election did fall upon Thomas Poultney. He was to be allowed £12 a year for a dwelling till one should be found for him in the hospital.

Basing House was sacked : some of its ruined walls, its pigeon house, its great well, with firebacks and carvings that were once in its rooms, remain to commemorate the most famous siege of the Great Rebellion. It is satisfactory to know that Poultney, who took part in the defence, at last received a suitable reward of his conduct in the stewardship of St. Bartholomew's. It is easy to imagine how often by the fire on winter evenings he praised Lord Winchester's constant loyalty, or described how they used to look towards the north every day for succour and perhaps how Mr. Faithorne used to sketch the dispositions of the besieging force, or what a good drawing of a sentinel was made by Mr. Hollar. He probably knew Lord Arlington well, and would tell how well his lordship fought at Andover, where he received that scar on his nose.

1664. *February* 1.—The almoners are interrupted

when admitting patients on Mondays in the cloisters by young men that are apprentices to the three surgeons. These show "pressing importunity and bould saucey carriage to the allmoners to enforce such persons to be admitted as they recommend for the remedy thereof." The masters themselves shall attend, or for them some able and grave surgeon. Three days a week at least the master surgeons themselves shall come to dress their patients or to stand by and direct. No out patients shall be admitted but such as the two doctors, the apothecary, or the surgeons, or one of them, shall think fit and direct in writing. *May 2.*—Ordered that the windows in the Great Hall for the preservation of the effigies of King Henry and the rest there pertractured shall be made good, the steward to see this carefully done. This window remains in the present Great Hall. *December 3.*—Sir Thomas Clifford and Colonel Raynes delivered to the Court letters from the Archbishop of Canterbury and others of the Privy Council in pursuance of his Majesty's declaration of October 18 last, desiring a moiety of all the rooms in this hospital to be reserved during the time of the war at sea, and that they shall be disposed to such as shall be wounded in the service of the Navy. The answer was returned "that Roomes for 80 persons shalbe made forthwith ready for his Majesty's service for such sick and wounded seamen and souldyers as aforesaide, and that six

wards shalbe speedily made ready for their entertainment, viz. :

Kings (2 wards)
 Long ward
 Cloysters daughter ward
 Queenes ward
 Marthas ward
 Katherines ward

which wards are conceived fitt for the recepcion of 91 persons, and euery one to have a single bedd and to have all other accomodacons proper for them according to the entertainment in this house used."

1665. *March* 13.—£40 in plate was voted to Sir John Cutler for his services as regards certain buildings in Lincoln's Inn garden. *May* 1.—Coals being dear, a ship of 200 tons is to be sent to Newcastle. This was the year of the last great epidemic of plague in London. It is interesting to notice how the meetings of the governors were attended during this trying period. The rise and the decline of the epidemic are included in the period from the beginning of April 1665 to the end of February 1666, and during this time 32 meetings were held. On one day no names were registered. Sir Richard Chiverton, the President, attended 6 meetings, Mr. Richard Mills the treasurer 14, Mr. Mason 26, Mr. Reeve 25, Major Hayns 24, Mr. Mynn and Adoniah Fox 12 each, Mr. Underhill 11, Mr. Walker and Peter Mills 10

each, Mr. Turman and Edward Arris 9 each, Mr. Playce 8, Mr. Osborne 7, Mr. Hunt 6, Mr. Alvey, Mr. Briscoe, and William Ridges 5 each, John Ramsay 4, Sir Thomas Alleyne, Mr. Farloe and Mr. Turner 3 each, Mr. Heath and Mr. Sexton 2 each, while ten others attended one meeting each. The highest rate of mortality was in August and September. At a General Court held on *September 12* only 6 governors were present, and on *September 28* the meeting was held at the Green Man at Laieton (Leyton) in Essex. The President, the treasurer, and four governors, Mr. Walker, Mr. Mason, Major Hayns, and Mr. Reeve, attended there. The last three were the only governors present at two meetings in August, one in September and one in October. Several minutes show how serious the epidemic was. *June 21*.—(11 governors present) Henry Boone junior, one of the surgeons, was told that he lived too far from the hospital. His father had lived in Smithfield, and now had a house and garden in Well-yard adjoining the hospital. *July 3*.—(8 governors present) Long entry back doors into Well-yard are to be kept locked ; the great gate and the south door, and the north door at the end of the cloisters, are to be shut at 8 in the evening by the porter till August 24, and after that at 7, “and only the little wickett dores to bee open untill the usuall howers formerly ordered, during thes Contagious tymes.” It is evident that during the plague thieves were about, for Edward Stanley, the beadle, was directed to lie in the chamber

over the apothecary's shop to secure it and the Counting house "in theis dangerous tymes." Stanley seems to have died of the plague, and his widow was attacked by it. *September 12.*—(6 present) "This day the said governors taking into their consideracon the want of a Chirurgion for cure of the pestilence; and heare now appearing in person two of the Chirurgeons viz. Henry Boone and Thomas Tirpin for Mr. Woodall; It was required of them if they would officiate the business themselves for the visited people or would pay the charge to one Mr. Gray now present whome they and Mr. Sanderson now absent recommended for a skilful person? In answeere Mr. Turpin replied hee was but deputy for another, and further that the business was too hott for him to act therein, and Mr. Boone replied that he would not disert his imployment, but desired to be excused to doe that service, and he would prescribe and provide thinges proper and Convenient for the sick, and referred himselfe to the Court, whereupon the said Mr. Gray was called into Court, and upon treaty with him he promised to officiate as Chirurgion at their pleasure for the business only of the pestilence, and for his pay and paynes therein he did freely referr himself to the pleasure of the gouernors hereafter, whose offer and service was kindly accepted by the Court, and thereupon ordered that the said Mr. Thomas Gray shalbee permitted to officiate the cures and business for the plague in this hospitall only, during pleasure, and to enter upon

the same to-morrow ; and that hereafter for his paynes therein hee shall have some moderate compensation answerable to his disert and paynes and to bee raised either out of the 3 Chirurgions Sallery or otherwise as this Courte shall thinke fitt." *September 16.*—(3 present) John Dorrington to be paid for Medicaments for the Plague : "Whereas Mr. Dorrington, guide at the Lock Hospitall, informs the said governors that all medicaments proper for cureing the pestilence was very chargeable, and that he cured many out patients for which he desired an allowance for the same : whereupon the said governors thought fit to promise and declare for his encouragement that if any patients sent to him from this howse shalbee visited, then for such only they would give him allowance for such medicaments that he shall properly use in that distemper aboute them ; but noe allowance to be given for any others but such sent thither by this hospitall."

September 28.—It was resolved that the salaries of Dr. Micklethwaite and Dr. Tearne be not paid till further consideration. It was also ordered that our Clerk prepare a letter to be sent to Mr. Thomas Woodall, now attending his Majesty, to give him notice that the hospital is visited, and to desire his address to his Majesty for a letter to the Commissioners for the sick and wounded, to forbear sending any sick seamen hither during these contagious times. The yearly election of

officers was put off in respect of the present mortality. As it is understood the two doctors were remiss to officiate, it is therefore thought fit that "Mr. Barnard the apothecary, whose abilities are well approved, shall prescribe at the present for the patients in the said doctors' stead until further order therein." *October* 10.—John Hadden and Austin Garland are discharged of the pestilence business, since they have to be employed in the Counting house and sent to people of quality. Thomas Durant, a patient, is to act for these beadles "about the pest wards occasions." The sending of the letter to Mr. Woodall is suspended. Green staves are sent to some new governors. *December* 15.—The suspension of the two doctors' salaries confirmed. *December* 18.—The painter is to set up the King's arms, the City arms, and those of this hospital, with this inscription under the said arms in the great cloisters under the dial for the clock :—"This antient and famous Hospitall was first founded by Rayhere, servant to King Henry the first whoe was sonne of William the Conqueror, in the yere 1102, and after the dissolucon of Abbeyes and Monasteryes refounded by King Henry the Eight in the yeare 1546, and named the King's Hospitall." The error in the date of foundation has been copied in later inscriptions. *December* 23.—Rewards to the sum of £145 were voted for work in late contagious times—£30 to Thomas Gray, £25 to Francis Bernard the apothecary, who ministered to the sick, while the two doctors in the late sickly and

dangerous times have absented themselves and continued in the country, where they now are. £40 to Thomas Poultney, the steward, who adventured his life. £30 to William Cawthorne the clerk, who acted in the hospital throughout; £10 to Peter Moulson the renter; and £5 each to Samuel Broadstreet the hospitaller and James Pitts the porter. With regard to the matron, the following resolution was passed: "Whereas the said Governors having a respect towards Margaret Blague, matron, for her attendance and constant great paynes about the poor in making them Broths, Caudles, and other the like Comfortable things for their accomodacon in theis late Contagious Tymes, wherein she hath adventured herselfe to the greate perell of her life, she is given, understanding she prefers it, ten years' addition to a lease of 21 years, of a house occupied by her son-in-law, Edward Harding, near the hospitall south gate." Such were the well-earned commendations and rewards of this terrible year. It is difficult to understand how Micklethwaite and Tearne justified to themselves their conduct in leaving London and their hospital patients. They were not censured by their contemporaries in the College of Physicians, but it is certainly a sign that our time is better than theirs, that no fellow of the college would now think for a moment of not attending to his hospital patients in any epidemic. Some physicians acted differently. Dr. Thomas Wharton, of St. Thomas's Hospital, stayed in London, and was

rewarded by the grant of an honourable augmentation to his arms. Dr. Nathaniel Hodges, another fellow of the college, stayed also, and worked hard, and wrote an interesting book, "Loimologia," on the plague. He received no royal reward, nor did he acquire a fortune, but died in a debtor's prison. Everyone must regret his poverty, admire his conduct towards his fellow citizens in the plague, and feel that he was rightly honoured by the tears of Dr. Johnson.

1666. The great fire of London burnt part of the church of St. Sepulchre, and came as far as Pie Corner; but by pulling down of houses was prevented from reaching the hospital. The residents probably sheltered some houseless friends, and for some time all in the hospital must have lived in apprehension.

Those who have homes, when home they do repair,
To a last lodging call their wandering friends;
Their short uneasy sleeps are broke with care,
To look how near their own destruction tends.

September 3.—It was resolved that the writings of the hospital, if necessary, should be moved to Squire Ridge's at Hornsey.¹

September 15.—A committee was appointed for immediately rebuilding and letting shops burnt down in the fire. *September* 18.—12 shops of 10 feet square

¹ *Vide supra*, vol. i. p. 28.

each are to be made along the Long Walk and within the churchyard, and in the other little churchyard 3 shops and 4 near the vicar's house: all to be tiled with pantiles.

September 22.—Losses by the fire were considered. The charges of the hospital were to be reduced; and five sisters to be dismissed since their wards were empty. Of these the sister of Long ward is to be a helper in Martha, the sister of New ward to be a helper in Curtaine warde, the sister of Dyett ward to be admitted as a patient for her visual distemper, the sisters of Naples ward and of Garden dorter ward to be discharged. The King's ward is to be converted into new shops. The officers' quarters were above the cloister. Next the King's ward was the dwelling-house of Roland Winn. His descendants found a more handsome home at Nostell Priory in the West Riding.

October 25.—Roland Winn, esquire, allows the governors to have for the benefit of the poor, notwithstanding any grant made to him, a room, part of his dwelling-house adjoining to King's ward. He had a lease, and gave up this part of it.

Mr. Keyes, master in Christ's Hospital, is allowed to teach school in the Poor's chapel of St. Bartholomew the Less. Losses by the Great Fire are computed at £2000 a year. The members of the staff nominated for the year were:

Dr. John Micklethwaite : Physician.

Thomas Woodall,	} Surgeons.
Henry Boone (junior),	
Richard Sanderson,	

Francis Bernard : Apothecary.

Thomas Holyard,	} for cutting stone.
James Mullyns,	

Frances Worth : for cure of scald heads.

Dr. Tearne is to be discharged from his employment because the business of the Doctor will be much lessened hereafter owing to the great losses in the hospital revenues. The Court gives him notice of this, and votes him thanks for his former care. The election of guides at the Lock and at Kingsland is postponed for consideration. *October 27.*—The outhouses are to be cleared, and no patients sent to them from the hospital “unless by some Providence the hospital revenues shall be enlarged.” The guides may go on living in the outhouses, and are to look after the bedding and furniture. The renter is to demand all arrears of rent from tenants whose houses have been burned, and they are to tell whether they will rebuild or no, and will keep or surrender their leases. The 19 shops in the Long Walk are not to be built till the spring. All shops and doors into the cloister, including Squire Winn’s, are to be shut at 10 P.M., and no one is to walk the cloisters after that hour. *November 1.*—A

shop at Duck Lane end is to be pulled down as it obstructs the King's-way, unless the governors think fit to apply to Sir John Denham, his Majesty's surveyor-general, who is authorised by his Majesty's late mandamus, obtained on behalf of this hospital, to certify this and other injuries that are done to the prejudice of the hospital and the houses thereto belonging. Duck Lane has many relations with literature. Garth and Swift have mentioned it; Dryden and Addison walked down it to correct their proofs; so it seems fit that its pathway should be cleared from obstruction by the poet who sang the praises of the Thames:

O could I flow like thee, and make thy stream
My great example, as it is my theme;
Though deep, yet clear; though gentle yet not dull;
Strong without rage, without o'erflowing full.

1667. *January* 1.—Names of benefactors of £50 and over are to be set up in the cloisters in a frame; and old names are to be put out that have given less than £50. *February* 1.—All charges at the outhouses are now suspended. *March* 5.—If any poor be now sent to outhouses, the hospital is to pay their diet and their friends to pay the surgeons' dues. *May* 9.—Thomas Wiseman, citizen and surgeon, was admitted a governor. Thomas Poultney, the steward, used to receive the profit of letting shops in the cloister in the time of Bartholomew Fair. This was now prevented by the new shops made in the cloister. He was to be allowed £20 a year in

compensation. *August 4.*—18 leather buckets are to be bought for the hospital in room of those lost in the late dreadful fire. *September 12.*—Losses from the fire were declared to the Court: 190 houses had been burnt down, many quit-rents were suspended, as also fines of houses let just before the fire and not paid. All these were to be entered in a special book, and not put into the general accounts. *October 26.*—An offer of Dr. Tearne to serve without salary was gratefully accepted. One porter was appointed to attend both to the Little Britain gate and the gate opening into Windmill Court. *November 9.*—William Cheave gave to the hospital 12 acres of pasture and a house in Kentish town, held in free soccage.

1668. *January 29.*—A letter from the King was read recommending William Bell, B.D., one of his chaplains, vicar of St. Sepulchre's, now partly in ruins, for the vicarage of St. Bartholomew the Less, now vacant. He has officiated there for 17 months last passed.

1669. *January 11.*—A woman child was lately left near the hospital gate entering Well-yard. She has been baptized Mary Pitt. James Pitt the porter, and the four beadles, were called in, and told to attend to their business, and to see that children are not left in the hospital. *June 25.*—Every governor coming late to a General Court, or going away too early, is to pay 12d. to the Poor's box. *October 16.*—A brewer is to supply ale to make scurvy grass drink. *December 6.*—Eliza-

beth Stanley is to toll the poor's bell at meal times, for which she shall have yearly 5s. to buy her stockings and shoes.

1670. *August* 13.—The greater part of the fire engine belonging to the hospital was lost or broken in the great fire. A new one is to be made, and two of the beadles to be trained in its management.

1671. *March* 18.—The hospital arms in lead to be set upon houses newly built, and upon others where they are not, this summer. *November* 11.—William Bernard had bequeathed £500: £250 of it to St. Bartholomew's. A suit in Chancery arose: Sir Heneage Finch, Sir Francis North, Sir John Churchill, and the Lord Keeper's son were engaged as counsel: Sir Heneage to have a fee of 40s., the other three 20s. apiece.

1672. *March* 18.—Martha ward, lately called King's ward, is to be prepared for the reception of sick soldiers and seamen. *June* 3.—The matron is to buy sheets for these patients. *July* 26.—The chancel of Little Wakering church is to be thoroughly repaired.

1673. *October* 3.—The Treasurer is to pay to Mr. Cooper the residue of £200 granted to Mr. Richard Wiseman for sick and wounded seamen. It is to be spent in their weekly pay. These were the wounded of the third Dutch war.

1674. *April* 4.—Sir Eliab Harvey's lady (Mary Harvey) had made a bequest "to the wounded hospital

£50." The executors would pay to St. Bartholomew's if indemnified. The governors will indemnify in view of the fact that Doctor Harvey, physician to this hospital for many years, was Sir Eliab's brother, and that Sir Eliab was himself a benefactor. *May 4.*—Letter from Lord Anglesea and others, dated May 2, authorising James Peirce, chirurgion general of his Majesty's fleet, to send sick and hurt seamen to the hospital, who will be able to pay his Majesty's usual allowance of 2d. a day.

1675. *May 17.*—A mistake of £243, 11s. 6d. has been discovered wanting in last account. The committee cannot find it out. The committee finds the account since the late fire irregular and confused, ground rents of houses burnt, annuities and quit-rents having been omitted to be charged in the rentals until new contracts had been made. The clerk has made up the hospital account till Michaelmas, and balanced the foot of that account by rents in arrear and money in cash till the end of November. This way of accounting is not to be permitted. They find £140 paid every month to the steward for his bill of disbursements for that month, when in truth he payeth but part thereof, which maketh the account more subject to mistakes and difficult to be made up by the clerk, who is no accountant, therefore the renter's cash book and the account of the hospital are both to be made up at Michaelmas. The steward is

to pay the brewer, baker, milk woman, and oatmeal man, who have of late been paid by the renter: all of them being usually included in the steward's bills. The press in the old hall in the hospital is to be mended, and the writings of the hospital are to be put therein. Keys thereof are to be delivered to the President, the Treasurer, and an ancient governor. George Knight, a foundling, has served his apprenticeship; he is to be given £5. to set up as a weaver. *October 9.*—Edmund Cressey, minister, and the present lecturer in the parish of Little St. Bartholomew's, presented to the governors sixty printed books of divinity, useful for the poor harboured in this hospital, as also for the several prisons and other hospitals in this city; his modest desire and expectation was to have some compensation for the same. It was therefore ordered that he shall be paid £3 as a gratuity and for his pains. The books are to be delivered to the care of the steward, who is to deliver two to every sister, with a strict charge that they see them preserved and read by the patients without embezzling or losing. It is agreed with a joiner to make twenty-seven bedsteads of well-seasoned deal for the new wards. *October 18.*—The ceilings of the new wards are to be of lath and plaister.

1676. *January 18.*—Sir John King is retained as standing counsel for the hospital: to have a yearly fee of £4. *March 18.*—50 chaldrons of sea coal are to be bought at 21s. the chaldron. *May 20.*—Pumps are to

be made to take water into the wards instead of the bearer carrying it up in buckets. *November 20.*—Men patients are to be removed out of the Queen's ward, which is to be kept for women in the future.

1677. *February 3.*—The steward is to buy four measures of pewter to be used in the scurvy grass cellar—gallon, pottle, quart, and pint.

1678. *June 3.*—The number of out patients has become burdensome ; not more than 8 are to be admitted in a week. No out patient is to have any scurvy grass ale unless directed by the doctor to drink thereof, and this entered in the apothecary's book. *August 24.*—Ordered that a beadle see the patients that shall be buried put up in woollen, and make affidavit thereof according to the direction of an Act of Parliament entitled "an act for burying in woollen." *September 10.*—In reply to the following letter from the Duke of Monmouth, it was ordered that no patients except soldiers and sailors shall be received into the hospital for the space of three weeks, and that some of the wards shall be cleared and kept for soldiers pursuant to the said letter :

MONDAY, *September 10, 1678.*

For my Loving Friends the Masters, Wardens, Governors
and Assistants of the Hospitall of St. Bartholomew,
London.

GENTLEMEN, — Necessary care to bee had for His
majesty's Souldiers as are in Flanders and those parts

and returned into England sick or wounded for their Recovery I desire you will give orders for the receiveing into the Hospital of Saint Bartholomew all such sick and wounded Souldiers as shalbee directed unto you under the hands of Mr. Sarjeant Knight, Chirurgeon-generall, or in his absence under the hands of James Bird Esqre. his Royal highnesses Chirurgeon and take care of them until their Recovery And that you will cause an entry to bee kept of the day each sick or wounded Souldier was received into the said Hospital and of the day they were discharged thence in pursuance of this and as you shall send in accompte to me thereof from time to time under your hands attested by one of the said chirurgeons I shall issue out warrants for paying the Treasurer or steward of the said Hospitall foure pence a day each Souldier soelong as they shalbee under cure according to such accompte which is all att present from gentlemen your very affectionate friend,

MONMOUTH."

1679. *April* 7.—Mr. Record chosen to be standing counsel, and to be paid £5 a year.

1680. *March* 1.—The mutton diet provided by the matron for the patients who are not in a condition to eat the common diet was considered. The matron is to inform herself by consulting with the apothecary as to the patients who need mutton diet, and to take care it be delivered to such only. *September* 27.—When the Lord Mayor recommends a patient for admission, and he

cannot be taken in, the steward is to wait on the Lord Mayor and explain. *December 7.*—Dr. Hugh Chamberlen, who had been elected a governor, was sent a green staff. He was famous in the practice of midwifery, and has a monument in Westminster Abbey.

1681. *February 28.*—The apothecary reported that 100 patients required mutton diet and broth in Spring and Fall. The mutton provided by the matron is not sufficient: she is to provide so that each patient have a pint of broth and a chop of mutton. *March 7.*—A separate printed report of St. Bartholomew's is to be printed at Easter with the number of patients received. This is to be distinct from the report then made in common with the other houses. *August 6.*—The beadles are to walk the cloister all day to prevent children being left there. *December 15.*—The ward over the shops on the west side of the great cloister is to be forthwith furnished with beds and coverlets and other things necessary for the reception of patients. *December 12.*—The need for more room is further shown in a minute of this day, that Sir James Edwards, the President, will cause the room now used for drying clothes be made into a ward at his own cost.

1682. *July 1.*—Sir George Jeffries¹ was elected stand-

¹ One of the aldermen of the city was of this name, which probably inclined him to steer his course that way where, having got acquaintance with the city attorneys and drinking desperately with them, he came into full business amongst them, and was chosen recorder of the city. Roger North: "Life of Francis North, Baron of Guilford," London 1808, 2nd ed., vol. ii. p. 96.

ing counsel for the hospital, the treasurer to pay him £5.

September 7.—The outhouses, Kingsland and Lock, have each 20 patients. Patients cured are to appear before the governors on Monday mornings to return thanks, that the governors may be satisfied they are perfectly cured. The surgeons or guides are to be paid £30 a year each, and £3 for washing the patients' sheets, and are to have coals and candles sufficient for the patients. The surgeons are to pay each patient 4d. a day for diet, and shall take no reward. The surgeons are to maintain the poor's sheets, having their ancient allowance of hemp.

November 11.—Mr. Chambers is to serve the auditors with gloves this year.

November 16.—“It is ordered that no person or persons whatsoever that dissent from the Church of England, or are disaffected with the government as is now established by law, shall serve this hospital with any commodity.”

December 7.—Consideration was taken of the tradesmen that usually serve this hospital in pursuance of an order of November 16 last: 31 tradesmen being mentioned. The brewer for small beer and strong beer to the matron's cellar, one baker, the ironmonger, the turner, the mason, the tinman, the flaxman, the mealman, the stationer, after their monthly accounts are expired, are not any longer to serve this hospital. Sir Jonathan Reymond, Knt. and Alderman, is to serve the matron's cellar. Alderman Lt.-Col. Freind is to supply small beer, Edward Watts to be baker, and the other places are to be

filled up. The tinman's and the flaxman's, 13 posts in all, are left to the treasurer to fill up. This is one of the very few examples of intolerance outside the Commonwealth period to be found in the Journals. It may be associated with the interference of the Crown with charters and institutions in the City, and the endeavour to increase royal influence which took place at this period.¹

1683. *October 22.*—Orders made by the commissioners appointed by his Majesty's letters patent for the government of the several hospitals of the city were read. The commissioners appointed as governors and officers : Sir James Edwardes, knight and alderman, President : 100 governors, among whom were the Lord Keeper of the great seal, three bishops, four lay peers, two judges, a secretary of state, four baronets, the Dean of St. Paul's, fifteen knights, Tobias Rustat, Edward Boverly, William Chiffinch, Roger North, Ambrose Phillips, Dr. Whistler, Dr. Masters, Dr. Newman, and from twenty-three companies, including Edward Coulston, mercer, Robert Beddingfield, merchant taylor, seventy-eight governors (besides the 100 above who were not of companies). These were to rule the hospitals with the Commission, which was alone to nominate governors. John Nicoll was appointed treasurer, Dr. Edward Browne and Dr. Francis Bernard, physicians ; Edwards, Poultney, Cawthorne, clerk, steward, and renter. Horsenail, Sanderson, Boone, Molins, and Hobbs,

¹ *Cf.* North : "Life of Guilford," 2nd edition : London 1808, ii. 41 *et al.*

surgeons ; Feltham, apothecary ; Richard Berry, John Dorrington, surgeons to Kingsland and Lock respectively ; Mary Libanus, matron ; Captain Thomas Rawson, porter, and four beadles. The hospitals are to see that only loyal people are dealt with.

The Lord Mayor, Lord Chief Justices, Lord Chief Baron, Attorney-General, Solicitor-General, all Aldermen, Recorder, and Common Serjeant are to be summoned to every meeting.

The names of all existing tenants are to be brought before the Court.

The minutes of subsequent meetings begin : "At a meeting of the Commissioners appointed by his Majesty's letter patent appointed for the government of the several hospitals of this city."

November 13.—At a meeting of the Commissioners &c., Charles Bernard, surgeon, chosen to be assistant surgeon in the hospital of St. Bartholomew. *December 17.*—More governors were appointed. It was ordered that all officers and others holding any place in any of the said hospitals do give satisfaction to the presidents of their respective hospitals of their having received the Sacrament within one year last past, and the said presidents are desired to require satisfaction from them herein.

1684. *January 19.*—Susannah Cooke, cook of St. Bartholomew's, was desired to satisfy the governors as to whether she had within 12 months last past received

the Sacrament according to the usage of the Church of England ; she confessed that she had not, and declared that she could not do the same. The governors gave her a week to consider of it. *February* 16.—She was dismissed by reason she refuseth to receive the Sacrament according to the usage of the Church of England, and she was ordered to depart out of this house at Lady Day next. This upright woman was allowed to occupy a bed in the Sisters' ward till midsummer, but on March 1st a new cook was elected. *June* 7.—Thomas Wear, a governor, by will left £100, the interest of which was to be given to poor countrymen received into the hospital, to buy them shoes and stockings on their departure, and to furnish them with money to travel to their homes. *August* 4.—Several loyal indigent officers unto whom his Majesty hath granted the plate and other lotteries complained that several of the shopkeepers in the great cloister do in Bartholomew Fair time use and suffer raffling within their shops. Ordered that the porter tell them to desist.

1685. *April* 18.—Mr. Mollins was too ill to operate for stone. He appointed a stranger to operate without leave. Ordered that no stranger shall be nominated to cutting of the stone without leave. *July* 18.—Mr. Colston gave £500. This is ordered to be paid into the exchequer upon the security of the late Act of Parliament.

1686. *March* 26.—The first of James II. At a

meeting of the Commissioners John Middleton was elected porter. Thomas Wallace, another candidate, petitioned the King for the place. Sir Joseph Williamson and two or three other governors were to wait on the Lord Chancellor to explain about the election. *February 8.*—Raffling still went on in the cloister. The Royal Oak Lottery brought a suit in the King's Bench against the shopkeepers. *May 31.*—*James Rex*: since non-commissioned officers and private soldiers must be received in the public hospitals, 4d. a day from money appointed to the troops is to be deducted for each man in hospital during his stay there. His name, troop, company, or regiment is to be recorded. This order is addressed to Richard, Earl of Ranelagh, Paymaster-general to our Guards, garrisons, and land forces. *June 9.*—Mr. Coulston's gift is to be lent to the East India Company or on the coal duty for rebuilding St. Paul's at interest, till land be bought with it. *August 20.*—At a meeting of the Commissioners Thomas Gunter, citizen and barber surgeon, being recommended by the governors, was elected surgeon. *August 26.*—Charles Bernard, citizen and barber surgeon, and many years assistant surgeon, was elected in the same way.

1687. *April 11.*—The sisters are willing to wash the Poor's sheets and linen with soap, and say that the charge will not amount to more than what the Bucks come to, and the sheets will not so soon be worn out. *April 27.*—A new diet table was agreed upon.

DYETT APPOINTED

- Sunday.* 10 ounces of Wheaten Bread
 6 ounces of Beefe boyled without bones
 1 pint and a halfe of Beef Broth
 1 pint of Ale Cawdell
 3 pints of 6 shilling Beere
- Monday.* 10 ounces of Wheaten Bread
 1 pint of Milk Pottage
 6 ounces of Beefe
 1½ pints of Beefe Broth
 3 pints of Beere
- Tuesday.* 10 ounces of Bread
 halfe a pound of Boyled Mutton
 3 pints of Mutton Broth
 3 pints of Beere
- Wednesday.* 10 ounces of Bread
 4 ounces of Cheese
 2 ounces of Butter
 1 pint of Milk Pottage
 3 pints of Beere
- Thursday.* The same allowance as Sunday
 1 pint of Rice Milke
- Friday.* 10 ounces of Bread
 1 pint of Sugar Soppes
 2 ounces of Cheese
 1 ounce of Butter
 1 pint of Water Gruell
 3 pints of Beere
- Saturday.* The same allowance as Wednesday.
- Allowed every Patient in Mony 6d. per weeke.

2d. per week to be allowed for washing the men patients' linen, and 3d. per week for washing the women patients' linen.

Old and new cheese is appointed to be provided for the patients from time to time: and likewise fresh butter from the first day of May to the first day of October. Small beer is appointed to be allowed to the patients on Tuesdays and Fridays, to make them posset drink.

Such other necessities as the Apothecary shall direct are to be allowed to patients that are in a weak condition.

Magdalen, Katharine, and Mary's wards having two chimneys in each ward, four bushels of coals are ordered to be allowed to every of these wards in the winter season, and two bushels of coals in the summer.

Sir William Turner, Sir John Moore, and Sir William Pritchard having been discharged by his Majesty from the Court of Aldermen, upon the intimation of his Majesty's pleasure by the Lord Chancellor, in room of Sir John Moore, Sir John Peake was appointed President of Christ's Hospital; Sir John Shorter of Bridewell and Bethlehem in room of Sir William Turner, and Sir Jonathan Raymond of St. Bartholomew's in room of Sir William Pritchard.

November 9.—The signs of many of the shops in the cloister are mentioned, such as the Three Pigeons ;

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Porter and Dwarf; Seven Stars; Feathers; Raven; Three Horse Shoes; Adam and Eve; Sun; Key; Golden Lion. *December* 1.—The south gate of the cloister was taken down, being about to fall.

1688. *March* 10.—The Lords Commissioners of the Treasury desired to have an account of the diet allowed the patients within this hospital, and a scheme of the government thereof. It was ordered that the same be delivered. The period of arbitrary acts was about to be ended by the Revolution, and a sign that the times had changed appeared at the General Court held *November* 28, when Sir William Pritchard, knight and alderman, “was by a free and generall choice of this Court elected President of this Hospitall.”

1689. *March* 8.—Benefactors' names were ordered to be set up in the great cloister.

1690. *September* 13.—Dr. Radcliffe having been elected a governor, a green staff was sent to him.

1691. *January* 12.—A committee of aldermen had ordered that the clerk should deliver the names of the present governors, of those which are freemen and of those who were governors, at the time of the judgement of the Quo Warranto against the City, and of those since admitted. It was ordered that if the clerk be called upon to make a return he is to answer that the President will call a General Court and take the governors' opinion. *July* 9.—The building of a ward

within the Long Walk for patients with stone was referred to a committee. *November 21.*—Leave was given, on the request of several young men, to make use of this church to have prayers read every night at 8 o'clock. *December 6.*—Two fire engines were ordered to be kept in permanent repair.

1693. *August 3.*—Thanks were given to the President for his great benevolence in building and furnishing of the Cutting ward, which cost about £1500.

1694. *October 27.*—Hugh Squire gave £100, the profit of which was to be given to poor countrymen and women at their departure, towards their charge to travel home, giving each of them a paper with these words written on it, "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, goodwill towards men—*Luke ii. 14.*" and also 5s. for a pair of gloves to the clerk of the hospital to register the same.

1695. *January 14.*—On the request of inhabitants between the South gate and the Little Britain gate, that the governors would be pleased to name the said street: Ordered that it be called King Street, and that the name be set up in the most convenient place.

1696. *February 24.*—Mr. William Auberry, the King's coachmaker, elected a governor. *June 13.*—A gate ordered to be fixed in the recent passage leading from Little Britain into Well-yard. *June 20.*—No out patient is to be allowed to attend without a certificate

of poverty: out patients of late having been very numerous. *August 20.*—A committee was nominated to consider the state of the hospital. *September 24.*—This committee sent in a report: Gifts and legacies of late years have been small. The greatest sources of revenue have been burnt by the late conflagration, and long leases granted in consideration of building. Another part of the property consists of old houses that require rebuilding. They do not see any prospect of raising money by fines, to pay the debts owing by the hospital, to the several tradesmen and others. The seamen and soldiers sent to be admitted for several years past have been very numerous, and the arrears of 4d. per diem for each continuance by the colonels and officers of the regiments amount to £900. The certain annual income of this hospital doth amount to very little more than a moiety of its necessary payments; and there is an absolute necessity of retrenching the present expences, to prevent this hospital from running further into debt. No more than 20 patients ought to be taken into the Lock and Kingsland each: such patients to pay beforehand 4d. a day to the surgeon for their diet. No more than 50 out patients ought at one time to attend at the hospital. No soldier of a regiment in arrear of the 4d. a day should be admitted till the 4d. be paid.

Four wards ought to be used for patients ill of the smallpox, afflicted with rheumatisms, scrofulous tumours,

and other distempers not venereal, that may be cured by salivations.

March 4.—The hospital is in debt £2000 and upwards. This cannot be paid without a voluntary and charitable contribution. It is agreed that such be begun at the next General Court. During the present war great numbers of seamen and soldiers have been taken in, and £900 are due on their account. The soldiers are in arrears of their pay and many officers dead, so that a petition ought to be presented to his Majesty for procuring the said debt. The sum of £2000 has been laid out in building the South gate and roof of the great cloister, which otherwise would have fallen down, and on enlarging several wards. The effect of the great fire is likely to be long felt. Benefactions have been small of late. Sir Edmund Turner's benefaction of £50 a year was payable out of the exchequer, and £700 of the same is lost. A petition ought to be presented to the Court of Aldermen for the arrears of the sum of £233, 6s. 8d. per annum, owing by Christ's Hospital for the profits of Blackwell Hall, and to obtain the residue of the arrears of 500 marks per annum agreed to be paid by the City upon King Henry VIII.'s founding the hospital. These arrears amount to £7500 and upwards.

1698. The physicians in future are to attend three days a week, Monday, Tuesday, and Friday, and prescribe for the patients harboured in this foundation.

March 22.—The two physicians are both willing to come on Mondays and Tuesdays, and one every Friday, or oftener if necessary.

1699. *February 18.*—A surgeon is to be paid 6s. 8d. for every amputation.

It was formerly ordered, to prevent slander to this house, that no patient should lose leg or arm without the approbation of the treasurer and governors and notice to the patient's friends, and presence and concurrence of all the surgeons. It is now ordered that the surgeon in charge shall declare to the governors at the Counting-house that such an operation is necessary upon consultation and approbation of his brethren. Treasurer and governors are to assent, and all surgeons are to have notice to be present, and patient's friends to be told. *February 27.*—Mary ward is to be opened for the reception of twelve patients in the spring. *March 4.*—A beadle is to be suspended because he received money belonging to Remmert Luppertz, soldier in Count Solmes' regiment when he was a patient here, and did not report it. *August 19.*—The Court is informed that, during the Fair, hazard tables, marble boards, and other inventions for gaming, are used in the great cloister. No play is to be allowed after midnight. *September 30.*—Marenda Davis, widow, sister to Charity ward, acknowledging herself to be a Roman Catholic, is discharged forthwith, and ordered to depart this hospital forthwith ;

10s. to be given her. All sisters present and hereafter are to receive the Sacrament according to the usage of Church of England, and to bring a certificate thereof under the vicar's hand, otherwise to be dismissed.

1700. *October 19.*—Two substantial bathing tubs are to be made for the Lock and Kingsland outhouses.

1701. *January 17.*—Sir Godfrey Kneller was admitted a governor. His fine portrait of Sir William Pritchard adorns the Great Hall, and deserves the praise which Dryden gives to Kneller's portraits :

More cannot be by mortal Art express'd,
But venerable age shall add the rest ;
For time shall with his ready pencil stand
Retouch your figures with his ripening hand,
Mellow your colours and imbrown the teint,
Add every grace which Time alone can grant ;
To future ages shall your fame convey,
And give more beauties than he takes away.

March 13.—Patients on milk diet are only to have besides, the usual allowance of bread and beer every day and ale caudle on Sundays. *August 21.*—Sir Richard Blackmore, the physician and poet, being a governor, was put on the committee for supervising the apothecary's shop.

1702. *September 8.*—Richard Haughton, clockmaker, is to make a dial in front of the new gate in West Smithfield, and a small dial in the coffee room over the

same, for £18. This refers to the present Smithfield gate, then just built. The dial maker agreed to keep the dial gratis till Christmas 1704, and afterwards to wind it up and keep it in good repair for 21 years at 20s. per annum.

1703.—*October 23.* The bakers asked relief from a contract made in April to serve bread at 7½d. per dozen, as this caused them loss. It was agreed that they should be allowed 9½d. per dozen for the quarter Midsummer to Michaelmas.

1704. *February 26.*—Elizabeth Bond did propose to kill and clear the beds and wards of bugs within this house for 6s. per bed. The Governors proposed to give her 40s. to clear the sisters' room of bugs, and not to be paid till Christmas. *June 17.*—Bread to Michaelmas is to cost 10d. per dozen. *November 27.*—Ordered that such patients as the doctors shall appoint to be allowed money to provide their own provisions, being not in a condition to eat the house diet, be allowed 12d. a week and 4 loaves of bread.

1705. *June 16.*—Bread is to cost 7½d. a dozen for the ensuing three months.

1706. *June 8.*—John Colwall left the hospital £1024. The treasurer bought a bond of the English Company trading to the East at £5 per cent. interest. He paid the balance 13s. 4d. to Moses Coulson, the renter. The Governors did very well approve.

1707. *April* 28.—Ordered that the room over the cellar where the matron sold beer and ale be made a ward. *July* 14.—The treasurer said he would himself pay for this new ward. He was desired to appoint a sister ; and a week later appointed Mary Bisbee. The ward is to be called Treasurer's Ward.

1708. *April* 26.—Ordered that 100 books called "The Practice of Piety" be bought at the charge of this hospital, to be given to the patients cured at the Lock and Kingsland Hospitals. This little book by Lewes Bayley, Bishop of Bangor (1616-31), went through a great many editions, the original one having been dedicated to Charles I. when Prince of Wales. Some of the bishop's remarks lead one to think that he admired Erastus as well as Luther, and his book gives a lengthy and interesting presentation of the Puritan principles and practice. In the chapter on the true manner of keeping holy the Lord's Day he says : "I require thee who readeest these words, as thou wilt answer before the face of Christ, and all his holy angels at that day, that thou better weigh and consider, whether Dancing, Stage-playing, Masking, Carding, Dicing, Tabling, Chesse-playing, Bowling, Shotting, Bearebatting, Carousing, Tipling, and such other fooleries of Robin Hood, Moricedances, Wakes and May-games bee exercises that God will blesse and allow on the Sabbath Day, And seeing that no action ought to bee done that day, but such

as whereby wee either blesse God and looke to receive a blessing from God, how darest thou doe those things on that blessed day, on which thou darest not to pray to God to bestow a blessing on it to thy use? Heare this and tremble at this, O prophane youth of a prophane age."

1710. *May* 15.—Wire frames are to be placed to secure the painted glass in the Great Hall. This glass is probably the window representing Henry VIII. giving the hospital charter to Sir Richard Gresham.

1711. *August* 3.—Patients who have not enough to buy themselves necessaries shall be allowed not more than a shilling.

1712. *February, March, April*.—Discussions with the City and Christ's Hospital as to the payment of 500 marks went on. The Court of Chancery decreed that the City should pay the hospital £3214, 4s. 9d. with costs, and £100 per annum for the future for ever : and that Christ's Hospital should pay St. Bartholomew's £6773, 4s. 8d. with costs, and £233, 6s. 8d. per annum for ever. *March* 26.—Building of new wards to be considered. *July* 12.—James Jones, joiner, did agree to clear the several wards within the hospital of bugs for 5 guineas, to be paid him immediately and £8 at the year's end. *July* 26.—The Earl of Oxford and Mortimer, Lord High Treasurer, was proposed as a

governor. *August 9.*—The Rt. Hon. Lord Viscount Bolingbroke is requested to be a governor, and to accept of a green staff.

1713. *April 23.*—The committee appointed to consider new wards had caused a plan to be drawn: the cost would be £1800. A committee of 12 was appointed to supervise the work. *May 9.*—Resolved that the whole front of the new wards to be built in the yard where the Cutting ward is shall be of brick. *June 13.*—The President and Treasurer's names in golden letters on black marble, and the date, are to be fixed on the front of the new wards. *December 12.*—Ambrose Dickens, serjeant-surgeon, elected a governor. This is the surgeon whose account of Queen Anne's touching of patients is quoted in the "Criterion" of Bishop Douglas.¹

1714. *June 28.*—Ordered that the stones taken out of the patients that are cut within this hospital be brought into the Compting house and showed to the treasurer and governors at their next meeting, and are to be hung up there according to ancient custom. This may be regarded as the first beginning of the Pathological Museum.

1715. *July 4.*—Ordered that the new wards be named Peter, William, and John. *December 10.*—Dr. Radcliffe had given money for improving the diet in the hospital. This was now done, and the following was the

¹ *Works.* Salisbury, 1820, p. 479.

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DIET FOR THE POOR IN ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S HOSPITAL
as it was altered after Dr. Radcliffe's gift.

- Sunday.* 12 ounces of Wheaten Bread
 8 ounces of Beef boiled without bones
 1 pint of Milk Pottage in the morning
 1 pint of Ale Cawdle at night
 3 pints of Beer
 1½ pints of Beef Broth
- Monday.* 12 ounces of Wheaten Bread
 1 pint Milk Pottage in the morning
 8 ounces boiled Mutton
 1½ pints Mutton Broth
 3 pints of Beer
- Tuesday.* 12 ounces Wheaten Bread
 8 ounces of Beef boiled without bones
 1 pint of Milk Pottage in the morning
 1½ pints of Beef Broth
 3 pints of Beer
- Wednesday.* 12 ounces of Wheaten Bread
 8 ounces of boiled Mutton
 1½ pints Mutton Broth
 1 pint of Milk Pottage in the morning
 3 pints of Beer
- Thursday.* 12 ounces of Wheaten Bread
 8 ounces of Beef boiled without bones
 1½ pints Beef Broth
 1 pint Milk Pottage in the morning
 3 pints of Beer

- Friday.* 12 ounces of Wheaten Bread
8 ounces of boiled Mutton
1½ pints Mutton Broth
1 pint Milk Pottage
3 pints of Beer
- Saturday.* 12 ounces of Wheaten Bread
4 ounces of Cheese
2 ounces of Butter
1½ pints of Milk Pottage
3 pints of Beer

Patients in the money seven loaves a week

1716. *February 9.*—The treasurer is to invest money in tallies on the Land Tax for the next year.

1717. *May 2.*—The treasurer is to place the cash in his hands without interest on Bank annuities or for either of the lotteries for the years 1711 and 12.

1719. *January 19.*—Mrs. Matron reported that Marmaduke Trumble, late a patient in King's ward, died about a month since, and left 17s. in money and a violin. The money was put in the poor's box: the violin to remain in the matron's possession until further orders. *May 9.*—Agreed with Mr. Stanker to clear the sisters' ward from bugs, and as he succeeds in that ward, he is to be further employed for the same purpose in other wards which are pestered with bugs. *October*

24.—The finest household bread to be purchased, thirteen loaves to the dozen, each loaf to weigh 12 ounces at 8d. a dozen.

1720. *April* 11.—The sundial on the front of the Great Hall is to be mended. *May* 16.—There are more applicants for admission than can be taken in, so three more new wards are to be built at a cost of £1800. This resolution was confirmed next day by the General Court. The new wards are to be on the south side of the great cloister. *November* 12.—Agreed to allow a clerk of the clerk £3, 10s. a year, to find quills and make pens for the use of the counting-house. This was not enough, so on May 26, 1722, he was allowed £6.

1721. *April* 29.—Butter for the year to cost 5½d. a pound, and cheese 2¾d. *May* 13.—The painted glass in the Great Hall is to be secured with brass wire.

1722. *February* 23.—Dr. John Freind admitted a governor. This was the celebrated author of "The History of Physick, from the time of Galen to the beginning of the Sixteenth Century." *July* 21.—The physicians and surgeons represented to the governors the necessity there is of a dissecting room, and of a hot and cold bath for the use of the patients, a plan of which was taken in the lifetime of Dr. Ratcliffe, who intended to have built the same but died. *August* 18.—Four columns of glass are in the window over the altar in the church of St. Bartholomew the Less. The arms

of the King, the City, and the Hospital are in three. Sir William Stewart, Lord Mayor and President, will put his in the fourth, and this is accepted.

1723. *April* 20.—Mr. Partington, a limner and one of the governors, is desired to undertake the cleaning and mending the several pictures of King Henry VIII., Sir Nicholas Rainton, Mr. Martin Bond, and Edward Colston, now hanging in the upper hall of this hospital.¹ The cost will be about twenty guineas. *July* 25.—The governors present were of opinion that some part of the house should be immediately rebuilt, and the whole in process of time. A general plan is to be prepared and laid before the next meeting by a committee of the president, treasurer, and seventeen governors, including James Gibbs, the architect, Dr. Mead and Dr. Freind. This was the first step towards the erection of the present building. *July* 27.—The following wards ordered to be whitewashed: Long, Cloister, Charity, Soldier, Cutting, and Mary. *September* 7.—The South Sea Company having given notice that they will pay off all their bonds which exceed £200 each, or give others at 4 per cent., two in the chest of £500 each are to be sold and the money invested in annuities payable at the South Sea House. *October* 12.—The tiling of Magdalen ward is to be renewed.

1724. *March* 21.—The treasurer is to lay out £1500

¹ All now in the Committee Room.

late in South Sea bonds, now called in, in South Sea annuities.

1728. *March* 6.—A hot and cold bath to be made at the Lock at a cost of £100. *March* 19.—The following are the signs of shops in the Cloister : the Anchor, Golden Ball, Seven Stars, Three Horseshoes, Three Pigeons, Porter and Dwarf, Three Welsh Harps, Three Golden Anchors, Black Boy, Indian Queen, Golden Key, Sun. *May* 27.—The Earl of Grandison and Samuel Smith admitted governors. Going out of town from Saturday to Monday had begun to be a custom. Meetings at the Counting-house on Saturdays and Mondays are not convenient, because many governors are out of town on those days : so meetings to be in future on Wednesday and Thursday, the latter for general business. *May* 31.—The treasurer to buy £600 South Sea annuities, so as to make up what the hospital has in that fund to £5000. *July* 24.—Fire insurance to be continued for seven years more in the Hand in Hand. *September* 23.—The Treasurer is desired to accept a house now empty in Well-yard, for his residence in the hospital. *December* 16.—Mr. Thomas Bishop, a governor, proposed that elections should be by ballot, and laid a scheme before the General Court. *December* 23.—This was read, and with some amendment adopted.

1726. *May* 26.—Kingsland outhouse is to be rebuilt for 30 beds, a bagnio, a couch room, and a surgery.

June 23.—Two convenient rooms are prepared under the Cutting ward—one for the more decent laying of the dead patients before their burial, the other as a repository for anatomical or chirurgical preparations. Every preparation is to be numbered, and to have the name of the person who gave it, and its history, entered in a book to be kept at the counting house, and that Mr. Freke do keep the keys of it, who shall be accountable for the loss of any preparation, and when he shall decline it the youngest assistant surgeon shall keep the keys. This was the first regular Museum, and John Freke the first curator.

1727. *June 1.*—Through a tender regard for the deplorable state of blind people, the governors appointed Mr. John Freke to couch and take care of diseases of the eyes for no other reward than 6s. 8d. for each person couched, as is paid on all other operations. The keeper of the Bagnio in Newgate Street agrees to admit patients for 12d. a time, and to admit two patients every Sunday without paying anything to himself but only 6d. each time to his housekeeper and 5s. a quarter. *December 21.*—One Aurelia Chase, who pretends to cure deafness, having intruded herself into the hospital and pretended to have cured several poor patients, made application for payment, although she never had any permission so to do: yet to be rid of her importunity the governors made her a free gift of 3 guineas, and

she is forbid attempting anything of the like nature for the future.

1728. *March* 28.—Complaint being made against 3 of the patients of this hospital, who are employed as box-carriers under the surgeons, for fighting, it is ordered that they be discharged. This is the first use of the term box-carrier, which has continued to our own times. *September* 12.—A plan of one part of the square of intended new buildings was produced, containing a large hall for the meeting of the governors, a counting house, a hall for taking and discharging of patients (now the steward's office), and a house for the clerk. The cost would not exceed £8500. The committee is desired to prepare a plan of the whole square, the same to be engraved on a copper plate, one impression to be sent to every governor.

1729. *February* 6.—John Southall agrees to clear from bugs all the bedding and walls of the Queen's ward, containing 14 beds, at the rate of 4s. a bed. *May* 1.—A plan of the intended new building, prepared by Mr. James Gibbs, was approved by all governors present, and ordered to be engraved on copper and 400 impressions on the finest paper to be taken. Mr. Gibbs was desired to employ a skilful hand. *July* 24.—The plan has been sent to every governor, and is now approved. A subscription is to be taken of governors and others to carry out the new building. A preamble

to such subscription was approved. *September 25.*—The clerk is to wait on every governor who has not subscribed, and ask his concurrence. Tenants in the cloisters are to be given notice for Lady Day next.

1730. *February 19.*—The account of the poor's diet is to be printed and fixed up in every ward. *September 10.*—The great cloister having been pulled down, a lamp is to be set up where it was.

1731. *April 8.*—Barley broth is not to be sold at the Smithfield gate. *May 20.*—Christopher Whichcote of Hackney gave £500, and was elected a governor.

1732. *August 3.*—Patients are to begin to be discharged and admittted in the new rooms adjoining the great staircase in the new building next Wednesday. *August 8.*—Four lamps are to be set up with posts and iron work to light the hospital. *November 9.*—Apple-stalls and wheel-barrows obstructing the passage through the hospital are to be removed.

1733. *March 8.*—Fractures, bruises, scalds, or any other sudden accidents are to be admitted at once by the steward, porter, or senior beadle. *June 21.*—Sir Hans Sloane and Dr. Mead, governors, are placed on the apothecary's shop committee.

1734. *June 13.*—It is ordered that advertisements be put in the newspapers as to ground to let. This is the first notice of advertisements in the press which occurs

in the Journals. *August 15.*—Advertisements to be published in the *Daily Post Boy* and *Advertiser* as to letting garden ground near the Lock. *October 24.*—Resolved that any of the surgeons or assistant surgeons of this hospital have leave to read anatomical lectures in the dissecting room belonging to this house. This is the first definite notice of lectures within the hospital ; but the order was not confirmed at a General Court on *July 30, 1735.*

1735. *January 2.*—Naples ward, now a fluxing ward, is to be a ward of common use for all sorts of patients (except fluxing), and Elizabeth to be a fluxing ward, but the sister and nurses are to take no more fees. *April 17.*—Money was much wanted for the payment for the new building. *July 30.*—A person desiring to be concealed gave £2000, for a second wing, by the hands of Henry Marshall.

1736. *April 21.*—A new wing is to be built at once, of the same height and with the same ornaments as the one already built.

1737. *July 21.*—Resolved that the thanks of this Court be given to William Hogarth, Esquire, one of the governors of this house, for his generous and free gift of the painting of the great staircase, performed by his own skilful hand in characters (taken from Sacred History) which illustrate the charity extended to the poor, sick, and lame of this hospital. *October 27.*—The

hospital owns part of a small island called New England, in the parish of Little Wakering. The rest of the island offered at 18 years' purchase, but the hospital declined the offer.

1738. *February 2.*—Ralph Allen chosen a governor, and a green staff sent to him. Thus has St. Bartholomew's two connections with the greatest or English novels, for one of its surgeons, Mr. Freke,¹ is mentioned in "Tom Jones," while Mr. Ralph Allen of Prior's Park was the prototype of Squire Allworthy.

December 19.—The large picture of King Henry VIII., the gift of Mr. Stweete, now in the counting house, is to be placed in the great Court Room, where the small picture of King Henry VIII. now is, and that small picture is to be fixed in the counting house. Mr. Gibbs and Mr. Hogarth, two of the governors, are desired to see the large picture properly framed and fixed with decent and respectful ornaments. And Mr. Gibbs and Mr. Hogarth are also desired to give orders for preparing a busto of Rahere, the first founder of this hospital, to be taken from his monument in Great St. Bartholomew's Church, to be fixed in the great Court Room, over the middle chimney.

1739. *March 15.*—Ralph Allen having entered into articles of agreement with the governors for the doing of

¹ Book II. Chapter IV., and Book IV. Chapter IX.

the mason's work with Bath stone in the new buildings of this hospital, and transferred 80 shares in the Sun Fire Office by way of security for the due performance of those articles, and having now completely finished the stone work of two of the wings of the intended building, it was therefore moved on his behalf that the said 80 shares in the said office be retransferred to him upon giving his own bond by way of security in lieu of the said shares. The treasurer and governors are to do as they think fit. *March 22.*—The committee handed over the shares in the Sun Office to Mr. Allen on his giving his bond in the penalty of £3200 to perform the covenants contained in the articles of agreement with him for doing the stone work in the new building. *September 13.*—The beds for the new wards are to cost 31s. each, and chairs 10s. 6d. each.

1740. *April 3.*—100 beds bought, two yards long, 1 yard broad, of good stout Hamborough ticken filled with 30 lb. of the best brown flocks and quilted, at 13s. 6d. each, and 100 large curtains $7\frac{1}{2}$ yards in breadth, of the best fine and thick blue lindsey. *July 10.*—The new wards on the first floor are to be called King's, Queen's, Soldiers', Sailors', and the four wards on one pair of stairs Rahere, Radcliffe, President, Treasurer.

1741. *March 17.*—Every surgeon and assistant surgeon is now to be at liberty to cut for the stone. *July 16.*—Alderman Barker left £7000 to the hospital.

November 13.—Mr. Freke obtained leave to bury his wife in the poors' chapel.

1742. *November 11.*—The room called Peter's ward is to be made into the apothecary's shop, with a store room and a room for the meeting of the physicians and surgeons.

1743. *March 24.*—It was resolved that a third wing be built: another subscription to be raised for it. *April 14.*—Seamen discharged as incurable have afterwards been taken up by pressgangs and sent by the regulating captain on board the Sole Bay Hospital ship lying off Tower Wharf. Others have been found perfectly well and fit for service, therefore the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty acquaint the governors, and beg them to prevent this, and ask that the physician or surgeon may sign the discharge ticket as well as the steward. The Admiralty asks for notice three days before discharge. The governors declared their willingness to comply. *May 15.*—The piece of painting on glass representing Henry VIII. delivering the charter of this hospital to the governors, which was formerly in the window of the old hall, is now to be placed in the west window of this parish church. It was ultimately placed in the new Great Hall, where it remains. *May 19.*—The picture of Henry VIII. on glass is to be fixed in the great Court Room opposite the middle chimney. Mr. Price, a painter on glass, for ten

guineas, to repair the picture completely, with a border of painted glass to make it of a proper size. Also to repair the King's arms, the City arms, and the Hospital arms, lately taken down with Sir William Stewart's, from the church : they are to be replaced as they were. Four coats of arms of ancient governors, which were formerly in the window of the old hall, are to be put up in the west window of the church.

1744. *February 9.*—On inquiry into the nature of the office of box-carriers and their fees, Mr. Bigg, surgeon, said that as long as his memory went the box-carrier was a patient of sufficient strength who attended each surgeon, "to carry their box when they go through the house to dress the patients," and receiving no fee, only diet and money as the other patients. *July 8.*—The number of out patients increased from 8 to 150 in 1716 ; now there are seldom less than 250 out patients under care at a time. The patients cured in a year have risen from 3000 to 5000. *October 4.*—Patients are to lose dinner any Sunday or holiday that they do not go to church.

1745. *August 1.*—Tarts Court, West Smithfield, has an iron gate leading into it from the first wing. *November 21.*—Fifty leathern buckets are to be bought for use of the fire engines.

1746. *March 7.*—Gloucestershire cheese is bought at 2½d. a pound, Cambridgeshire butter at 5d. a pound.

June 19.—It is complained that box-carriers keep shops and sell beer and tobacco.

1747. *January* 14.—The vicar's house, formerly in the Long Walk, is now in Well-yard. *September* 24.—Job's ward is mentioned, as in some previous entries. *October* 28.—The names of benefactors are to continue to be placed in the Court Room.

1748. *January* 28.—£1000 is given to the hospital by subscribers to a fund at Guildhall for the relief and encouragement of the soldiers concerned in suppressing the late rebellion.

1749. *September* 20.—Ordered that the window tax on the officers' houses be paid.

1750. *October* 26.—The bailiff to the governors, as lords of the manor of Lovehurst in Kent, had lately seized a bullock for a heriot on the death of Brian Faucett, tenant of the said manor, and compounded for five guineas.

1751. *January* 20.—John, Earl of Sandwich, then first lord of the Admiralty, was elected a governor. The year 1751 begins in the Journal on March 25, and is the last year in which that method is used. 1752 begins on January 1. There is no note of the change of style, and no meeting chanced to be held between July 22 and September 20, 1752. The expression *Curia generalis tenta* is last used on February 22, 1733, and the weekday is last named in Latin on June 14, 1733.

The week is first mentioned in English on June 21, 1723, and the words "General Court held" first appear in English on July 26, 1733.

1752. *May* 13.—It is apprehended that the present method of continuing the patients who are taken ill with the smallpox in this hospital, in the wards where they were admitted, is the occasion of spreading the distemper, with much terror and danger to other patients within the hospital who have not had the distemper, and that by removing such patients, as soon as the distemper appears, into other wards appropriated for that use, the infection may be prevented from spreading in the manner it has lately spread, and is now in several wards of this hospital. The treasurer and almoners are desired to consider of proper rooms, or wards in and about the hospital, to be kept separate for such use. *June* 3.—It was resolved that patients taken ill with smallpox be immediately removed into other wards to be kept separate for that purpose. Job and Lazarus wards are to be used for smallpox patients. *June* 18.—The third pile of buildings is to be set apart for women patients. The names of the new wards are to be Marshall (after Sir Henry M., President), Watt (after John W., a great benefactor), Colston (after Edward C., a great benefactor), and Aldred (after John Aldred, a great benefactor). Wards previously named are Mary, Elizabeth, Martha, Magdalen, Faith, Hope, Charity, and Patience.

1753. *May 11.*—The third pile is finished and is occupied by patients. It is all paid for, and a surplus carried on for a fourth pile.

1754. The Milk diet is to be : Bread 12 ounces, milk pottage or water gruel 1 pint, in the morning alternately, broth $1\frac{1}{2}$ pints, milk $1\frac{1}{2}$ pints. Such patients as have fevers and other violent diseases, and cannot eat either meat or milk diet, are to be allowed water gruel and barley-water only. Small beer to be allowed only to patients on meat diet. A diet for dropsical patients, where a more solid diet is proper, to be considered. Dietary orders are to be written down by the physicians and surgeons. Patients on meat diet are to be allowed $1\frac{1}{2}$ pints of water gruel every other morning, instead of milk pottage every morning. *April 4.*—The patients called box-carriers, who carry the surgeon's box, demand a fee of 3d. or more from every patient ordered to be bled. This is an abuse, and is not to be allowed, nor any other fee. *May 17.*—An inscription is to be set up on the painted staircase, setting forth that the paintings were painted and given by Mr. William Hogarth, and all the ornamental painting done at his expense. *July 30.*—Richard Holland, a governor, intended to provide money so that patients on milk diet should have on every Sunday 6 ounces of leg of veal roasted or boiled, with a sufficient quantity of melted butter, from Michaelmas next for ever. On these days they are to have 1 pint of milk. *November 26.*—A sub-committee appointed to

inquire into the institution of the Lock and Kingsland reports that no mention of them is found in Henry VIII.'s charters : that soon after his foundation there were six lazar houses—Mile End, the Lock in Kent Street, Kingsland, Knightsbridge, Hammersmith, Highgate—afterwards reduced to two, the Lock for men, and Kingsland for women. Each had 30 beds, each a surgeon receiving £30 a year, £50 to provide medicines, and a house, as well as a chaplain, sister, nurse, and helper. Before the fire of 1666 the surgeon had 4d. a day for each patient's diet. When reopened, each patient had to pay 4d. a day for diet, except those destitute, for whom the hospital continued to pay. Patients with venereal diseases were ordered not to go there, but did. The cost of the two together is £700 a year. It is recommended that they be dissolved, and the patients received into the hospital.

1755. *February* 21.—Breakfast is to be at 9, dinner at 11 o'clock. *February* 28.—The Lock and Kingsland are not to be abolished. *March* 19.—The following is to be the diet for dropsical patients :

Every day except Thursday : wheaten bread, 12 oz. ; 2 oz. of butter, or 4 of cheese in the morning ; meat, 8 oz. without bone ; small beer, 1 quart. On Thursday : wheaten bread, 12 oz. ; butter, 4 oz. ; cheese, 4 oz. ; small beer, 1 quart. The physicians may order pudding instead of meat.

The following inscription was placed on the first new pile of building :

St. Bartholomew's Hospital
For the relief of sick and lame poor
Was founded by Rayhere
In the year of Our Lord 1102.
And after the dissolution of monasteries etc.
Granted by King Henry the Eighth
To the Mayor and Comonalty and Citizens
Of the City of London
In the year of Our Lord 1547.
But being greatly decayed
Was rebuilt and enlarged
By the voluntary subscriptions
And charitable donations
Of many of the worthy governors
And other pious and well disposed persons
Given and appropriated for that purpose only.
The building was begun
In the year of Our Lord 1730
And in the mayoralty of
Sir Richard Brocas Knt, President
Samuel Palmer Esqre Treasurer
James Gibbs Esqre
Architect.

1756. *August* 26.—One other pile is to be forthwith built. Mr. Ralph Allen of Bath is to prepare and send Bath stone for it in accordance with his agreement.

The Radcliffe Trustees have granted £2250 towards it. Kitchen and wash-house were afterwards decided to be in the cellar of the new pile.

1757. *December 15.*—When the new pile is finished, men are to be received in Lazarus, and women in Job, forty in each, and these are to be the only foul wards. There are now 420 in patients in the hospital, and the apothecary also sees about 250 out patients. He has not time to attend to the patients in Newgate.

1758. *January 5.*—A committee considered the subject of visiting prisoners in Newgate. The physicians and surgeons attended, and said that the visiting sick persons there cannot be attended with success or benefit in the present state of the gaol, as on attending there they have found such prisoners entirely destitute of clothes, bedding, and all sorts of conveniences necessary for the sick. *April 27.*—Mr. President acquainted the Court that on the ninth day of July 1730, the first stone of the first pile of the new buildings of this hospital was laid in the presence of the Right Honorable Sir Richard Brocas, Knt., Lord Mayor, then President of this hospital, Samuel Palmer, Esq^r., Treasurer, and several Aldermen and others Governors, and that in a cavity of the stone was placed a copper plate with the inscription, viz. :

This Building was begun
 by the Voluntary Subscription
 of the Governors of
 St. Bartholomew's Hospital
 In the fourth year of the Reign
 of King George the Second
 Anno Domini 1730
 And in the Mayoralty of Sir Richard Brocas Knt.
 Samuel Palmer Esquire Treasurer.
 Jacobo Gibbs Architecto.

and that the foundation of the last pile of the new
 buildings being now completed, and the masons ready
 to set the stonework, he intended to lay the first stone,
 and had ordered a copperplate to be prepared with the
 following inscription to be placed in the cavity of the
 stone :

This Stone was Laid
 on the 27th day of April 1758
 By the Right Worshipful John Blachford Esquire
 Alderman and President.
 The Worshipful John Tuff Esq Treasurer
 Several Noblemen, Aldermen, and other Governors
 of this Hospital being present :
 This Building being The Fourth and last Pile.

Mr. President, attended by the Treasurer, several
 Noblemen, Aldermen, and other Governors, then went
 from the Court Room to the Building, and the said
 Inscription being read, and the copperplate placed in
 a cavity of the corner stone of the south-west corner
 of the building, Mr. President laid the said corner stone,

and Mr. President and the Treasurer gave money to the workmen, and then returned to the Court Room.

1760. *October 23.*—There is so great an increase of out patients that none are to be allowed to attend without a written recommendation from a governor. *October 30.*—It is again proposed to do away with the Lock and Kingsland; and the Court agreed, and that foul patients should be admitted to the hospital. *November 13.*—The men were to be in Job and Lazarus, the women in Hope and Charity.

1762. *April 20.*—Barbara Cripple, the barber, is to have £5 additional salary. She before had £20 and an allowance for shaving patients.

1763. *March 31.*—The average of patients admitted for the last three years is 3484. The clerk is still allowed to take a fee of 6d. on admission of a patient, but many are admitted without this payment.

1766. *July 29.*—Complaint is made that wet linen is hung to dry in the Great Hall. It is ordered that this shall not be done.

1767. *February 20.*—The Physicians and Surgeons ask leave to use the Operating Theatre and the room adjoining to read lectures to their pupils in. Leave is given, and the beadles are to keep a fire in the room, so as to make it fit to be thus used. *May 29.*—Friends are to visit patients on Sundays, 4–6 in winter, 5–7 in summer.

1769. *March* 20.—The wards in the fourth block are to be ready for patients.

1770. *March* 6.—Robert Roberts agreed to destroy the bugs in the wards for the sum of 3s. per bed ; and to keep wards, beds, and furniture free from bugs for 1s. per bed annually. He had been on trial since 1769, and was found to have executed his business “to the great relief of the poor patients.” *June* 21.—Benjamin Kenton elected a governor. *May* 30.—A gateway is to be erected at Hartshorn Inn gate at Pye Corner. *June* 27.—All the old buildings behind the houses in Smithfield and fronting the hospital from the church to the end of the old wards and the old kitchen are to be pulled down. *April* 16.—Lady Gower gave £500.

1772. *June* 26.—Sir Robert Ladbroke was chosen to be the hospital banker. Hitherto the treasurer had deposited where he liked, and a bank failing he had been the loser. *July* 30.—Dr. Richard Jebb gave £50 to the hospital. He was physician to George III., and has a monument in Westminster Abbey.

1773. *June* 2.—Lists of benefactors are to be printed and sent to the governors. *December* 17.—There is an increase of patients, mostly sent by the Lord Mayor and aldermen. The clerk is to wait on the Lord Mayor, and ask him not to send patients who ought to go to a workhouse.

1776. *June* 14.—£1000 received under the will of William Sitwell.

1777. *February* 25.—An electrical machine is to be purchased for the use of the patients.

1778. *December* 17.—George Dance elected surveyor to the hospital. The old building of Newgate, with its great blocks of roughened stone, showed that Dance had some of the ability of the mediæval architects who succeeded in making their buildings bring spiritual ideas into the mind of a beholder. The outward walls of his gaol must have impressed many of those who passed by it with feelings of the horror and terror fitly associated with crimes and their punishment!

1779. *November* 24.—A petition was sent to Lord Thurlow, the Lord Chancellor, stating that from 1683 on for some years the President, treasurer, governors, and officers were appointed by commissioners authorised by Charles II. That soon after Henry VIII.'s foundation a seal was made for the Mayor and Commonalty as governors of the hospital. That at a court held by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen June 16, in the 4th and 5th years of the reign of Philip and Mary, an order was made in the words following: "That day Richard Grafton brought in there the common seal then lately devised, made, and appointed for the affairs and sealing of writings of and concerning the several houses of

Christ's Hospital, Bridewell, and St. Thomas' Hospital in Southwark, which was forthwith delivered in a little purse to the chamberlain safely to be kept." On November 4, in the third year of Queen Elizabeth, a new seal of silver is mentioned, which is to be used for the affairs and writings of any of the hospitals of the City or to Bridewell, the house of the poor or Bethelem. The seal was to remain in the chamber of the City, in a purse sealed with the seals of the Lord Mayor for the time being and of the Aldermen of the Grey Cloak. Writings were to pass under this seal after examination by three of the aldermen and four of the commoners belonging to the hospital concerned. There had been no denial or delay till lately. Deeds have been left at the Chamberlain's office and sealed till resolutions in the mayoralty of John Wilkes, October 25, 1775. In consequence of the report of a committee appointed May 16, 1772, to inquire into the right of the Common Council to be governors, on March 4, 1778, it was ordered that the seal be kept in a box with three keys, *one* kept by the Aldermen, *two* by the Common Council, *three* by the Committee. All to be present when it was used, and all hospital business to be transacted in Court of Lord Mayor and Aldermen and Commons in Common Council assembled. Great delay has taken place; clerks of hospitals being told they should have notice when to attend; 41 leases for St. Bartholomew's Hospital have been thus delayed and the presentation to the living of Little Wakering also delayed.

The Committee of the Council had tried to induce tenants to come to them and not to the hospital. The petitioners pray for a return to the old usage with regard to the hospital seal.

1784. *March 4.*—Mr. John Darker, the late treasurer, left £100 and all his books and pictures (to be sold) to the hospital.

1786. *July 26.*—Two more wards are to be opened.

1787. *June 11.*—No out patient is to be prescribed for unless admitted at the weekly board by the treasurer and almoners. *October 17.*—Apartments are to be partitioned off from the wards for the accommodation of persons who have been bitten by mad dogs.

1789. *February 11.*—The church of St. Bartholomew the Less is to be repaired by Dance at a cost of £1200. *August 19.*—A shed in the cloisters is to be pulled down, so that they were still standing.

1791. *June 1.*—A surgeons' theatre is to be built by Dance at a cost of £875.

1796. *April 7.*—Cast-iron marks with the arms of the hospital to be cast in the moulds made for that purpose, and to be placed in some conspicuous part of all the houses belonging to the hospital. *July 8.*—Dance resigned the office of surveyor. Samuel Whitbread bequeathed £1000 to the hospital.

1806. *February 7.*—The Lord Mayor was proposed

as President, having disclaimed all special right. The votes were :—

Sir William Curtis	58 votes
The Lord Mayor, James Shaw	98 votes

The latter was therefore elected.

1813. *December* 3.—The steward reported that certain presents were still made to hospital officers by patients. Ordered that all such be entirely abolished. *December* 15.—Ordered that all fees on the removal of patients do cease. In lieu of fees each house surgeon to be allowed £25 per ann., and each box-carrier one guinea per week. All house surgeons and box-carriers in future are to be recommended by the principal surgeons, and approved by the house committee. Three box-carriers with families are to leave the hospital.

1814. *January* 19.—Large repairs are needed, therefore economy is important. The annual dinners are to be only two—Easter Monday and St. Matthew's Day: the President to ask six friends, treasurer four, no one else any. *February* 18.—Steward to give an account of all fees taken on admission of patients, and fees received by porters, beadles, sisters, and nurses. *April* 16.—The emoluments of several persons employed are mentioned: The porter received £131, 10s., which included walking money (being an allowance for breakfast on Easter Monday and Tuesday) 2s.; certificates of death at 1s. each, £14, 15s.; mutton wine, £4, 16s. 6d.,

and a gratuity of £10. The beadles received 6d. each as an admission fee from 3696 patients, £23, 2s. to each beadle, also walking money 2s. each; 2s. for bringing down the body of a dead patient, 1s. for conveying notice of such death to the friends, 1s. for the pall, with fees for filling slipper baths in the wards, and £10 a year for serving out the wine to patients. Each sister received 1s. on the admission of a patient, and the 24 sisters of the clean wards £32, 6s. 10d. a year. The sisters of the two operation wards £37, 16s. 10d. a year. The two sisters of the four men's foul wards, 2s. on the admission of a patient in all, £52, 16s. 7d. a year. The three sisters of the three women's foul wards £37, 11s. 7d. Thus the 26 sisters had 7s. a week each, and the others 6s. a week. The nurses had 4s. a week, and 6d. a night extra for night duty, and 6d. on the admission of each patient. There were about 72 operations annually. The total nursing staff was 31 sisters, 31 nurses, 33 night nurses.

1815. *May* 24.—Iron bedsteads were ordered for some wards. *September* 27.—Hair mattresses given for operation and accident wards. The house surgeons to be accommodated in a house in the cloisters for the present.

1818. *July* 11.—A letter was read from the physicians and surgeons saying that one sister and two nurses are not enough for a double ward, and asking for another

nurse. This was agreed to. The passage through the cloisters between Christ's Hospital and St. Bartholomew's is to be shut up.

1820. *October 3.*—A letter from the physicians explaining that the new out-patients' room is inadequate, constant draughts through it increasing danger of infection from scarlet fever, ulcerated sore throat, and typhus. They received no answer, so wrote again. Fevers of the most fatal kind are rife at present. The treasurer will confer with the physicians. Patients are to be admitted in the room under the hall, formerly used for that purpose, and discharged in the counting house; out patients to be admitted in the counting house. The staff further recommended that patients should be discharged from the wards, without a general mustering of them on a Thursday morning.

1821. *June 20.*—Sir Robert Peel, Bart., elected a governor. *July 3.*—All patients' fees are to be entirely abolished. *December 12.*—The diet allows 40 ounces of meat in the week, with two banyan days—that is, cheese or butter. The physicians and surgeons recommend 42 ounces of meat with vegetables, and the abolition of cheese. They further recommend that the beer be improved, and that tapioca, sago, arrowroot, and rice milk be made in the kitchen, and not by the sisters as at present. *March 20.*—Mr. Abernethy attended regarding the anatomical theatre, as senior teacher in the school. He pointed out

that (1.) There is a benefit that the public derive from hospitals which the benevolent supporters and directors of those charities have not perhaps sufficiently contemplated. They in general look chiefly to the good done to individual sufferers, but if cases of disease and injury be relieved in hospitals by peculiar attention and expedients, the students who have witnessed the cases are enabled to impart the same relief to others similarly afflicted, and thus good done in these institutions is most widely diffused and extensively multiplied. (2.) As it is impossible for the medical officers of hospitals to do all that is necessary to be done for the relief of patients, they are obliged to have recourse to the subordinate assistance of students. It becomes therefore important that the students should be well instructed in order that they may perform the minor duties allotted to them with skill and science. (3.) The number of students resorting to hospitals may be considered as an evidence of the good medical practice which they have an opportunity of observing, and of the instructions which they receive in them. (4.) This attendance forms also a strong incentive to the medical officers to perform their duties diligently and with skill and science, since their conduct is open to the public expression of praise or censure by these vigilant observers. (5.) Influenced by these considerations, the governors of St. Bartholomew's erected a theatre and suitable apartments for the medical tuition of students, and surely the funds of the charity

could not have been expended in a manner more serviceable to the public or more likely to promote the primary object of such charities, which is the relief of the sick and injured. (6.) The size of the theatre is insufficient for the increased number of students who have of late years resorted to the hospital, and the extent of the inconvenience is such as to require that the representation should be made. (7.) Mr. Abernethy, on his own part, begs permission to add that from the first formation of the medical school he has collected specimens of various diseases and injuries for the instruction of students amounting in number to several thousands, and the collection at present is considered by those who have viewed it to be both ample and interesting. He has also endeavoured to get established a medical library for the use of students, and the surgeons have annually contributed a sum of money for the purchase of books. The library has now become of considerable extent and value, and nominally belongs to the Medical Society of the hospital. Both the collections of preparations and books should, in Mr. Abernethy's opinion, become the property of the hospital in trust for the use of the medical school, which the governors have established, and which it is his earnest desire to improve and perpetuate. The matter was referred to a committee.

1822. *April* 19.—Governors no longer see the force of the objection founded on the strict letter of the

charter. That there is no clause directly referring to it may be imputed to the infantine state of medical science at that time. They do not hesitate to recommend the enlargement and improvement of the anatomical theatre, on the chief ground of its being a measure calculated to produce the most substantial benefit and permanent good to the hospital with reference to the comfort and ease of those poor objects for whom it was originally endowed. The surveyor produced a plan to the house committee and the expense was estimated at £1460. Application was made to the Ratcliffe Trustees. *July 19.*—Dr. Ratcliffe's trustees gave £500 for the purpose of enlarging the medical theatre.

1828. *June 25.*—It is mentioned that the nomination of lecturers rests with the medical officers, subject to the approval of the governors. Demonstrators are to be nominated by the teachers of anatomy subject to the approval of the physicians and surgeons.

1829. *June 24.*—Baths are to be put on each floor, and pumps to be removed from landings on account of their noise.

1830. *June 9.*—The usual July dinner is not to be held. This annual dinner was given by twelve stewards, who paid the whole expense.

1831. *March 16.*—The physicians think that small-pox patients ought not to be removed from the hospital. *November 8.*—The Court of Common Council ask if the

hospital will take in cholera patients, and four days later a letter was received from the Privy Council asking what the hospital could do. Answer: that the hospital could not take in any such patients without endangering the 500 patients generally contained therein, but were willing to take premises near the metropolis for the purpose.

1832. *February* 18.—Resolved that an auxiliary hospital for cholera patients be formed: Dr. George Burrows to be the physician to it, and Lowe Wheeler the apothecary. *March* 23.—The question of a convalescent hospital was discussed.

1833. *March* 22.—It was resolved to establish a Samaritan Fund. *November* 12.—There are now to be three instead of two house surgeons.

1834. *July* 8.—After much discussion as to the number, it was resolved that one assistant physician be appointed. *November* 26.—Dr. George Burrows elected assistant physician. He is to receive £100 a year. The house surgeons are to live over the principal entrance in Smithfield.

1836. *July* 9—Two more assistant physicians are to be appointed, and each to receive £100. *August* 19.—The dental department to be made more efficient. *December* 13.—Mr. Rogers recommended to fill the post, now created, of dentist to the hospital.

1840. *February* 11.—A consulting cupper, Mr. Atkinson, senior, is to be appointed at £50 a year to cup

patients when required by the physicians or the surgeons. The surgery man is to cup the out-patients and casualty patients, and the assistant apothecary to cup the in-patients.

1841. *October* 12.—Mr. Wix presented a list of the documents in the Muniment Room.

1842. *March* 8.—The Reverend Samuel Wix gave £200 to found a prize for the student who should write the best composition on the connection between physical science and revealed religion, or on the connection between the studies of ancient and modern literature and the studies of medical science. *April* 12.—A portrait of William Lawrence, painted by H. W. Pickersgill, R.A., was presented to the hospital. *October* 11.—A letter from the physicians and surgeons recommending the formation of a college for the residence of students was read. Mr. James Paget's advice was asked. Six houses are to be adapted for the college.

1843. *June* 13.—The formation of an efficient medical council, to which all matters relating to the medical part of the establishment and to the school may be referred, is recommended by the treasurer and almoners. It is to consist of the physicians, the surgeons, the senior assistant physician and the senior assistant surgeon. The senior member present to take the chair ; the majority to decide ; reports of proceedings to contain the names of those present. *November* 14.—Rules for

the college were drawn up, and Mr. James Paget appointed warden. *October 2.*—The college was opened.

1844. *June 11.*—No. 33 Duke Street is to be made a house for the warden. In this the wardens have since lived. *December 26.*—Prince Albert recommended to be a governor.

1845. *January 1.*—The treasurer, three aldermen, and the clerk, Mr. Wix, went to Windsor Castle. They told Prince Albert that in each year the hospital had 5000 in-patients and 40,000 out-patients, formally admitted him a governor, and gave him a green staff. *May 13.*—Unanimously resolved that it is inexpedient to select females to be governors. About half a century later they were admitted, and no disastrous consequences have ensued. *July 8.*—An interesting report was made by Mr. Philip Hardwick, the surveyor, as to the state of the building :

The general repairs made in 1814-16 were chiefly removing dry-rot timbers: the expense was very great. The masonry was left untouched. The four wings were built by Gibbs, walls of brick cased with an ashlar of stone, 5, 6, and 7 inches thick. The stone was procured from quarries near Bath. In 1730 there was an agreement with Ralph Allen to provide all the stone: he agreed to make good any flaw in the stone during 36 years. In 1736 the second new wing was built, and cased with Bath stone, and in 1743 the third wing was also cased.

In 1745 difficulty in shipping the stone from Bristol

was caused by the war. Correspondence arose with Allen, and the erection was postponed till 1748. In 1756 the fourth wing was completed. In 1760-61, further correspondence took place with Allen as to freightage of stone, and an additional price was allowed. In January 1763 defects were observed in the stone. The clerk was instructed to give notice to Mr. Allen to repair the same according to his contract. These defects appeared within thirty years after the building was begun. No entry exists to show whether Allen repaired the defects.

Bath stone is an inferior building stone, easily decomposed by weather. The upper beds of the quarries were probably used, which were worse than the lower. In all other buildings erected by Gibbs in London, Portland stone was used. The two gateways next Smithfield are of Portland stone, and have stood remarkably well, particularly the South or, as it is called, the Hartshorn Gate. The external masonry of the four wings has now become much decayed, and pieces occasionally fall off. I agree with my father that the best thing would be to recase it with stone from the eastern quarries of the Island of Portland. No alteration whatever ought to be made in the architecture. Estimate of cost.—Total £23,000.

PHILIP HARDWICK.

1847. *September* 14.—Mr. Mitchel Henry recommended to be House Surgeon. This gentleman afterwards

entered Parliament as an Irish member of the first Home Rule party. I remember meeting Mr. Isaac Butt and other Irish members of Parliament at dinner at his house. Mr. Henry's attention had been drawn to the destitute state of the family of a man who had been House Surgeon with him, and he generously paid for a son's medical education, and made him a very sufficient allowance for the whole period of training. It was in relation to the arrangement of this benefaction that I came to know Mr. Henry, and it seems right to record in this history this act of kindness from a House Surgeon who became rich by inheritance to one who died poor. *December 14.*—Two wards were fitted up for cholera cases.

1848. *June 13.*—A Registrar to be appointed to perform post-mortem examinations of medical cases and write accounts of them. The chief points observed clinically were also to be noted by him. *July 11.*—Dr. E. L. Ormerod appointed Registrar. *November 14.*—He resigned for reasons of health, and Dr. W. S. Kirkes was appointed.

1849. *July 10.*—Several cases of cholera were admitted. *October 9.*—Mr. Rogers having resigned, Mr. Tracy was appointed dentist. *November 20.*—478 cases of cholera were treated between June 17 and October 6, 1849, of which 199 died. The close attention given by the physicians and the apothecary and his assistant, and the assiduity of Sisters Bentley and Lucas were highly commended, and all were formally thanked by the governors.

A report on the epidemic, drawn up by the physicians, states that St. Bartholomew's was the first hospital to open its doors widely and indiscriminately on the outbreak of cholera. The physicians had charge of the cholera patients, with Mr. Wood, the apothecary, and his two assistants, Mr. Helps and Mr. Burd.

Only one of those engaged in the service died of cholera. Mr. Wood, the apothecary, some of the clinical clerks, and the Sisters suffered severely from premonitory symptoms, which were arrested by a short suspension from their duties.

The Report ends: "While rendering hearty thanks to that Supreme Mercy which has withdrawn from us this affliction, we cannot forget the human instrumentality by which so much relief has been afforded in the hour of need, and fatal results prevented, or deprived of much of their attendant bitterness. If particulars of the course pursued at the Plague of London at the various public hospitals of this country (did such exist), might now be expected to furnish us with much curious and interesting information, we may reasonably anticipate that similar details respecting the cholera will hereafter prove of interest and value to posterity, or may at any rate find a place in the records of St. Bartholomew's Hospital. We have the honour to remain, Sir, your most obedient servants,

C. HUE, M.D.

G. L. ROUPELL, M.D.

GEORGE BURROWS, M.D."

1850. *February* 12.—A cash account was opened at the Bank of England in the name of the President, Treasurer, and Governors. *July* 24.—A portrait of John Painter Vincent, the surgeon, by E. M. Eddis, was presented to the hospital, and is to be hung in the Great Hall. Dr. Roupell gave portraits of William and David Pitcairn, copies of Reynolds, to the College Hall. He afterwards gave one of John Hunter, a pupil of the school, being a copy by Mr. Harry Pickersgill of the Reynolds at the Royal College of Surgeons, and of Dr. Peter Mere Latham, and Sir Thomas Watson, by Mr. Pickersgill, R.A.

1851. *July* 8.—Miss Elizabeth Blackwell had been admitted a student by the House Committee of May 1850. The result of this permission was reported to have been satisfactory. Miss Blackwell called, before returning to America, to express her thanks for the permission generously granted her, and for the kindness shown to her by every individual at St. Bartholomew's Hospital.

1852. *January* 13.—Mr. James Paget presented 1000 specimens of dried plants made before he was a pupil of the hospital. *March* 9.—Mr. Robert Hichens founded a prize for knowledge of Butler's Analogy, and Mr. George Holgate Foster, one for Anatomy and Physiology. *April* 27.—The sisters are to read morning and evening prayers in the wards. Dr. Patrick Black was appointed the first administrator of chloroform.

1853. *January* 31.—Dr. J. R. Farre presented his Museum of Morbid Anatomy to the hospital. *April* 19.—650 patients can now be received into the Hospital. Dr. F. J. Farre presented his Museum of Botany. *July* 11.—Interments in the parish of St. Bartholomew the Less were stopped. They had been made there for over 700 years.

1854. *November* 9.—A report on cholera was presented: from July 23 to October 23, 322 patients were admitted, of whom 105 died. Not one attendant was attacked. Dr. Robert Martin, who resided on the spot, and Mr. Wood the Apothecary looked after the cases. Seventy guineas were voted to Dr. Martin, and fifty to Mr. Wood. The treatment consisted of calomel, 5 grains at frequent intervals, or smaller doses every 10 to 15 minutes, or calomel and opium, 5 grains three times a day, or calomel with salines or castor oil, or castor oil with tincture of capsicums. Ice-cold drinks, liquid nutriment, and some alcohol were given. Calomel and opium at the onset seemed most beneficial.

1859. *January* 11.—The Quadrangle to be planted. *September* 18.—A fountain to be erected in the centre.

1866. *November* 28.—The question of the office of President was argued in the Court of Queen's Bench, and the judges decided that the governors of the hospital might elect whom they pleased.

1867. *March* 20.—Albert Edward, Prince of Wales, elected a governor and then President, an office which

he held till he became king, when he allowed himself to be named Patron. *December 10.*—The office of apothecary was abolished and four house physicians were appointed, each to be paid £25 a year. The first four were: W. J. Garrett, M.B. Lond.; W. A. Hollis, M.B. Cantab.; J. G. Lock, M.A. Cantab., L.M.; P. J. Hensley, M.B. Cantab., Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge. Up to this each surgeon received £40 salary, £7, 10s. for lithotomy, £8 for operations, £30 gratuity: each is now to receive £105 a year.

1868. *October 13.*—Scrubbers are to be appointed, and the nurses are not to scrub the floors.

1869. *April 6.*—Queen Victoria, with the Princess Louise, visited the hospital, and went into eight wards. *November 22.*—The Prince of Wales was in the chair for the first time. A long letter from the staff as to various reforms was read.

1870. *January 11.*—The Medical Council is to consist of physicians, surgeons, assistant physicians, assistant surgeons, and the physician accoucheur. Any matter relating to the medical department or the school may be considered by it, and it is to meet on the first Saturday in January, April, July, and October, and whenever required by the treasurer of the hospital. *March 8.*—Three casualty physicians are to be appointed. Dr. W. A. Hollis (of Trinity College, Cambridge), Dr. Wickham Legg (University College Hospital), and Dr. Thorne Thorne (afterwards Sir Richard Thorne Thorne, K.C.B., and

head of the Medical Department of the Local Government Board) were the first appointments to this office.

1872. *January* 24.—The Court passed a resolution congratulating the Prince of Wales on his recovery from his illness (typhoid fever). *February* 13.—A letter was received from General Sir W. Knollys, Comptroller of the Household, enclosing a cheque for fifty guineas for Mrs. Thomas, Sister of Colston Ward, who had nursed the Prince of Wales in his illness. *May* 14.—A convalescent home was for the first time established in connection with the hospital, Sir Sidney Hedley Waterlow having lent Lauderdale House, Highgate, for that purpose for a term of seven years.

1875. *February* 9.—Up to this date fevers were admitted to the general wards. Separate wards at the top of the west wing were now set apart for infectious fevers.

Six more volumes complete the series of Journals to the present day. Their contents must be used in an account, to be given in a later chapter, of the present state of the hospital. The present chapter began with the complete minutes of the first meeting recorded in the Journals, that of October 4, 1549, and may end with the notice of a General Court of July 27, 1911, and the minutes of the last meeting of my own time as physician to St. Bartholomew's. These papers show how closely the ancient procedure, of election, of re-election, of the presentation of green staves, and of the publicity of the business are observed to the present day :—

THE ROYAL HOSPITAL OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW

You are requested to be at a GENERAL COURT of the GOVERNORS of ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S HOSPITAL, to be holden on **Thursday**, the **27th** day of **July**, 1911, at **Eleven** o'clock in the forenoon, precisely.

To read the Minutes of the last General Court.

To give Charges to Governors present not yet admitted.

To confirm—

The Minutes of the House Committee of the 11th May, 1911, the subjects thereof being as follows, viz. :—

1. Report from the Visiting Governors' Committee, stating that the arrangements of the various departments of the Hospital are satisfactory, and that everything is working well at the Kettlewell Convalescent Home.

RESOLVED—"That the Report be adopted."

2. Report from the Drugs, Instruments and Appliances Committee, recommending the acceptance of the tenders of certain firms for the supply of various Drugs for the ensuing year; and of Dressings and Bandages for eight months (from 1st May) as set forth in the schedule attached to the Report.

RESOLVED—"That the Report be adopted."

3. Recommendation from the Treasurer and Almoners as to the appointment of an additional Resident Administrator of Anæsthetics.

RESOLVED—"That an additional Resident Administrator
"of Anæsthetics be appointed from the 1st June
"next at a salary at the rate of £100 per annum."

4. Extract from the Will of Mr. Emil Jacob Loewe, of Baden House, Camden Square, N.W., bequeathing, upon the decease or second marriage of his wife, the sum of £7000 equally between St. Bartholomew's Hospital and six other Institutions; also, upon the death of his wife, the proceeds of a life policy in the Pelican Assurance Company equally between this Hospital and five other Institutions.
5. Report that the Hospital Accounts and the Accounts of the Samaritan Fund for the year ended 31st December, 1910, had been sent to the Charity Commissioners in conformity with the Charitable Trusts Act, 1853 (16 and 17 Vic., cap. 137).
6. Reference to the Treasurer and Almoners to purchase Coals.

The Minutes of the House Committee of the 8th June, 1911, the subject thereof being as follows, viz. :—

1. Appointment of a Casualty Physician.

RESOLVED—"That Mr. A. E. Gow, M.B., B.S. (Lond.),
"M.R.C.P., be appointed a Casualty Physician for
"a period of two years from the 1st July, 1911."

2. Reference to the Treasurer and Almoners to consider the question of an Address to His Majesty the King on the occasion of the Coronation.
3. National Insurance Bill.—Discussion as to the probable effect upon Voluntary Hospitals, and as to steps being taken in the matter.

IT WAS AGREED—"That no action be taken by this
"Hospital independently."

The Minutes of House Committee of the 13th July, 1911,
the subjects thereof being as follows, viz. :—

1. Report of the Visiting Governors' Committee stating that the working of the various departments of the Hospital and the Kettlewell Convalescent Home is satisfactory.

RESOLVED—"That the Report be adopted."

2. Resignation by Dr. W. P. Herringham of the Lectureship on Forensic Medicine.

RESOLVED—"That this resignation be accepted."

3. Resignation by Dr. T. J. Horder of the office of Medical Registrar and Demonstrator of Morbid Anatomy.

RESOLVED—"That this resignation be accepted."

4. Appointment of Second Administrator of Anæsthetics.

RESOLVED—"That Mr. W. Foster Cross be re-appointed
"Second Administrator of Anæsthetics for a period
"of 4 years from the 1st August, 1911."

5. Request from Mr. D'Arcy Power for permission to deliver a Lecture at the Polyclinic School of Medicine.

RESOLVED—"That this request be complied with."

6. Report from the Medical Officers and Lecturers as to the Museum and Library.

7. Recommendation of the Treasurer and Almoners as to the acceptance of a tender for the provision of an emergency exit from the Great Hall.

RESOLVED—"That the recommendation be adopted,
"and that the tender of Messrs. Dove Bros., at the
"sum of £240, be accepted."

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8. Re-appointment of the following Officers for the ensuing year, viz. :—

Mr. W. B. Paterson	.	}	Dental Surgeons.
Mr. R. C. Ackland	.	}	
Dr. H. Austen	.	}	Assistant Dental Surgeons.
Mr. F. Coleman	.	}	

9. Lettering ("St. Bartholomew's Hospital") on the flank wall of the Out-patients' Block.

RESOLVED—"That the Surveyor be instructed to have
"the letters in question treated in such a manner
"as to make them more distinct."

To confirm the Treasurer in his office for the year ensuing.

To choose an Almoner in place of John Williams Watson, Esq., resigned.

The Treasurer will propose Harry Bird, Esq., C.C.

To choose Members of the House Committee.

The following gentlemen are in turn to retire :—

George H. Dunsmure, Esq.
Francis E. Fremantle, Esq., M.B., F.R.C.S.
M. Meredith-Brown, Esq.
Gwyn Vaughan Morgan, Esq.
John Smithers, Esq.
Sir Richard Stapley, C.C.
Charles N. Watney, Esq.

and the following will be proposed by the Treasurer and Almoners :—

George H. Dunsmure, Esq.	}	For re-election.
M. Meredith-Brown, Esq.		
John Smithers, Esq.		
Sir Richard Stapley, C.C.		

John Barrow, Esq.
Alexander Howden, Esq.
J. Horsley Palmer, Esq.

and four Members to be nominated by the Medical Council.

To re-elect the following Officers for the ensuing year, viz. :—

Rev. H. Skillicorn Close . . .	Hospitaller.
Dr. Norman Moore . . .	Physicians.
Dr. Samuel West . . .	
Dr. J. A. Ormerod . . .	
Dr. W. P. Herringham . . .	
Dr. H. H. Tooth . . .	
Mr. W. Bruce Clarke . . .	Surgeons.
Sir Anthony A. Bowlby . . .	
Mr. C. B. Lockwood . . .	
Mr. D'Arcy Power . . .	
Mr. H. J. Waring . . .	
Dr. A. E. Garrod . . .	Physicians with charge of Out-Patients.
Dr. James Calvert . . .	
Dr. H. Morley Fletcher . . .	
Dr. J. H. Drysdale . . .	
Dr. Horton-Smith Hartley . . .	
Mr. W. McAdam Eccles . . .	Surgeons with charge of Out-Patients.
Mr. R. C. Bailey . . .	
Mr. L. B. Rawling . . .	
Mr. George E. Gask . . .	Assistant Surgeons.
Mr. C. Gordon Watson . . .	
Mr. W. H. Jessop . . .	Ophthalmic Surgeons.
Mr. W. T. Holmes Spicer . . .	
Sir Francis H. Champneys, Bart., M.D.,	Physician Accoucheur.
Dr. W. S. A. Griffith . . .	Physician Accoucheur (with charge of Out-Patients).
Dr. H. Williamson . . .	Assistant Physician Accoucheur.
Mr. C. E. West . . .	Aural Surgeon.
Mr. S. R. Scott . . .	Assistant Aural Surgeon.
Mr. W. D. Harmer . . .	Surgeon in charge of Throat Department.
Mr. F. A. Rose . . .	Assistant in charge of Throat Department.

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Dr. H. Lewis Jones . . .	{	Medical Officer in charge of Electrical Department.
Dr. Hugh Walsham . . .	{	Assistant Med. Officer in charge of Electrical Department.
Mr. E. J. Wilde . . .	.	Solicitor.
Mr. E. B. I'Anson . . .	.	Surveyor.
Mr. Thomas Hayes . . .	.	Clerk.
Mr. V. Cluse . . .	.	Renter.
Mr. A. Watkins . . .	.	Steward.
Miss Annie McIntosh . . .	{	Matron and Superintendent of Nursing.

To read a Report from the Treasurer and Almoners upon matters relating to the Hospital Estates, the subjects thereof being as follows :—

1. Letting of property :

Names of Tenants.	Premises.	Term.	Rent per annum.	Late Annual Rent.
William Hunter . . .	No. 17, Balls Pond Road.	3 years	£55	£55
Charles Harrison . . .	Nos. 136, 138, Kentish Town Road.	21 years	£100	£100
Robert Partridge . . .	Steeple Hall Farm (314a. or. 35p.), Steeple, Essex.	14 years	{ £180 first 7 years, £195 subsequently }	£165
Herbert George Fenwick	Part (42a. 3r. 28p.) of Almshoebury Farm, Hitchin.	14 years	£43	Included with other property

2. Grant of Licences.

And to transact the usual business of the Hospital

THOMAS HAYES,
Clerk.

ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S HOSPITAL,
20th July, 1911

N.B.—Divine Service, as usual, before the Court, will take place at a **Quarter before Eleven o'clock**, and the business of the Court will commence at **Eleven o'clock** precisely.

From JOURNAL, VOLUME XXX

At a General Court held on Thursday, the 4th
January 1912.

Present.

The Right Hon. Lord Sandhurst, Treasurer.

Patrick L. Blyth, Esq.	}	Almoners.
E. Mulready Stone, Esq.		
John Cary Lovell, Esq.		
Harry Bird, Esq., C.C.		

Sir James Thomson Ritchie, Bart., Alderman.

Joseph Douglass Mathews, Esq.	}	Common Council.
Rev. P. Clementi-Smith, M.A.		

John Barrow, Esq.

George Acton Davis, Esq.

Sir Ernest Flower.

The Rt. Hon. Lord Glenconner.

Frederick Geo. Ivey, Esq.

Henry R. James, Esq.

Edwin J. Layton, Esq.

Ernest J. Lovell, Esq.

Lionel B. Lovell, Esq.

J. Horsley Palmer, Esq.

W. H. Patmore Sheehy, Esq.

John Smithers, Esq.

The Minutes of the General Court held on the 23rd
November, 1911, were read and signed.

Read the following letter from Dr. Norman Moore,
resigning his office of Physician :—

94, GLOUCESTER PLACE, PORTMAN SQUARE, W.,

December 7, 1911.

DEAR LORD SANDHURST,—Early next year I shall attain the
age of retirement, and I think it will be more convenient for every
one if I may be allowed to resign at the end of this year.

I began my service to the Hospital in 1872 as House Physician, and have ever since continued its servant as Casualty Physician, Warden of the College, Lecturer on Comparative Anatomy, Demonstrator of Morbid Anatomy, Lecturer on Pathology, Assistant Physician, Lecturer on the Principles and Practice of Medicine, and Physician.

I have to thank the Treasurer and all the Governors for their invariable kindness to me and for their permission to me to serve so long in St. Bartholomew's Hospital.

With the greatest respect to you and to them, and of constant affection for their noble foundation, I thus conclude my active service towards its patients and its students, for whom and for its governing body I shall always retain feelings of the warmest regard and gratitude.—I remain,

Dear Lord Sandhurst,

Yours faithfully,

NORMAN MOORE.

Upon the motion of Mr. Almoner Lovell, seconded by Mr. Past Almoner Acton Davis, it was

UNANIMOUSLY RESOLVED—"That this Court regrets
 "that the time has arrived when, in compliance
 "with the Hospital's Rules and Orders, it has
 "become necessary for Dr. Norman Moore to retire
 "from his office of Senior Physician to the
 "Hospital:

"That the Court cannot permit Dr. Norman
 "Moore's services to terminate without recording
 "its appreciation of the unremitting attention
 "shown by him during the long period of
 "years that he has held office as an Assistant

"Physician and subsequently as a Physician to the
"Hospital:

"And further, the Court believing that the
"appointment will be an advantage to the Hospital,
"and that it will be a gratification to him to con-
"tinue to have his name officially associated with
"the Foundation with which he has been for many
"years so intimately connected, hereby appoints
"Dr. Norman Moore an Honorary Consulting
"Physician."

The Treasurer declared a vacancy in the office of Physician in consequence of Dr. Norman Moore's retirement, and it was

RESOLVED—"That the said vacancy be made known by
"public advertisement and by notice within the
"Hospital in the usual way."

The Minutes of the House Committee held on the 14th December 1911, which were put to the Court *seriatim*, were confirmed.

The Minutes of the House Committee held 21st December 1911, which were put to the Court *seriatim*, were confirmed.

Charles Henry McEuen, Esq., and Charles Edward Jones, Esq., recommended by the House Committee as fit and proper persons to be Governors of this Hospital, were chosen Governors accordingly, and it was

ORDERED,—“That a Green Staff be sent to each of them
"conformably with ancient custom."

A letter was read from the Medical Council stating that the Council is of opinion that no change be made, at present, in the Charge of the Physicians and Assistant Physicians.

SANDHURST.

The form of the minutes has changed but little in the three hundred and sixty-three years between October 4, 1549, and January 4, 1912. The proceedings show throughout a close attention to the business of the hospital, and a constant desire to make St. Bartholomew's as useful as possible to as many as possible of the poor.

XVIII

DR. CAIUS



THE organisation of medicine as a profession in London, by the foundation of the College of Physicians, took place a generation before the institution of the New Order in St. Bartholomew's, and was one of the changes due to the revival of learning of that period. The study of Greek literature, and particularly of Hippocrates and Galen, first taught men some truths on authority, and then led them to perceive that medical knowledge was to be attained by making observations on men, women, and children in health and in sickness, and after death.

Erasmus, in a letter to his friend Paulus Bombasius, written from Basle on July 26, 1518, gives a description of the men who then served Henry VIII. and Queen Katherine, which shows how much learning there was at that time in England :—

“The king, the wisest of all the rulers of this age, is delighted by good books. The queen is well-read, besides being in other ways a wonder of her sex, and

deserves to be valued no less for her piety than for her learning. Those who excel in literature, in taste, and in good sense have influence with them. Thomas Linacre is the king's physician, a man it would be waste of time to extol to you, since he shows clearly what he is in the books he has published. Cuthbert Tonstall is Master of the Rolls, an office which in England is considered of the highest dignity. You would scarcely believe, my Paul, when I name him, what a vast world of all good things I may encompass. Thomas More is of the Privy Council, whose incomparable charm is due not only to the Muses and the Graces, but also to his wit; of whose genius thou hast been able in some degree to taste the flavour from his writings. Pace, almost full brother to him in attainments, is secretary of state. William Mountjoy is chamberlain to the queen. John Colet is a royal chaplain. I have just mentioned the chief men. John Stokesley is chaplain and almoner to the king, and he yields to no one in scholastic theology, and is well skilled in three tongues. With men of this sort was the court crowded: more truly a museum than a palace. What Athens, what Portico, what Lyceum would you prefer to such a palace."¹

In the very year of this letter, the College of Physicians of London was founded by the king, in accordance with the advice of his physician, Dr. Thomas Linacre,

¹ "Epistolæ D. Erasmi Roterodami ad diuersos, et aliquot aliorum ad illum, per amicos eruditos, ex ingentibus fasciculis schedarum collectæ." Basilæ, 1521.

and of his chancellor, Cardinal Wolsey. The king's letters patent, dated September 23, 1518, gave to the college, with other powers, those of annually electing a president, of holding meetings and of making statutes and ordinances ruling all of the faculty in London and for seven miles round. These letters patent were confirmed by an Act of Parliament in the fourteenth year of Henry VIII., which also gave the college power to grant licences to practise medicine throughout England. The original college consisted of the three physicians to the king, John Chambre, Thomas Linacre, Ferdinand de Victoria, and three other London physicians, Nicholas Halsewell, John Francis, and Robert Yaxley.

The college meetings were held in Linacre's stone house in Knightrider Street, on the slope which extends from St. Paul's Cathedral to the Thames. The stone coat of arms which was on its front is preserved in the entrance hall of the college at this day. Linacre was its first president, and held office till his death on October 20, 1524. Linacre, by his example and by his choice of friends, impressed upon the college the character which it has ever since retained. He wished that it should maintain among physicians the highest standard of professional honour and of public duty, and that the attainments of its fellows should be such as to make them a part of the world of learning.

He himself was, like his friend Sir Thomas More, a man of the New Learning but of ancient piety.

Oxford was his Alma Mater, and after election to a fellowship at All Souls he travelled to Italy, and there attended, with Giovanni de' Medici, afterwards Pope Leo X., the Greek teaching of Demetrius Chalcondylas, a learned Greek of the Eastern Empire. Linacre went on to Rome, and Paulus Jovius, the bishop of Nocera, relates an anecdote showing how his fame had preceded him and soon admitted him to learned society. Linacre was turning over a Greek manuscript at a bookcase in the Vatican library when Hermolaus Barbarus the great scholar came in, and at once made himself known. "You learned guest," he said, "who so diligently study Plato's book, can be no Barbarus as I certainly am." Linacre smilingly replied, "And you venerated demigod can be no other than that famous patriarch the most Latin of the Italians." After the examination of manuscripts and the talk of learned men had occupied him in Rome for some time, he went on to Venice, and there became the friend of the scholarly printer, Aldus.

At Padua he took the degree of Doctor of Physic, and, after some further travels, returned to England, well learned in medicine and in Greek. In 1509 he became physician to King Henry VIII., and many great men were his patients. Sir Thomas More; Grocyn, whom Winchester School holds as one of its four greatest men in as many centuries; Colet, the learned founder of St. Paul's School; Bishop Fox, the founder of Corpus Christi College at Oxford; Archbishop

Warham—these, the most pious and the most learned men of England, were his intimate friends; and Erasmus, whose attainments were the wonder of all Europe, admired and loved him no less than they. Linacre's studies continued throughout his life. He translated into Latin the late Greek treatise of the Neo-platonist Proclus, on the Sphere, and eight works of Galen, and wrote three erudite volumes on Latin grammar. His books are interesting as illustrations of the state of classical learning in his time, and did much to encourage the study of Greek medicine—a study which ultimately led men, through the Greek observations, to the collection of knowledge from nature.

The example of his life, as felt in the College of Physicians, continues a living force to this day. It is due to him that physicians in England have always been held to be part of the learned world, and have maintained a liberal conduct and a standard of knowledge worthy of that association. He was buried in St. Paul's Cathedral, under the great rood near the north door, and an inscription was placed upon his tomb, more than thirty years after his death, recording tersely what kind of man he was and what he had done :

“Thomas Lynacrus, regis Henrici VIII. Medicus; vir et Græce et Latine, atque in re medicâ longe eruditissimus: Multos ætate sua languentes, et qui jam animam desponderant, vitæ restituit: Multa Galeni opera in Latinam linguam, mira et singulari facundia vertit;

Egregium opus de emendata structura Latini sermonis, amicorum rogata, paulo ante mortem edidit. Medicinæ studiosis Oxoniæ Publicas lectiones duas, Cantabrigiæ unam, in perpetuum stabilivit. In hac urbe Collegium medicorum fieri suâ industriâ curavit, cujus et Præsidentis proximus electus est. Fraudes dolosque mire perosus : fidus amicis ; omnibus ordinibus juxta clarus : aliquot annos antequam obierat Presbyter factus. Plenus annis ex hac vitâ migravit, multum desideratus, Anno Dni 1524, die 20 Octobris."

Above the epitaph were the words :

Vivit post funera virtus,
Thomæ Lynacro clarissimo medico
Johannes Caius posuit, anno 1557

showing that the inscription was written by Dr. John Caius.

This devoted follower of the ideas of Linacre was born at Norwich on October 6, 1510. He went up to Cambridge in 1529, and in December 1533 was elected a fellow of Gonville Hall, where he had studied the liberal arts, and had become deep in Greek. Early in 1539 he went to the University of Padua, and studied medicine there for four years. He lived for eight months in the same house as Vesalius, the founder of modern anatomy, who was then Professor of Anatomy and was at work on his "*De Fabrica Humani Corporis*." Caius learnt medicine from John Baptist Montana.¹ The "*Medicina Universa*" of Montana shows what his lectures were like. They displayed much thought on

¹ "Preceptoris nostri in medicina." Caius : "*De libris propriis*," ed. 1912, p. 73.

Medicine in the widest sense, great reading in medical books, and extensive attainments in Greek. Caius was perhaps most drawn to Montana because of his Greek reading and his thorough acquaintance with the works of Galen. On May 13, 1541, Caius took the degree of M.D. at Padua, and was elected to lecture there "on the Logic and Philosophy of Aristotle, in the original Greek."¹

He departed from Padua in July 1543, and, after some study at Florence, went to Pisa, and attended the lectures of Matthew Curtius, a teacher all whose knowledge was clearly arranged in his mind, and set forth with equal order and lucidity to his pupils. The attainments and the style of Matthew Curtius may be seen in his work on the cure of fevers, which is a discussion, elaborate but not prolix, of all that is said on the subject in certain books of Hippocrates and of Galen, and in some passages of Avicenna. His book, "*Ad tyrunculos dosandi methodus*," is a neatly arranged treatise on *Materia Medica* and their application. Curtius also wrote a well argued essay on the subject "*An partus ante septimum Mensem editus, vitalis esse possit, vel ne*," with much learning, out of Aristotle, Hippocrates, and Galen. Gratosus Perchacinus, who printed these works at Padua in 1564, compares the ancient Curtius, leaping into the gulf in the Forum to procure its closure, to this Curtius abolishing gaps and errors in the art of medicine. He asserts that the most learned men in

¹ John Venn: "*John Caius*"; Cambridge, 1910.

medicine of his time have most of them been taught by Curtius.

How hard Caius worked on these travels is shown by a passage¹ in his "De libris propriis," in which he may be followed from city to city, and from library to library. In that of St. John and St. Paul at Venice, he found some good manuscripts of Galen that had been ill-used, and had many erasures, especially in the book "De usu partium." Then he looked into the library of St. Mark, and into that of St. Anthony, and afterwards into that of St. John (de viridario) at Padua, which Bessarion, a Greek and Patriarch of Constantinople, had given. Next he went to the Laurentian library at Florence, looking there at many Greek manuscripts—at Dioscorides' *Περὶ ἐμπειρίας ἰατρικῆς τῶν ἀπλῶν καὶ συνθέτων φαρμάκων*, at Galen, *Περὶ οὔρων*, and at the third book of Hippocrates' *Ἐπιδημιῶν*, with Galen's commentary thereon, and at many other books. He praises the generosity and hospitality of Cosmo de' Medici to the learned. Then he tells of a visit in 1543 to Fiesole, "on account of the ancient renown of its name," on a feast day of the place, when there was a fair. The long beard and grave aspect of Caius walking through their market-place may easily have reminded the people of Fiesole of the famous day when St. Donatus appeared amid the crowd at the Badia, on his way from Ireland to Rome, and, owing to his venerable appearance, was immediately elected to the episcopal throne of the Etruscan city.

¹ Caius: "De libris suis." London, 1570; reprint of 1912, p. 100.

Caius went next to the library of the Duke of Urbino, where he found the whole book of Galen, *Περὶ ἐν πωρίστων*, among many other rare books. Then to the Vatican library, where he chiefly looked at Greek manuscripts, including some books of Galen, *Περὶ ἀμμάτων*. He went on to Ferrara, to the library of St. Dominic, enriched by Cælius Calcagninus, and to that of the Holy Angels, formed by Hercules, the first Duke of Ferrara. There and at Bologna he found few books of the kind he wished for, and at Siena absolutely none. However, there was a good manuscript of Pliny at Sta. Maria Novella, and one said to be in the hand of the prophet Esdras at St. Dominic's in Bologna. "When I say books," says Caius, "I generally mean Greek manuscripts."¹ At Rome it was vacation time, so there were no lectures to attend. Caius visited the ruins, and worked in the Vatican library. He travelled home through Germany and the Low Countries, and made one friend, who became a great addition to his happiness in life, Conrad Gesner. This learned and kindly physician, Greek scholar, botanist, and writer on natural history, died of the plague on December 5, 1565, at the early age of 48. Caius was deeply afflicted, and felt his loss more, and not less, as time went on, partly because they were kindred souls, partly because of the impression which Gesner's uncommon intelligence and vast reading had made upon him.

¹ Caius: "De libris suis," p. 101.

On December 22, 1547, Caius was admitted a fellow of the College of Physicians, and not long after he came to live within St. Bartholomew's Hospital, and was there a tenant till his death. His house begins the list of tenants, occupying the position in the rent roll of that of Lady Joan Astley, King Henry VI.'s nurse, as the first of the houses within the close.¹ This must have been nearly opposite the church, and the first house on the right hand after passing the Smithfield gate. It occupied part of the site of the present pathological laboratory.² The rent of the house was £4 a year. A small alley led up to it from the main way into the hospital.

The house contained, as is shown by the inventory³ taken after Caius' death, a hall, a kitchen, and a bed-chamber over the hall, his own bedchamber, with a chamber over it, and a garret. There were perhaps other rooms in which no furniture chanced to be at the end of his life. In any case, it is easy to picture the kitchen on a level with the hall, and a hatch for handing in the dishes. The hall had no doubt a fine fireplace, and was spacious enough to accommodate the whole College of Physicians at their first college feast in 1556.

¹ He appears in the Ledger in 1551, but in the Journal under July 5, 1550, is the entry: "yt was agreyd the same daye that the ground under doctor Cayees housse shall be letton by this hows bothe euery fryday and also at bartylimietyd and yn recompens therof he shall have a small rome yn the entery goying up to his hows."

² From 1551 to 1567. From 1567 he obtained a lease for twenty years at 4 marks (£2, 13s. 4d.) a year.

³ Printed in Dr. Venn's "Life of Caius."

After the dinner the surgeons and the aromatarii were admitted to receive exhortation as to their duties. There was a central staircase. On the first floor there was a chamber over the hall, and the doctor's bed-chamber, and over these another story, and then, as was the fashion in houses of the time, a garret without partitions extending over the whole house.

In this house Caius was living at the beginning of 1550, and the Journal of November 30, 1567, contains the entry: "Dr. Kayes. This day it is graunted that Mr. Doctor Kayes shall have a lease of his house for twenty one yeres from Mychelmas last past, he to do reparacyons, and not to let nor sell, payenge yerly fowre markes." And on April 2, 1569, "Dr. Kaius. This day came into the courte Mr. Doctor Kayes, and made request to have the graunte before made unto him by the masters of this house for the house that he dwellyth yn during his lyff in wryting under the names of all the said masters, which thyng is now graunted to him." One more entry concludes the business. "May 6, 1570. This day Mr. Doctor Caius, Walter Smyth, and Bellinghame sealed as ther dedes formally delyvered to the masters of this house the severall conterparts of the leases, and the hospitall seuerall partes of the same were signed by the said masters and delivered to be sealed."

In 1552 Caius published "A Boke or Counseill against the disease commonly called the sweate or

sweatyng Sicknesse." It was printed by Richard Grafton, who had been treasurer of St. Bartholomew's, and had his printing press hard by in the cloister of Christ's Hospital. Thus were the proofs of the first medical monograph in the English tongue, and, indeed, the first book written by an English physician, whether in his own language or in Latin, on a particular disease, corrected in St. Bartholomew's. The book is dedicated to William, Earl of Pembroke, and is intended "for Englishe men not lerned." In 1555 Caius published, also in London, on the same subject, "one other in Latine for men of lerninge more at large," entitled, "*De Ephemera Britannica*." The disease was, perhaps, a pneumococcal or influenzal infection, and the fatal terminations seem to have been due to pneumonia.

The year that the "*De Ephemera*" was published Caius was elected President of the College of Physicians. The election is for one year, and he was chosen again in 1556-57-58-59-60, in 1562 and 1563, and for the ninth time in 1571. He did all he could to benefit the college. From scattered papers he collected its annals into a volume, and therein wrote the records of its meetings, which have ever since been continued. He discharged minutely all the duties of censor, elect, and president, as he successively held those offices. He presented to the college a silver caduceus with four serpents at its head, and with a cushion for it to repose upon; a book of statutes bound in red velvet, with ornate silver

corners, escutcheons and clasps, and a common seal. The caduceus or silver sceptre indicated that the sway ought to be mild, while the serpents at its head, symbols of wisdom, inculcated sagacity in rule and in act. The cushion is an ornament of honour, while the seal is the token and support of fidelity.

Caius lectured on Anatomy to the Barber-surgeons,¹ and gave them demonstrations upon the body for nearly twenty years, from about the year 1546. When he walked to their hall he left St. Bartholomew's by its Little Britain gate, following that street into Aldersgate, which he crossed to Silver Street, and so went into Monkwell Street, where a panel on the wall, enclosing an escutcheon bearing a chevron between three fleams with the rest of their complicated coat armour, marks to this day the ancient home of the Barber-surgeons.

His practice as a physician was large. Once he went to Castle Hedingham to see the Countess of Oxford, and must have been struck by the chamber of state, spanned by the great Norman arch which remains to this day, though perhaps the new tower of Layer Marney, with ornate battlements, was more to his taste than the grim lofty keep of the Essex fortress of the De Veres.

Besides these public duties and his private practice, he was engaged from 1557 to 1569 in the refoundation, improvement, and building of his college at Cambridge, which makes his name familiar in the University, and

¹ Venn: "Life of Caius," p. 7.

exemplifies his turn of mind by its gates of Humility, of Virtue and Wisdom, and of Honour. Thus nobly did he spend the fortune he had earned by his profession. He was elected Master of Gonville and Caius College, January 24, 1559, and resigned the office June 27, 1573; but throughout this time retained his house within St. Bartholomew's, and returned there to spend his last days. He died in it on Wednesday, July 29, 1573.

He had given away much in his lifetime, and his will completed his benefactions to his college at Cambridge. He left 20s. to the poor of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, and also: "For Pytt and Knyll, 16s. 8d.": "For peales, 3s. 4d.": and 10s. to the poor of the parish. His bowels were buried in the church of St. Bartholomew the Less, and his body was carried to Cambridge and placed in an alabaster tomb in the chapel of his college, with the inscription

FUI CAIUS.

The effects of Linacre's teaching are shown in the life of Caius. Both men in their humanity, their love of learning, their public and private generosity, are examples which have affected English physicians ever since.

XIX

THE ELIZABETHAN PHYSICIANS



It was proposed from the beginning of the New Order to have a physician at St. Bartholomew's, and Dr. Roderigo Lopus,¹ a fellow of the College of Physicians, was the first to hold the office. There is no record of the date of his appointment, but an entry in the Journal on June 19, 1568,² shows that he was then in office, and was living within the hospital precincts: "This day it is ordered by the courte that Mr. Doctor lopus hall shalbe borted forthwith with dele borde or other like."

The order was not carried out, and on March 14, 1572, another was made: "This day order is taken by the court that at the speciall and earnest request of Mr. Doctor Lopus the said Mr. Doctor's hall shalbe borted this Somer att the discesion of Mr. Tresorer and Mr. Renter with other the masters."

A note of January 22, 1575, shows that he had also a

¹ Also written Lopez and Lopes. Accounts of Lopus are to be found in St. Bartholomew's Hospital Reports, vol. xviii. (Norman Moore), 1882, in the Dictionary of National Biography (Sir Sidney Lee), 1893, and in "The Original of Shylock," 1880, "Elizabethan England and the Jews," 1888, and other papers, by Sir Sidney Lee.

² Vol. ii.

garden: "Mr. Dr. Lopus. This day order is taken by the corte that Mr. Doctor lopus shall have out of the store house one c. of pale borde towards the repaying and amending of the payle in his garden, he paying for the workmanship therof." His house had a parlour as well as a hall, and both seem to have been made comfortable, for on November 5, 1575, is the record: "Mr. Docter Lopus. This day order is taken by the Corte that Mr. Docter Lopus parlor shalbe boarded forthwith in consideracon that he shalbe the more paynfull in lookinge to the poore of the hospitall."

Further work was ordered on October 3, 1578: "Item, order is taken by this Courte that Mr. Docter Lopus his house shall be amended in tyllinge where it is needfull."

On May 9, 1579, Dr. Lopus made suit that he might let his house to another man because he wanted to live within the city, "where better eyre is." The court decided that he might from year to year let the same to a citizen, a lawyer or a physician, and might have his allowance as hitherto, "he doinge his dewtye to the poore twyse euerye weke wekely or by his deputye to the lykinge of the masters and gouernors of this house."

On June 3, 1581, he had lately ceased to be physician, and his successor asked to be admitted to the official residence, "and as yet the said Mr. Lopus holdeth the same." Order is made that [as Dr. Lopus is now de-

parted from the service of the poor, he be warned "to avoide the house befor mydsomer or St. Jamestyde next coming at the furthest." On September 9, 1581, it was ordered that a letter be delivered to Dr. Lopus to avoid his house at Michaelmas next without further delay ; and by February 3, 1582, he had left the house. He lived afterwards in Mountjoy's Inn. On March 4, 1592,¹ he brought a letter from the Queen's Council, asking that he might have a lease of the hospital's farm at Hatfield Brodocke. Sir Rowland Hayward was desired to tell him that the hospital is maintained with fines of leases, and that there are some years to run of the lease.

Such are the indications contained in the Journals of the career of our first physician. William Clowes, one of the surgeons to St. Bartholomew's, speaks favourably of his skill. He saw, with Dr. Lopus, Mr. Andrew Fones, a London merchant whose ship had been set on by Flushingers, and who had been wounded by a bullet which lodged under his shoulder-blade. "There was joined with me," says Clowes, "Maister Doctor Lopus, one of his Majesties Phisitions,² which afterward showed himself to be both carefull and very skilfull not only for his counsell in dyeting, purging and bleeding, but also for his direction of Arceus apozema, amongst others it wrought most singularly ; the prooffe

¹ Journal, vol. iii. f. 100a.

² This expression means a physician belonging to the College founded by the King, and is equivalent to the later expression, "a Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians."

thereof I never had until that time, but since I have used it."¹

At the College of Physicians Lopus was never a censor or a consiliarius, but was elected to give the anatomical demonstrations on January 13, 1569. He declined the duty, and was fined £4. In 1571 he is mentioned in the Annals as having neglected the treatment of a man of the household of Lord Burleigh, who had a swollen shinbone. In 1586 he became physician to the Queen's household.

He was known to Walsingham, Bacon, Essex, and Carleton, and seemed flourishing in practice when suddenly he was involved in an accusation of high treason, by the evidence of two Portuguese, Stephen Ferrara and Emanuel Lewis or Andrade. Lopus was sent to the Tower early in 1594, and a special commission was appointed to try him and the other two. A member of the commission died, so a fresh commission had to be nominated. Lopus came to trial at the Guildhall on February 28, 1594. Sir Edward Coke, as Solicitor-General, prosecuted, and Lopus was found guilty and sentenced to death. The papers referring to the accusation and the evidence are in the Public Record Office, with many notes in Coke's almost illegible hand. Lopus was kept in the Tower till June 7, when he was made to attend at Westminster in the Court of Queen's

¹ Clowes : "A Prooved Practice," 1591, p. 8.

² The first book of the Annals of the Royal College of Physicians of London, compiled by John Caius. Printed 1911, pp. 63 and 68. Lopus is here described as *Hispanus*.

Bench, as if to remind him of the sentence, and the same day was dragged to Tyburn on a hurdle, with the other two condemned conspirators, and there hanged, drawn, and quartered.

Bacon wrote an account of the plot entitled: "A True Report of the Detestable Treason intended by Dr. Roderigo Lopez, a physician attending upon the person of the Queen's Majesty, whom he, for a sum of money, promised to be paid to him by the King of Spain, did undertake to have destroyed by poison, with certain circumstances both of the plotting and the detecting of the same treason."¹ Bacon's account is lucid: "This Lopez," he says, "of nation a Portuguese, and suspect to be in sect secretly a Jew (though here he conformed himself to the rites of Christian religion), for a long time professed physic in this land; by occasion whereof, being withal a man very observant and officious, and of a pleasing and appliable behaviour, in that regard, rather than for any great learning in his faculty, he grew known and favoured in Court, and was some time since sworn physician of her Majesty's household; by her Majesty's bounty, of whom he had received divers gifts of good commodity, was grown to good estate of wealth."

Lopus had asked 50,000 crowns from the King of Spain for the deed, and received a jewel in part payment. His defence was that he was cozening the King of Spain. The account ends as if Lopus had already

¹ James Spedding: Bacon's Works.

been condemned, but was not yet executed. Camden¹ mentions the execution, and the derision with which the speech of Lopus at the gallows was received.

In August Sara Lopes,² his widow, petitioned the Queen for the restoration of some of his property. She writes that she had no notion that her husband was embarking in such affairs as those for which he had been tried and executed. The Queen granted her his personal property, except a fine ruby which she retained for her own use.

The popular feeling about Lopus may be traced in the literature of the time. "The Merchant of Venice" was probably finished in 1596,³ so that the nationality and the schemes of Lopus may have been in Shakespeare's mind when he imagined Shylock.⁴ The conduct of Lopus at least prepared the public to see such a character upon the stage. Other dramatists mentioned the physician by name. In Marlowe's "Doctor Faustus," when the Doctor, after very unhappy reflections, has fallen asleep, he is waked by a horse-courser shouting: "Alas, alas! Doctor Fustian, quotha? Mass, Doctor Lopus was never such a doctor; has given me a purgation, has purged me of forty dollars; I shall never see them more."⁵

¹ Camden: "Tomus alter Annalium." London, 1627, p. 75.

² Historical MSS. Commission: Hatfield, part iv. p. 601.

³ W. J. Craig: Introduction to the "Merchant of Venice" in Methuen's Shakespeare, 1904.

⁴ Sir Sidney Lee: "The Original of Shylock," *Gent. Mag.*, February 1880.

⁵ Scene xiv.

In Middleton's play, "A Game at Chess," the Black Knight, the minister of the Black King (the King of Spain), says: "Promised also to doctor Lopez for poisoning the maiden queen of the White Kingdom, ducats twenty thousand";¹ and Dekker makes Lopus himself say: "What physicke can, I dare, only to grow (but as I merit shall) up in your eye."²

DR. TURNER, the next physician, is mentioned in the Journal on March 4, 1580.³ "This daie Mr. Docter Turner made request to the Gouvernors of the house for the rome of Mr. Doctor Lopus fissicion. Order is therefore taken by this courte that the said Docter Torner shall have the rome of the fissicion after the death or other departure awaie of the same Docter Lupos wythe the dewtyes therto belonging in as ample a manner as the said Docter Lopus hathe the same, so longe as he shall doe his dewtye therin and be found a fytt man for the same and not other wyse." This physician, Dr. Peter Turner, was son of the botanist William Turner, and was born in 1542. He took his first degree at Cambridge, and graduated M.D. at Heidelberg, where he was respondent in a disputation "De purgantibus medicamentis," over which Dr. Sigismund Melanchthon presided, and in one "De renum calculis" with the celebrated Thomas Erastus⁴ in 1567. He was incorporated

¹ Act IV. Scene ii.

² "The Whore of Babylon."

³ Vol. ii.

⁴ Thomæ Erasti Philosophi et Medici celeberrimi, Disputationum et Epistolarum Medicinalium volumen doctissimum. Tiguri, 1595, pp. 4, 7.

M.D. at Cambridge in 1575. On June 3, 1581, the Journal shows that he had become physician: "This daie Mr. Docter Torner being fecycon asked to be admytted to the house in tenure of Mr. Dr. Lopus within the Hospitall of Lyttle St. Bartholmewes which doth appertayne to him in the right that he is now feciscon to this house." Lopus, however, did not go, and on December 16, 1581, Dr. Turner complained that he had not yet got his house. Lopus was gone on February 3, 1582, when Dr. Turner asked to have the house viewed, so that repairs might be done. Turner became a licentiate of the College of Physicians on December 4, 1582. He had begun to think of resigning his physiciancy in the autumn of 1584, as is shown by a note of a meeting on September 20, 1584, at which Sir Rowland Hayward, President, was in the chair:¹ "This daye Timothy Bright, Doctor of Phisicke, brought Sir Francis Wasinghames letter to this courte for the having of the rome and place of Mr. Doctor Torner when he shall departe. And offereth to serve and practise uppon the poore of this house in Phisicke untill such time as the same Mr. Doctor Torner shall departe. Order is therfore taken by this courte that yf the said Timothye Bright will practise Phisick on the poore of this house till Mr. Doctor Torner shall departe, at his owne charge without any fee for the same to be paid by this house, that then yf the said Mr.

¹ Journal, vol. ii. f. 223.

Timothy Bright shalbe found fitt and meete for the rome that then he shall have the same rome with house and fee therto belonginge so longe as he shall well and honestlye behave himselfe in the same rome and place."

On January 15, 1585, Dr. Turner was not yet gone, for the Journal of that day records¹: "This day the queens maiesties phisicion and the whole society of the phisicons in the Colledge understandinge of the departure of Dr. Turner now phisicon to this house, have comended one Dr. Wootton a phisicon to be the phisicon to this house, in the rome and place of Dr. Turner. Order is therefore taken by this court that the said Dr. Wootton shall have the rome and place of phisicon of this house from our ladiesday next coming with the house and fee therto dew, in as large and ample manner as Dr. Turner held the same, so long as he shall well and honestly hold himself therin."

The Annals of the College contain the resolution and letter to which the Journal of the hospital alludes. On December 19, 1584, it was resolved at the Comitia of the College, "that letters of request should be written on behalf of Dr. Wootton to the rulers and masters of the Hospital of St. Bartholomew to the effect that since Dr. Turner, now physician to that hospital, is about to resign his office there of his own wish, therefore we ask that Dr. Wootton, as well because he is a learned man, well skilled in medicine, as because he is a fellow of

¹ Journal, vol. ii, f. 228.

our College, may on our petition be chosen in the place of the aforesaid Turner." The Annals are in Latin, but the letter, which is copied into them, is in the vernacular.

TO THE RIGHT WORSHIPFUL THE ALDERMEN AND GOVERNORS
OF THE HOSPITALL OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW.

RIGHT WORSHIPFUL,—Understanding that Mr. Dr. Turner is resolved to depart with the Physition's roome of the Hospitall of St. Bartholomew, and of this his resolution hath given warning unto your Wisdoms: We as well for the charitable care that we have for the better furnishing of your said Hospitall in that behalf, as also for some other good respects, have thought good to commend unto you for the same purpose Mr. Dr. Wootton, a man very well learned, one of this Society and Company, borne within the city, and of long and good practice in the same, of whom if it our request it shall please you to make good liking, we doubt not but that the sequale itself will right well declare how good and convenient a choice you have made therein. We are not herein to press your Wisdoms any further than may stand with your good pleasure. But yet if this our honest motion may take place, we shall think ourselves well-respected, and that you have had a good regard both of us and our priviledges in placing none other there but such as is of our Society, and therefore will be most ready and willing in what we may to requite your curtesies. And for so much as that place hath oftentimes great and strange accidents and divers cases of importance not elsewhere usuall, if this our said College and Fellows maie be admitted to the same, we will be ready from time to time, as occasion shall serve in all such matters of difficulty and moment, to allowe and impart unto him our best advice and conference—a matter to the poor, sick, and diseased of no small commodity and comfort. And albeit so

noble and well governed a city as this is, is rather to give than take example by any other whatsoever, yet whereas in all other honourable cities and towns in all Europe, where the like hospitalls are maintained, the Physitian is always provided out of the body of the Society and College of the Physitions of the same city, we leave the consideration of this their discreet and honorable dealing herein to be rather thought upon and considered by your Wisdoms than of us to be further urged. And so committ your Worships to the good government of the Almightye.

At our College this vii of January, 1584.

Your Worships assured Friendes

THE PRESIDENT AND SOCIETY OF THE
COLLEGE OF PHYSITIONS.¹

This letter shows that the College recognised the importance of the hospital as a place of medical study, and its value in giving an opportunity for the observation of rare cases. This is perhaps the earliest English record of this important function.

Dr. Turner carried out his intention, and by March 3, 1585, he had left. He died on May 27, 1614, and his figure in a doctor's scarlet gown is to be seen on his tomb in St. Olave's, Hart Street. His wife survived him, and her brother wrote his epitaph. It records Turner's learning, his places of study, and that he married Pascha, sister of Henry Parr, Bishop of Worcester.

Dr. Henry Wootton, who had been promised the next appointment, and whom the College of Physicians so strongly recommended, had been elected a fellow of

¹ Annals of the College of Physicians (MS.), vol. ii.

the College January 18, 1572, and was a censor in 1581 and 1582. He had had a distinguished career at Oxford, having been a student of Christ Church and Greek reader at Corpus Christi College. He was son of Dr. Edward Wootton, reader in Greek at Corpus, Oxford, President of the College of Physicians 1541-3, physician to King Henry VIII., and the author of the "*De Differentiis Animalium*," the first printed book on Natural History by an Englishman. In spite of his position, learning, testimonials, and received promise from the governors, Dr. Henry Wootton was not elected.

Influence had been at work for another candidate. This was Dr. Timothy Bright of Trinity College, Cambridge. He was in Paris on St. Bartholomew's Day, August 24, 1572—a fortunate Sunday for him, for he had made the acquaintance of Sir Philip Sidney¹ in the house of Sir Francis Walsingham, where they had both gone for safety.

To know Sidney was an advantage beyond the things of this world, but to be known and esteemed by Walsingham was a great temporal gain. The above mentioned letter from him² secured for Bright a footing in the hospital, and no doubt helped him to bring further influence to bear upon the governors. On February 20, 1585, he produced letters from several of the Queen's Privy Council supporting his suit for the

¹ Dedication of Bright's "*In physicam Gulielmi Adolphi Scribonii . . . Animadversiones*." Cambridge, 1584.

² P. 428.

place of physician. "Order is therefore taken by this corte that at the requeste of my Lord Tresorer, Sir Fraunces Walsingham and Sir Frauncis¹ Myldmey by letters to us directed, yt is agreed and fully concluded that the said Dr. Bright shall have the next come of the Phisicon after the departure or goinge awaye of Mr. Turner with the house and fee thereto belonginge, so longe as he shall well and honestly behave him selfe therein ; not withstanding any former graunt made to any other person whatsoever."²

The promise to Wootton was revoked, and £10 granted to him as a sort of compensation for disappointment.

DR. TIMOTHY BRIGHT,³ in accordance with the promise made to him, came into office as physician in or soon after March 1585. He was given a house and garden in the hospital, and forty shillings a year, with an allowance of wood and coal. He was thirty-five years of age, having been born at Cambridge in 1550. He was a member of Trinity College, where he was a scholar in 1567, and whence he had graduated B.A. in

¹ Recte Walter.

² Journal, ii. f. 230.

³ Norman Moore : "The Physicians and Surgeons of St. Bartholomew's Hospital before the Time of Harvey," *St. Bartholomew's Hospital Reports*, vol. xviii., contains an account of Bright.

William J. Carlton : *Timothe Bright, Doctor of Phisicke : a Memoir of "The Father of Modern Shorthand"* (London, 1911), gives the fullest account of him that has appeared. Mr. Carlton, with painstaking labour and unvarying accuracy, has collected details, many of them unknown before, as to every part of Bright's life ; and in this admirable book has also made clear the structure of Bright's system of shorthand, and its relation to other systems. The book deserves to be regarded as the chief authority upon Bright's life and his stenographic system.

1568, M.B. in 1574, and M.D. in 1579. Between 1570 and 1572 he studied abroad. On his return he lived some time in Cambridge, and there wrote a Latin treatise on Medicine in two parts, of which the first, "Hygieina," appeared in 1582, the second, "Medicinæ Therapeuticae pars" in 1583. The first treats of the maintenance of health, the second of its restoration. The book is dedicated to Cecil, then Chancellor of the University. Bright praises the learning of Lady Burghley, and says that the house of the Cecils is like a university: "Cecil himself has paid so much attention to medicine that in the knowledge of the faculty he may almost be compared to the professors of the art itself."

Bright's second book, "In Physicam Gulielmi Adolphi Scribonii Animadversiones," is a commentary on the physical treatise of Adolphus Scribonius, and is one of the earliest productions of the Cambridge University Professors. It is in Latin, and is dedicated to Sir Philip Sidney. Bright's third book appeared while he was physician to St. Bartholomew's, and was living in the hospital. Its dedication to Mr. Peter Osborne ends: "Fare you well from little S. Barthelemewes by Smithfield the twenty-third of May, 1586." This book is in English, and is entitled "A treatise of melancholie, containing the causes thereof and reasons of the strange effects it worketh in our minds and bodies: with the phisicke cure, and spirituall consolation for such as haue thereto adioyned an afflicted conscience. The difference

betwixt it, and melancholie with diuerse philosophicall discourses touching actions, and affections of soule, spirit and body: the particulars whereof are to be seene before the booke." This treatise is partly medical and partly metaphysical, and not very deep in either direction. Two short passages show well Bright's way of thought and of expression: "So many actions diuers in kind, rise from one simple first motion, by reason of variety of joints in one engine. If to these you adde what wit can devise you may find all the motion of heaven with his planets counterfetted in a small modil with distinction of time and season as in the course of the heavenly bodies, and this appeareth in such sort as carie their motion within themselves. In water works I have seene a mill driven by the winde which hath both served for grist and arriding of rivers of water out of drowned fens and marshes which to an American ignorant of the devise would seem to be wrought by a lively action of every part and not by such a generall mover as the wind is: which bloweth direct and foloweth not by circular motion of the mill saile."

In the chapter headed "Why and how one weepeth for joy and laugheth for griefe," he treats of the same question of the production of contrary effects by a single cause: "You see how the Sunne altereth the whitenesse of a man's skinne into blacknesse, and how it maketh cloth white, it softeneth Waxe, and hardneth Clay."¹

¹ Chapter xxv.

Although there seems to be little ground for regarding Bright as the source of anything in the erudite Burton, the scientific Derham or the lucid Paley, he had undoubtedly much ingenuity, and this is most displayed in his writings on shorthand, of which he is justly regarded as the inventor, the first experimenter in the art which was brought to perfection in the nineteenth century by Isaac Pitman.

Bright's first essay in shorthand was a transcription of the Epistle to Titus which he sent to Vincent Skinner,¹ who had been his tutor at Trinity, and who informed Robert Cecil of this new invention. Skinner wrote to Mr. Michael Hicks, then secretary to Burghley, and enclosed the Epistle to Titus, explaining that Bright wished to secure a copyright in teaching and printing this shorthand. In 1588 he published in London a treatise on it entitled :

CHARACTERIE

AN ARTE

of shorte, swifte,
and secret wri-
ting by Charac-
ter.

Inuented by Timothe

Bright, Doctor of
Phisike.

The Epistle Dedicatorie to Queen Elizabeth is interesting as showing that Bright had read Plutarch and

¹ Lansdowne, 51 : British Museum.

noticed his mention of shorthand in the life of Cato the younger: "Upon consideration of the great use of such a kind of writing," says Bright, "I have invented the like; of fewe Characters, short and easie, every Character answering a word: My invention meere English, without precept, or imitation of any."

Bright provides signs for 537 words based upon 18 alphabetical characters, each of which could be used in 4 positions and garnished by one of 12 appendages. A knowledge of these 537 signs and words had to be acquired by the writer. Other words are to be formed by adding at the left side alphabetic initials of synonymous words to some one of the 537 signs. If a word has neither symbol nor synonym, then it is to be indicated by the addition on the right side of one of the 537 signs, of the initial of a word of converse sense. The plural is indicated by a dot to right of a word, the past tense by a dot on the left of a word, a negative is shown by a stroke through a word.

The "Characterie" has become a very rare book, and the only copy I have seen is in the Pepysian Library at Magdalene College.¹

In 1589 he published an abridgment of Foxe's "Book of Martyrs," dedicated to Sir Francis Walsingham, then principal secretary to the Queen and Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.

¹ Besides a discussion of Bright's system, references to other publications on the subject are to be found in Mr. Carlton's book. The above brief statement is drawn from his account of the "Characterie," confirmed by an examination of the Magdalene copy.

"Dr. Bright" was summoned before the President and Censors of the College of Physicians on November 10, 1587. He did not appear, and a warrant was issued for his imprisonment in the Fleet.¹ He was probably called to explain his practice in London without a licence from the College, and the object of the proceedings was the protection of the public.

The Journal mentions Bright from time to time in relation to various parts of his duty as physician. His house was on the Christ's Hospital side of St. Bartholomew's:—"June 27, 1588. Dr. Bright: This day order is taken that ther shalbe a brick wall made at the ende of Dr. Bryhtes garden abutting upon Christes hospital sutable and equall to the wall that nowe ther is and that the said Mr. Doctor Bright is content to allowe xl shillings toward the making of the same which shalbe next dewe unto him for his liverie."

On February 26, 1585, he is asked for his opinion as to what the apothecary should provide in the way of ointments, plaisters and poultices, and what the surgeons. He "deliuereth his opinion that the Apothecarye is onely but to finde such Medicines and drinckes as are ministred inwardly unto any of the poore and not otherwise And the Surgeons to finde all other Stuffe as Plaisters, Ointments, Pulteses and such like thinges for the poore as are to be ministred outwardly." An order was made

¹ Annals, vol. ii.

in accordance with his opinion. On October 7, 1587, Napper the apothecary complained of the costliness of medicines prescribed by Dr. Bright, "and for that the said Bright calleth uppon him to be present himsellfe with the poor which he cannot doo, by reason he serveth diuers of great calling and is therefore, yf it may stande with this courte, willing to resigne his said office of apothecarieshipp with the yerely stipend thereunto belonging which resigncon this court accepteth." On March 13, 1590, he attended a court and asked for a statement in writing of the ways in which he was accused of not attending to the duties of his office. He was given a copy, and said he would answer. At a court on April 17, 1591, complaint was made that Dr. Bright doth not execute his office as he might, and that he does not prescribe such medicines as the apothecary could give next day. It was resolved "That there shalbe a booke bought whearin Mr. Doctor uppon the Munday and Thursday morning in euery weake, shall sett downe the names of the paytyentes of the poore and such medicines as he shall thinke requisite to be mynistred unto them." The apothecary is to execute these the next day. This minute shows that the physician then saw the patients twice a week. On August 21, 1591, Bright received formal notice to leave: "This day it is ordered and agreed for that Dr. Bright hath bine often warned for neglectinge his dewty about the poore of this house. That there be staye made of such billetes and coles

which sholde be dewe unto him and that he shall have knowledge and warninge to departe at Michellmas next." There had been rumours that Bright meant to give up his physiciancy as early as August 1590, and these may have been due to his ordination. On June 14, 1589, Mr. Gataker, one of the priests appointed at Christ Church by the governors of St. Bartholomew's, had resigned, and on February 7, 1590, a formal application was made, that Bright might have a post there which had become vacant. The matter was adjourned to the court on February 13, 1590, when letters from the Archbishop of Canterbury were presented in Bright's favour, and he was appointed into the place of a Mr. Salter at Christ Church. He was instituted rector of Methley in Yorkshire, on July 5, 1591, so that when he had to give up his physiciancy he was already well started on his second profession. The living was worth £25, 8s. 6½d.

In 1594, he was also made parson of Barwick in Elvett, where he for the most part resided, and received a further income of £33, 12s. 6d. Thenceforth he led the life of a clergyman of the Established Church. He had long been married, and had many children. He was now and again involved in disputes with his archbishop and his churchwardens as to tithes and duty, and he seems to have practised a little medicine in his parish. In 1615, he was at Shrewsbury, and, on August 9, made his will there.¹ Its inventory shows something of his tastes

¹ W. J. Carlton : "Bright," pp. 135, 147, 161.

and attainments. He had a Hebrew Bible and a Syriac New Testament, the text and translation of Plato by Marsilius Ficinus, and books on music, philosophy, and medicine. He had a theorbo with a case, "and the Irishe harpe which I most usually played upon." The Old English in Ireland often learned to play upon the national instrument:

Old Tracy and old Darcy
Playing all weathers on the clarsy,

says an old ballad,¹ naming the harp from one of its Irish names: *clairsech*. It is interesting to know that its "smooth flowing, harmonious and delectable airs and sweetest consonances"² were now and then heard within St. Bartholomew's in the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

Macaulay has written a panegyric on the Cambridge men of Bright's period. In that famous generation Bright deserves memory as the ingenious inventor of shorthand. He knew but little medicine, yet had thought over some parts of the subject early in his life. He had read some theology, and knew something of the original tongues of the Scriptures. He had not great powers, yet did something with what ability he had. It is easy to imagine that his mind

¹ Prendergast: "Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland," ed. ii.

² "Cuir ocus puirt sligtechta suiblachta taigenta taitnemacha ocus cuislenne ceoilbhinne cruite."—Cetharnach ui Domhnaill. O'Grady: "Silva Gadelica," i. 277, and ii. 312-3.

was most at ease when turned to music, and that he often felt

Musica lætitiæ comes, medicina dolorum.

He died at Shrewsbury, and was there buried September 6, 1615.

DR. THOMAS DOYLEY¹ had been an applicant for Bright's place as soon as there were rumours of his retirement, and presented a recommendation from the Queen on September 19, 1590, but found that Dr. Ralph Wilkinson had been recommended to the Governors by the Lord Chancellor, Sir Christopher Hatton, on August 1, 1590, and had been encouraged. Doyley was recommended to communicate with the Lord Chancellor, and on October 3, 1590 :

"This day came Mr. Doctor Doylee and informed this Court that accordinge to an order heretofore by this Court to him prescribed for and concerning the rome and place of the Doctor of this howse ; he had lately acquaynted Mr. Lord Chauncelor with the Queenes Majesties lettre in his behalfe therein : for the which my Lord was contented and pleased : And that further her Majestie signifying her gracios pleasure to my Lord Chauncelor therein, his Lordshipp aunswered that he wolde not in any sorte interrupte the same but that he was well contented That the said Dr. Doylee shold be placed in the said rome. And that also Mr. Flower one of my Lord's gentlemen had sithence

¹ Also written Doylee, Doyly and Doylee.

declared unto Sir Rowland Haywarde That my Lord was very well pleased and contented for the placing of the said Doctor Doyley in the rome and place afore-saide Notwithstandinge the lettre directed by his Lordshipp to the Gouvernors of this howse in the behalfe of Mr. Doctor Wilkinson."

As there is no further note in the Journal of Doyley's appointment, it may be presumed that he came into office on the final departure of Bright at Michaelmas 1591. Doyley was of Magdalen College, Oxford, where he graduated B.A. July 24, 1564, and M.B. in 1571. He went abroad, and took the degree of M.D. at Basle, on which he was incorporated M.D. at Oxford December 18, 1592. He was elected a fellow of the College of Physicians February 28, 1588. Sir Philip Sidney, John Lyly the Euphuist, Richard Hakluyt, and John Thorie of Christ Church were all at Oxford with Doyley, and were probably known to him, as he shared their taste for the Spanish language and literature, subjects which began to be studied in England in the reign of Philip and Mary, and were pursued at the universities throughout the time of Queen Elizabeth. Doyley continued his Spanish studies after taking his first degree.

In the address to the reader of "*Bibliotheca Hispanica*," the Spanish dictionary published in London in 1591, Richard Percyvall, the author, says: "In very good time I chaunced to be acquainted with the learned gentleman Master Thomas Doyley, doctor in Physicke,

who had begunne a Dictionary in Spanish, English and Latine, and seeing me to be more foreward to the presse than himself : very friendly gave his consent to the publishing of mine, wishing me to adde the Latin to it as hee had begunne in his, which I performed, being not a little farthered therein by his advice and conference." Doyley wrote commendatory verses to the dictionary, and, as perhaps the only piece of the writing of this scholarly physician which has survived, they deserve a place in this history :

Quas novus orbis opes, quos profert India fructus,
 Quas mare, quas tellus gemmas aurique fodinas,
 Has habet Hispanus, Jasonis vellere dives :
 Cum populo aurato collubet ergo loqui.
 Expetit Hispanus Belgas evincere, regem
 Gallorum per vim regno depellere, regnum
 Diripere Anglorum, quidnon ? Cupit esse monarcha :
 Cum rege hoc tanto, collubet ergo loqui.
 Cum quibus aut bellum cupimus, commercia, pacem,
 Horum sermo placet ; facilemque brevemque loquendi
 Dat liber iste modum, dat Percyvallius author
 Cum populo Hispano quam cito posse loqui.

Dr. Doyley lived in St. Bartholomew's, and the passages in which he is mentioned in the Journals give glimpses of his daily life, and show that he was regarded with respect by the governors. In 1592, on March 4, Dr. Doyley, as he is allowed 3000 billets and three load of coals, asks for the value in money, so that he may

make his provision at the best time of the year. It is agreed to give him £5 a year. On July 1, he points out that he has not the use of his hall. It has lately been used for the court house for the causes of the hospital. He asks to have his house built a story higher, but as the hospital is greatly charged with the further building and enlarging of the Sweat Ward, the addition to his house is put off till next year, but some of his rooms are to be boarded and mended. This autumn he saw an epidemic of plague.

September 2.—"This day yt is agreade for that the infeccoon of the Plague is doughted to increase within the liberty of St. Barthlemews That our Clarke shall procure a copy of the decrees and ordinaunces lately sett forthe by my Lord Mayor for the avoydinge of the said sycknes beinge very necessary to be used And that he deliuer the same unto the Constable with a precepte for the execucon therof in such sorte as is used in other places of this city as he will aunswere to the contrary."

On the same day Dr. Doyley complained that he was much annoyed by diverse of the poor inhabitants in the Close, who hang their beddings and beastly rags upon the rails before his door, and by some of the sisters who have emptied foul vessels under his chamber window, and by people of Smithfield who wash their bucks in the Close. The porter is to warn all these offenders.

After all, the new building of the Sweat Ward was on October 14 put off till March 1. On December 2 the

hospitaller wanted payment for his pains "in setting the bones and joynts of xii persons being of the poore of this house." This bill was examined, and on December 16 he was paid 30s., but in future he is to tell the porter at the time, of what cures he does. Neither the physician nor the surgeons seem to have made any objection. That Doyley's complaint of the unruliness of his neighbours was not due to mere personal irritability is shown by a note on February 16, 1592, which tells that John Randall, plumber, and others, inhabitants of Duck Lane, complained against Christian, the wife of Richard Scoefield, tailor, "to be a slaunderer and disturber of her neighbours." He was required to give security for her good behaviour. When I lived in Duck Lane, several turbulent inhabitants lived in the old houses on the opposite side of the street, and on Saturday nights their quarrels rose high. Two matrons seemed always to fall into loud-tongued dispute, consisting of violent statements and angry rejoinders, till at last one would cry out, "Well, at any rate, I have not got a husband alive in Lincolnshire," whereupon the other retreated into her house banging the door. I often wished that I possessed the dramatic talents of Dr. Benjamin Hoadley, for then I would have rivalled his well-known comedy by one entitled "The Lincolnshire Husband."

On August 16, 1594, there was further ground for complaint. His guests were disturbed: "This day Doctor Doyley phisycon complained of diuerse the Inha-

bitants dwelling within this precyncte of St. Barthems which have accesse at unseasonable howers to the well within the Courte, and doe washe and beate their Buckes to the greate dysquyett of certayne persones of greate worshipp which lye in his house. It is therefore ordered that from henceforth the Inhabitauntes which dwell within ye Courte where the well is shall washe and beat their Buckes before their owne dores and not at the same well. And that all others which dwell without ye Courte or yard shall not be suffered at any tyme to washe there clothes or beat ther Buckes there: But shalbe restrayned by the Porter of this howse for the tyme being: And the porter to observe this Order from henceforthe."

On July 12, 1595, it is ordered that Dr. Doyley receive wood and coal, "and that the somme of £5 allowed him yerly in dischargd therof to cease and not hereafter to be paied." On June 9, 1599, Dr. Doyley surrendered the lease of his tenements within the close and received a new one. On July 21, he points out that he has to visit a greater number of poor "than is lymitted by the kinges lettres patentes," and that of late he has been prevented from using his usual way in the cloister by a new door. On April 5, 1600, having built a convenient house for himself, he asks for his fee of £20 together with his former allowance, *viz.* £5 for fuel and 40s. for his livery. Then he will be ready to give up his present dwelling-house, except that he desires a lease of

the new garden, which he holds at a rent of 20s. All these requests were granted, and on December 13 he applied for a lease of the Antelope in Holborn. This was granted to him on July 22, 1601. On October 23 it was agreed that he surrender his lease of tenements in the close, and receive a new one at £9 a year. He was allowed to sublet. On September 11, 1602, he gave up the lease of the Antelope, and asked for a new one. It was said that he wished to devise the lease by will to his youngest son. On January 15, 1603, the lease of the Antelope was ordered to be made out, but the physician died before it was sealed. At a Court held on March 12, 1603, his death was mentioned and his successor elected. John Chamberlain, in a letter from London dated March 30, 1603, writes to Dudley Carleton, "Your old friend and acquaintance, Dr. Doyley, died about a fortnight since."¹ He was buried in the church of St. Bartholomew the Less. The lease of the Antelope he left to his son Mychaell Doyley, who had travelled over seas. The Court ordered that it should await Mychaell's return, and then be granted to him. The youngest son Francis was born in the hospital in February 1597. This Francis Doyley and my son Alan, born in 1882, are the only two sons of physicians to St. Bartholomew's born within its precincts.

Dr. Doyley's daughter Margery married Hugh Cressy, and their son Hugh, who took the name of

¹ Birch: "Court and Times of James I." London, 1894, vol. i. p. 4.

Serenus de Cressy on admission at Douay to the Benedictine Order, was the well-known theologian and man of letters who wrote the Church History of Brittany,¹ dedicated to Queen Catharine of Braganza.

DR. RALPH WILKINSON had been a disappointed candidate at Doyley's election. The recommendation of Sir Christopher Hatton had naturally to give way before that of the Queen. Doyley and Wilkinson had been elected fellows of the College of Physicians on the same day, February 29, 1588. Wilkinson had graduated B.A. at Cambridge in 1563, and M.D. in 1573, and was a fellow of Trinity College. He was elected a censor of the College of Physicians in 1588 and seven later years, and was treasurer in 1593 and registrar in 1605-8. A Pharmacopœia was proposed in the College in 1585, and was further discussed in 1589, when the arrangement of its several parts was assigned to various fellows. Dr. Wilkinson, with the President, had charge of Electuaria, Opiata, and Eclegmata. After waiting twelve years Dr. Wilkinson was again a candidate for the office of physician at St. Bartholomew's. On March 12, 1603, the Dr. Richard Palmer who was afterwards consulted about the fatal illness of Henry Prince of Wales made application for the post of physician, vacant by Doyley's death. He had received some encouragement by a former resolution of the governors, but had since been

¹ The Church History of Brittany from the beginning of Christianity to the Norman Conquest. Printed in the year 1668.

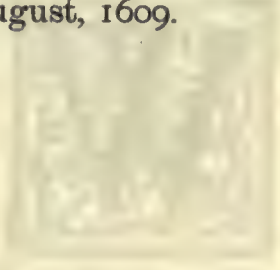
elected physician to St. Thomas's. The two posts could not be held together, so he was asked which he wished to undertake. He declined to go to election at St. Bartholomew's. There were then five candidates: Dr. Wilkinson, Dr. Moundeford, and Dr. Rawlins, doctors of Cambridge, Dr. Jordan and Mr. Bradwell of Oxford. Wilkinson obtained his wish: "This day the roome and place of the phesicon of this howse which Mr. Doctor Doyley deceased late helde is graunted to Mr. Rallphe Wilkynson, Doctor of phisycke, with the yerely stypende, &c."

Dr. Wilkinson wrote Greek in a beautiful hand, and also used a cursive Greek character. A notebook of his is preserved in the British Museum,¹ with his name "Rodolphus Wilkinson" on the first page. He has written down sentences in Greek or Latin which he admired, as: "*σοφία μόνη τῶν κτημάτων ἀθάνατη*"; "*Alexander et vincere et consulere victis novit*"; "*Patria est ubicunque vir fortis sedem elegerit*"; and a long letter to Stephen Gardiner on the pronunciation of Greek. There are some medical notes and a short treatise, perhaps original, "*De Urinis*." In another manuscript² is a copy of the record of a consultation held on July 9, 1607, between Dr. Ralph Wilkinson, Dr. George Turner, and Dr. Mark Ridley on the case of Henry Clifford. The consultation took place at the original house of the College of Physicians, "in platea dicta Knightrider

¹ Sloane, 401.

² Sloane, 1707.

Street." Since Dr. Wilkinson was an Elect of the College of Physicians, he belonged to the "auncienteste" of that college who, with Dr. Atkins, the president, supported Harvey in his application on February 25, 1609, for the reversion of the office of physician to St. Bartholomew's. This makes it probable that Dr. Wilkinson felt some loss of health or strength which made him think of resigning. He died in August, 1609.



XX

HARVEY



WILLIAM HARVEY, the most famous of all the great men whose names occur in the history of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, was the eldest son of Thomas Harvey, a Kentish yeoman, and his mother was of the same county. He was born at Folkestone, and, after receiving the rudiments of education at the King's School, Canterbury, entered on May 31, 1593, at Gonville and Caius College. He took his first degree at Cambridge in 1597, and afterwards pursued medical studies at Padua, where he was created M.D. on Thursday, April 25, 1602. Caius had obtained for his college at Cambridge in 1564 a grant of two human bodies¹ in each year for dissection. It was perhaps through these demonstrations that the thoughts of Harvey were turned towards the studies of the medical faculty. A passage in his notes for his own lectures suggests that he did attend these anatomical demonstrations at Cambridge.

Venn : *Memoir of Caius* : in *Works*, 1912, p. 29.

His diploma¹ is preserved in the College of Physicians, and it seems natural to examine minutely a document the possession of which must have given great satisfaction to its owner, which was held in his hands, and examined by his observing eyes. The document is a book of ten pages of vellum, and is in its original ornate binding of leather.

The first page bears only the words "In Christi Nomine Amen" in capital letters of gold upon a floreate ground within an oval panel from which four ornate double branches extend, one into each corner of the page. At the top is an oval shield, gules a dexter sleeved arm and hand issuant from the sinister side sustaining palewise a candle lighted argent with rays or issuant from the flame and entwined by two serpents of the second.² A landscape in an oval frame occupies the middle of each of the other sides of the page.

The next page has an illuminated initial and a broad border decorated with standards, musical and

¹ The diploma was presented to the College, July 7, 1764, by the Reverend Osmund Beauvoir, M.A., sometime fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, Headmaster of the King's School, Canterbury, at the request of Sir William Browne, the founder of the classical medals at Cambridge. A facsimile of this diploma was published during the presidency of Sir Richard Douglas Powell, Bt., in 1908, with an essay by Dr. J. F. Payne, Harveian librarian of the College of Physicians, entitled "Notes to accompany a facsimile reproduction of the Diploma of Doctor of Medicine granted by the University of Padua to William Harvey, 1602, with a translation. London: Privately printed at the Chiswick Press."

² This shield is also painted in the lower cloister at Padua. Above it is the word *Anglica*, as if it might be the arms of the *Natio anglica* in the University. Below are the words "*Gulielmus Harveus Anglus*." The discovery of this shield was due to the inquiries of the late Sir George Darwin, who took great interest in heraldry.

martial instruments, canopies, and flowers. The remaining pages are bordered by a delicate ornamentation of curves in gold and colours. The writing is a beautiful Italian character, with many golden initials and names.

The diploma begins with the salutation of Sigismund de Capitibus Lista the Paduan, count of the Lateran Palace and of the hall of Cæsar and of the Imperial Consistory, hereditary grantor of the degree at Padua as the representative of the Emperor, in virtue of a privilege granted to the count's ancestors by Sigismund, of happy memory, Emperor of Rome and Germany and King of Hungary, at Basle on April 3, 1434.

The words of the diploma are in the usual form of the time, and are identical with those of the diploma of Thomas Hearne, who took his degree at Padua in the same year.¹ Harvey kept his act for the degree before the famous Hieronymus Fabricius de Acquapendente and three other professors. After answering the questions put to him and satisfying these professors, the second of them, John Thomas Minadous, solemnly decorated Harvey with the doctoral insignia and ornaments, to wit he gave to him books of Philosophy and of Medicine, first closed and then open ; he put a golden ring upon his finger ; he placed the doctoral cap upon his head as a sign of the crown of Virtue,

¹ Sloane MS., 3450.

and gave to him the kiss of peace with the magistral benediction.

“In testimony of all which things,” says the count, “we have commanded these letters to be issued and to be signed by our chancellor, and to be confirmed by the apposition of our seal and of that of the magnificent college of the students of the liberal arts of the Paduan Gymnasium.

“Granted and given in our palace at Padua A.D. 1602, Thursday, April 25, in the presence of the illustrious doctors Joseph Carrara the Brescian of the beloved College (*universitas*) of students of the liberal arts, Peter Buarnus the Brescian of the beloved College of Jurists, syndics of the most flourishing Paduan University (*studium*) and most worthy prorectors, and the noble sirs Aurelius Palazzolus Jarvisinus (*virtuossissimæ academix stabilium Paduæ Principe benemerito*), Henry Palladius of the school of Friuli, Antony Fortescue, Richard Willebe, Matthew Lister, Peter Munsel, Simon Fox, Robert Darcey, Englishmen, and others.” The illuminated writing ends, as it began, with a pious expression : “*Laus Deo.*” Then follow the actual signatures of the count, of Joseph Carrara the syndic, of the four examiners, and of the count’s chancellor. The two seals of red wax remain on their cords. The large circular seal of Count Sigismund bears his name, titles, and arms, and a smaller oval one with Our Lord rising from the tomb is that

of the College of doctors of philosophy and medicine, of the University of Padua, as its inscription shows: "*Sigillum almæ universitatis doctorum Philosophiæ et medicinæ Patavini gimnasii.*"

After Harvey's return from Italy he was incorporated M.D. at Cambridge, and came to London in 1604. The first important event of his professional life was his examination at the College of Physicians in the first year of King James I. The building in which Harvey was examined was the stone house in Knight-rider Street, which had been Linacre's home, and which he gave to the college. On May 4, 1603, at a meeting consisting of the President, Dr. Edward Lister, Dr. John Argent, and Dr. John Giffard, censors,¹ "Mr. Harvie, doctor of medicine in the University of Padua, attended and presented himself for examination, and when examined answered to all questions sufficiently well." There was no other candidate. He was given informal leave to practise till his next examination, which was on April 2, 1604. "Dr. Harvie was examined for the second time for the degree of candidate and his answering approved." Four others were examined with him: John Craige, the King's Scottish physician, Thomas Hearne, an Oxonian who had graduated in medicine at Padua, Thomas Lodge of Trinity College, Oxford, and Thomas Rawlins of Clare Hall, Cambridge. All passed except Lodge. Hearne was well known to

¹ Annals.

Harvey, for they had been at Padua together, and the same artist had designed their diplomas. Harvey was present on March 19, 1602, when Hearne took his degree, and so were all the Englishmen who afterwards witnessed Harvey's degree. Harvey is the first witness, and is described as Consilarius Magnus of the English Nation, or section of the University.¹ On May 11, 1604, Harvey was again examined with Rawlins, Edward Elwin of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and three men who besides practising medicine achieved fame in poetry: Matthew Gwin, the epilogue of whose comedy of "Vertumnus" seems to have suggested to Shakespeare the salutations of the witches in Macbeth, Thomas Lodge, whose story of "Rosalynde" is the source of the plot of "As You Like It," and Raphael Thorius, whose "Hymnus Tabaci" and other Latin poems were much admired while such verses were in fashion, and are still pleasant reading. On August 7, 1604, at the President's house, Harvey was examined for the fourth time and finally approved. Elwin and Lodge were examined with him, but Lodge failed to pass. On October 5, 1604, Harvey and Elwin took the oath, and were both admitted into the rank of candidates. Harvey was elected a fellow May 16, 1607, and was admitted on June 5. While waiting in the outer room,

¹ *Presentibus ibidem Nobilibus Dominis Guglielmo Harueo consilario Magno Nationis Angliæ; Antonio Fortescuto; Richardo Willobeo; Matheo Lister; Petro Munsel; Simeono Fox; Roberto Darcey; Edwardo Silyard, Anglis et aliis quamplurimis Viris diuersarum Nationum testibus adhibitis et requisitis. Laus Deo. MS. Sloane, 3450.*

before coming in to take the oath and to shake hands with all the fellows, Harvey was in company with two other physicians who were admitted on that day. One, Matthew Lister, had been at Padua with him, and was a witness of his degree, and afterwards became physician to the Queen of James I., Anne of Denmark.

The other physician was a senior of Harvey's at Cambridge, Dr. William Clement of Trinity, afterwards registrar of the college. His only surviving works are two Latin verses in praise of Winterton's metrical version of the aphorisms of Hippocrates.

Dr. Henry Atkins was President at Harvey's admission, and fourteen other fellows, of whom one, Dr. Ralph Wilkinson, has already been mentioned as physician to St. Bartholomew's, and another, Dr. Thomas Fryar, lived within its precincts and had a large garden there, at the foot of which was the city ditch.

The three new fellows took their seats at the table, and some business was transacted : Dr. Mark Ridley was elected a censor : Dr. Edward Elwin was appointed to entertain the fellows at a feast on the first Tuesday in July : Dr. Lister was to make preparations for the demonstrations in anatomy : everyone was desired to obtain information as to where a Dr. Bonham had practised : Dr. Thomas Davis was elected Lumleian Lecturer in succession to Dr. William Dun. The President took up the caduceus, and the meeting was at an end.

Harvey left feeling himself launched in the world as a physician. He had a wife with whom to share his sense of success, for he had been married at St. Sepulchre's Church in 1604 to Elizabeth, daughter of Dr. Lancelot Browne. Her portrait, with that of her parrot, was long preserved at Burley on the hill, the stately house of the Finch family. The Earl of Nottingham, who built it, married Elizabeth, daughter of Harvey's brother Daniel. A pleasant glimpse of the interior of Harvey's home is given in his account of his wife's parrot.¹ "My wife possessed a fine and shrewdly talkative parrot. It was so tame that it was allowed to wander where it pleased through the house. He sought after his absent mistress, and when found courted her with a cheerful voice. If she had called him, he would make answer, and flying to her would grasp her garments with his claws and bill till by degrees he had scaled her shoulder ; whence he descending by her arm did constantly seat himself upon her hand. If she bade him talk or sing, were it night and never so dark, he would obey her. Many times when he was sportive or wanton he would sit in her lap, where he loved to have her scratch his head and stroke his back, and then testify his contentment by kind mutterings and shaking of his wings."

The parrot, believed by Harvey to be a cock, at last "grew sick, and being much oppressed by many convulsive motions, did at length deposit his much lamented

¹ "De Generatione Animalium."

spirit in his mistresses bosom, where he had so often sported." A post-mortem examination was made, and the dissection demonstrated that the bird was a hen.

Harvey's father-in-law, whose house was in St. Sepulchre's parish, was a fellow of the College of Physicians and physician to Queen Elizabeth. He knew Arabic, and a specimen of Bedwell's dictionary of that language begun by him is among the manuscripts in the College. The notes in a copy of the first printed edition of Avicenna (Rome, 1593) in the College Library are perhaps in Browne's handwriting.

Harvey at first lived in the parish of St. Martin's-extra-Ludgate. Samuel Purchas was rector of the parish, whose "Pilgrimage" and "Pilgrims" are works which show how interesting his conversation must have been. One of his immediate successors was the erudite Gataker. Dr. Theodore Goulston, elected a fellow of the College of Physicians four years after Harvey, also lived in the parish. He was at work for many years on the opuscula of Galen, and Harvey's notes in a copy of the book, which was published by Gataker after Goulston's death, show that he esteemed the author and was interested in its subjects. Harvey and Goulston had a further bond in their love of the College of Physicians, in which Goulston founded the lectureship which still commemorates him there. Such were some of Harvey's learned neighbours. He was not without family connections in London, for his brother John, afterwards member of

Parliament for Hythe, was footman¹ to King James I., while Thomas, Daniel, Eliab, Michael, and Matthew, his other brothers, were Turkey merchants and all lived or carried on business in the parish of St. Laurence Pountney. Eliab, the most prosperous of them, is said by Aubrey to have managed the physician's affairs.

The first recorded appearance of Harvey at St. Bartholomew's was at a court of governors held on Saturday, February 25, 1609—Sir John Spencer, President, in the chair and twelve other governors² present. After some business as to the lease of a tenement in Bartholomew's Lane, "This day Mr. Willyam Harvey Doctor of phisicke made suite for the reuercon of the office of the physicon of this house when the same shalbe nexte voyd and brought the kinges majestie his lettres directed to the Gouvernors of the house in his behalfe and shewed forthe a Testimony of his sufficiency for the same place vnder the

¹ On October 21, 1609, Sir John Spencer sent a letter to the Governors of St. Bartholomew's showing that Marten Lewellen the steward owed John Harvey, one of his Majestie's footmen, £52, 10s. John Harvey exhibited his petition to the Lord High Treasurer of England and Sir Julius Cæsar, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and they referred the cause to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen. They called the parties before them, and it appeared that Marten Lewellen was bound by his obligation "to Willyam Harvey Doctor of Phisicke brother to the said John Harvey" for payment of the debt at a day long since past. Lewellen, they say, has a yearly stipend as steward of £10, and they order that this be paid to Dr. Harvey by 50s. quarterly till the debt is fully paid.

Sir James Paget discovered this minute, and printed it in the "Records of Harvey in extracts from the Journals of the Royal Hospital of St. Bartholomew," which he published in 1846, when he was living in the hospital as Warden of its college. The book is of fifty-two pages, and consists of a preface, of all the passages he could find in the Journals relating to Harvey, and of ten long and valuable explanatory notes containing several other extracts of interest from the Journals.

² Mr. Baron Sotherton : Sir Stephen Some, Knight : Sir Thomas Lowe, Knight : Mr. Style, Alderman : Mr. Tresaurer : Mr. Woer : Mr. Aldersay : Mr. Shawe : Mr. Harman : Mr. Gayls Newman : Mr. Cooper : Mr. Pearsall.

handes of Mr. Doctor Adkyns presydent of the Colledge of ye phisytyons and diuerse other doctors of the auncienteste of the said Colledge. It is graunted at the Contemplacon of his Majesties lettres that the said Mr. Harvey shall have the said office nexte after the decease or other departure of Mr. Doctor Wilkenson whoe nowe holdeth the same with the yerely fee and dewtyes therunto belonging, soe that then he be not founde to be otherwyse imployed, that may let and hynder the Chardge of the same office, which belongeth thereunto."

Dr. Wilkinson died later in the year, and on August 28, 1609, "Mr. William Harvey Doctor of physick came before the Gouernors beforenamed¹ and is contented to execute the office of the physicon of this howse untill Mychelmas next without any recompence for his paynes therein which office Mr. Doctor Wilkenson late deceased held. And Mr. Doctor Harvey being asked whether he is not otherwyse imployed in any other place which may lett or hynder the execucon of the office of the physicion towards the poore of this hospitall hath aunswered that he is not, whearfore it is thought fytt by the said governors That he supply the same office untill the nexte Court and then Mr. Doctor Harvey to be a sutor for his admyttance to the said place accordinge to a graunt thereof to him heretofore made." Accordingly, at a

¹ Mr. Gayus Newman : Mr. Shawe : Mr. Bewblock : Mr. Ireland : Mr. Aungell : Mr. Woodforde.

Court held on Saturday, October 14, 1609, it is recorded:

“Dr. Harvey: This day Mr. Willyam Harvey Doctor of phisick is admytted to the office of the Phisycon of this Hospitall which Mr. Doctor Wilkenson deceased late helde accordinge to a former graunte to him made and the Chardge of the sayd office hath bene redd unto him.”

Sir John Spencer, the President, was in the chair, and fifteen other governors were present, amongst whom was Mr. Baron Somerton of the Exchequer,¹ a nephew of Dr. Henry Wotton, who had been an unsuccessful candidate for a physiciancy at St. Bartholomew's in 1584. The famous alderman who presided died five months later. His painted alabaster tomb may be seen in the church of St. Helen's, Bishopsgate, and the descendants of his only child and heiress, who married William, Lord Compton, form at this day the house and kindred of the Marquess of Northampton.

The surgeons when Harvey appeared at St. Bartholomew's were Joseph Fenton, Richard Mapes, and John Collston. When Richard Mapes retired, John Woodhall was elected to succeed him, on January 19, 1616. Woodhall died in 1643. He was the most noteworthy man on the surgical staff in Harvey's time. Roger Gwynne was apothecary to the hospital.

¹ The others were Sir Stephen Some, Knight: Mr. Style, Alderman: Mr. Collymore, Treasurer: Mr. Aldred: Mr. Woer: Mr. Gayles Newman: Mr. Freeman: Mr. Barman: Mr. Ireland: Mr. Shawe: Mr. Aungell: Mr. Bereblocke: Mr. Cope: Mr. Cooper.

When Harvey came to St. Bartholomew's, Sir Thomas Bodley was living within the close. He had been sent by Queen Elizabeth as ambassador to the King of Denmark and to the Duke of Brunswick, and on a special mission to King Henry III. of France, and had been a member of the Council of State of the United Provinces for several years. In 1597 he gave up public affairs, and devoted himself to the work of refounding the public library at Oxford. He took a great house and garden within the close at a rent of £5, 6s. 8d. a year, and lived there till his death on January 28, 1612.

Mr. Samuel Calvert, in a letter¹ to Sir Ralph Winwood, dated March 28, 1605, announcing his delivery of letters which he had brought over from the Hague, where Winwood then was, writes: "I found Sir Thomas Bodley, Mr. Chamberlaine and Mr. Gent at supper together at St. Bartholomew's." Lady Bodley, who at the time of this supper was at Fulham, died in her husband's house in the hospital, as is shown by an entry in the Ledger for 1610-11: "Item for the Buriall of the Lady Bodley the wyfe of Sir Thomas Bodley knight in the upper chancel without knells—18s. 4d." Her tablet, with a marble frame in the Jacobean style, is to be seen on the north interior wall of the church of St. Bartholomew the Less. Its brief inscription is in very large letters: "Thomas Bodleius, Eques Auratus, fecit Annæ

¹ Winwood's Memorials, ii. 53. (London, 1725.)

Conjugi piissimæ, atque omnibus exemplis bene de se meritæ, cum qua dulciter vixit Annos 24."

In the autumn of 1612 Sir Thomas Bodley was ill, and as Mr. John Chamberlaine says in a letter to Sir Ralph Winwood¹ on November 3, 1612, "doth rather impair than amend for all the help that Physick can afford, for that I doubt he cannot last long; yet I found him much better yesterday upon a letter he had received from the University of Oxford condoling his Sickness, and signifying how much fair words work as well upon wise men as others, for indeed it did affect him very much."

On January 9, 1612, the same correspondent writes to Sir Ralph Winwood: "I now grow doubtfull of Sir Thomas Bodley's recovery, and though I have not much misliked him, and thought it was but a lingering indisposition that had many Intervalls and Shews of reviving, and believe that he hath had what Help Physick, good Order, Attendance, and all a good Heart could afford, yet methinks of late he droops and decays visibly, though he will not seem to yield to it."²

On January 29, 1612, Mr. Chamberlaine,³ again writing, says: "Sir Thomas Bodley is come to the last cast, and surely I think he cannot last many days, yet he bestirs himself in Busyness, and bargaines as if there were no such matter, and relies upon Physick as much as when he fell Sick, having run over all the

¹ Winwood's Memorials, iii. 409.
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² *Ibid.*, 422.

³ *Ibid.*, 429.
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best Physitians of this Town, and is now fallen into Doctor Foster's hands: yet he is somewhat discouraged he cannot get Butler of Cambridge to come to him.— Having written thus far on Wednesday Morning by way of Provision and seeing the wind so settled that there was no hope of sending away, I forbore to seal it up in expectation of what might fall out, and that afternoon Sir Thomas Bodley grew speechless and out of knowledge and so continued till yesterday between four and five in the Afternoon, that he departed.”

Among “the best physicians of this town” it is likely that Dr. William Harvey was consulted, since he was physician to the hospital within the enclosure of which Bodley lived. Sir Ralph Winwood succeeded Sir Thomas Bodley in his house, and paid the same rent. He had married Bodley's step-daughter, Elizabeth Ball. Sir Ralph Winwood had a large household, and four new pews of wainscot with carving work were erected in the church of St. Bartholomew the Less for him “and his ladie and there children and gentlewomen” at a cost of £16, 5s.; and these pews were lined with “green kersie” and had “tape to garnish them withall” on October 31, 1614, at a further cost of £3, 6s.¹

Sir Ralph was Secretary of State and of the Council. He gave many dinner parties in this house, and in April 1617 entertained the new Lord Keeper of the

¹ Journal of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, vol. iv.

Great Seal. It is easy to imagine how that great man received the secretary's compliments, and appealed to his experience to confirm the fact that "Men in great place are thrice servants—servants of the Sovereign or State, servants of fame, and servants of business; so as they have no freedom, neither in their persons, nor in their actions, nor in their times."¹ Sir Francis Bacon enjoyed his dinner, and sent afterwards to ask to have the bill of fare and to borrow his host's cooks. Winwood was a generous man, and probably lent them.²

On May 23, 1617, Tobie Matthew came into St. Bartholomew's to see Sir Ralph Winwood, and Mr. Chamberlain's letter of the next day to Sir Dudley Carleton mentions the garden which is to be seen on the maps. "Mr. Tobie Matthew is come, and was last night at Mr. Secretary's, who called me out of the garden into his gallery to salute him. He used him kindly and dealt earnestly with him to take the oath of allegiance; but as far as I could conceive it was lost labour." Matthew was to go the next week to stay with Bacon at Gorhambury.

Winwood's front gate opened near the Little Britain gate of the hospital, and on the other side of the way to that gate is at present the open entrance to Montagu Court. Here stood the town

¹ Bacon: Essay: "Of Great Place."

² He lent his four fine horses to the Lady Frances Howard to draw her coach on December 26, 1613, when she married Robert Car, Earl of Somerset.

house of Lord Montagu of Boughton. His son Edward had not far to go to see Anne, Sir Ralph Winwood's daughter, and may easily be imagined kissing his hand to her from the upper windows of Montagu House as she walked in her father's garden within St. Bartholomew's. Anne Winwood and Edward, afterwards second Lord Montagu of Boughton, were married. They had a son Ralph, who became the first Duke of Montagu. His son John, the second and last duke of that title, received the degree of M.D. at Cambridge, and was a fellow of the College of Physicians for thirty-two years, and often attended the Harveian dinners there. Elizabeth, daughter of Anne Lady Montagu and granddaughter of Sir Ralph Winwood, married Sir Daniel Harvey, ambassador to the Grand Seignour and fourth son of Daniel, William Harvey's brother. The grave form of Winwood must have struck Harvey when he met him in the lane leading to the Smithfield gateway or in the cloister of the hospital, or issuing from Petty France, but he cannot have guessed that the secretary of state's family and his own would so soon become connected. Sir Ralph Winwood died¹ in St. Bartholomew's, and was buried in the church of St. Bartholomew the Less at ten at night on October 30, 1617. A contemporary speaks of him as "the King's able, faithful and honest servant and secretary."

Sir Dudley Carleton was another man deep in the

¹ Birch, "Court and Times of James I.," vol. ii. p. 42.

affairs of state who resided in St. Bartholomew's during the earlier years of Harvey's physiciancy. He was a sub-tenant, so that his name does not appear in the accounts. He married at the end of 1607 Anne Gerard, step-daughter of Sir Henry Savill, and soon after came to live in St. Bartholomew's while looking out for some diplomatic employment, as he says in a letter to Winwood dated April 7, 1609, "and more I cannot now do than having made my desire known, to keep myself in sight that I may not slip out of mind, and for this purpose I have shaken hands with the Country and am here a settled Burgess in little St. Bartholomew's. You may well think that unless I were under the protection of some Little Saint, I would not so venturously set up for myself with such an Army of Difficulties, as a dear year, a plaguy Town, a growing Wife and a poor Purse."¹ On June 8, 1609, Carleton writes,² "I and my poor family are fast here (God help us), my wife being in the straw, and a little hospital boy by her a fortnight old." This young mother was a very able woman, skilful in pictures, and once went over to Holland and bought some fine works of art at a sale there. It was probably by her arrangement that both she and her husband and their friend Winwood were painted by Miereveld.

With Bodley, Winwood, and the Carletons, Harvey had probably a speaking acquaintance, but Martin Bond, treasurer of the hospital for most of the years of his

¹ Winwood's Memorials. London 1725, vol. iii. p. 6.

² *Ibid.*

active connection with it, he must have known very well indeed. The treasurer when Harvey was elected was James Colleymere,¹ who was followed by Thomas Juxon, to whom Bond succeeded in 1619. He had been elected a governor September 19, 1607, and was admitted on December 5, and elected treasurer on December 2, 1620. He was a merchant adventurer and haberdasher, son of William Bond, an alderman, who died in 1576, and whose effigy, with those of his wife and children, may be seen on his tomb in Great St. Helen's. Martin Bond built anew the gateway of Aldgate, and adorned it on its eastern side with two medallions designed from Roman coins which he found in digging the foundations. He laid the first foundation stone on March 10, 1607, and finished the work in 1609. It was a handsome gate, and a description² shows that the architecture did credit to Mr. Bond's taste :

“ Eastward, upon the height of the Gate, standeth a faire golden spheare, with a goodly Vane on it. On the upper Battlements (as vigilant sentinels and kept waking by *Fames* golden Trumpet) are placed the shapes of two armed ancient souldiers, each holding a great stone in his hand, as denying the entrance of any bold enemy, or such as are not friends to the City.

“ Beneath in a faire large square, standeth the imaginary figure of our Royall Sovereigne King *James*, in bright gilt Armour, at whose feet (on either side) lye the

¹ Journal, vol. iv.

² Stow (1633), p. 121.

Lion and golden-chained Vnicorne mildly couching, as expressing awe and humility in so great a presence. So much for the out-side of the Gate, with the two *Romane* Coynes before remembered.

“Westward or within, highest of all standeth Fortune, ingenuously carved and gilded, standing upon her Globe or Mound, with her saile spreading over her head, and looking with a gracefull and auspicious countenance upon the Citie. Beneath her in a large square, are placed the Kings Armes, richly wrought and engraven, bearing the Motto, Dieu est mon droit, and a little lower Vivat Rex.

“Somewhat lower and to grace each side of the Gate, are set two feminine personages, appearing to be Peace, with a silver Dove upon her one hand, and a gilded wreath or garland in the other. On the North side standeth Charity, with a child at her breast, and another led in her hand. Implying (as I conceive) that where Peace and love or Charity do prosper, and are truly embraced, that Citie shall be for ever blessed.

“Over the Arch of the Gate is thus fairely engraven : Senatus Populusque Londinensis fecit 1609. And underneath Humfrey Weld, Maior.”

Ben Jonson watched the gate building, and a passage in “The Silent Woman” shows how often he looked up while the decorators were at work :

“How long did the canvas hang before Aldgate. Were the people suffered to see the city’s Love and

Charity, while they were rude stone, before they were painted and burnished.”¹

Bond's portrait hangs in the committee-room of the hospital. He has a short beard and wears a ruff. In his right hand is his staff, and in his left a playing card, while the ace of hearts is exposed on the top of the rest of the pack which is upon a table beside him. A little farther back on this is his inkstand. It is pleasant to gaze at the figure of a man who had often talked with Harvey. His pewter inkstand, bearing his arms with the date 1619 and the inscription, “The gifte of Mr. Martin Bonde,” stands upon the table of the room to this day.² Harvey probably more than once dipped a quill into it when signing his name to official papers. Bond died in 1643, and bequeathed £50 to the hospital. His tomb is in Great St. Helen's Church, and on it he is represented in his tent guarded by sentries, for

¹ Act I., scene i. (acted in 1609).

² I possess a beautiful copy of this inkstand in silver within which is the inscription :

PRESENTED TO
NORMAN MOORE, M.D. F.R.C.P.
ON HIS RETIREMENT FROM THE OFFICE OF
SENIOR PHYSICIAN
TO
ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S HOSPITAL
BY HIS
HOUSE PHYSICIANS
13TH JUNE 1912.

W. H. L. Whale.	B. Hudson.	N. G. Horner.	C. B. Heald.	P. C. Fowell.
R. M. Ranking.	T. G. M. Hine.	J. F. Gaskell.	E. D. W. Reid.	R. Ellis.
C. R. V. Brown.	S. L. D. Young.	P. Black.	R. R. Armstrong.	R. M. Soames.
A. R. Neligan.	J. R. Briscoe.	E. A. Cockayne.	G. H. H. Waylen.	A. H. Moore.
		K. Pretty.		

“ A train band captain eke was he
Of famous London town.”

Sir Nicholas Rainton, whose portrait also hangs in the committee-room, was President in Harvey's time, and must often have been seen by the physician in the red, fur-bordered aldermanic gown in which he is depicted. Rainton was sent to the Tower in May 1640, for refusing to make lists of inhabitants of wards able to contribute £50 or more to a loan for the service of the crown. He is buried in the parish church of Enfield, where his effigy in ruff and armour lies resting on his right arm. His wife, with a face of singular sweetness, and their children are on successive lower stages of the tomb. A few yards off is the brass of Jocosa, who died in 1446, and was mother of the famous Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester. Sir Nicholas Rainton must have often passed her tomb, and may have remembered that in the old rent roll of St. Bartholomew's, John Lord Tiptoft, her husband, was recorded as a tenant in Smithfield.

Sir Thomas Bodley, Sir Ralph Winwood, Sir Dudley Carleton, Sir Nicholas Rainton, Mr. Martin Bond, John Woodhall, such were the men of affairs and of learning who were to be seen in the hospital precincts when Harvey was actively employed as its physician. Up to 1614 he had not resided within the gates, for on July 28 in that year the Journal contains the resolution :

"It is thought meate by the Court that Mr. Doctor Harvey or his successor phisicon for this Hospitall shall have the howses now or late in the tenures of Mistress Gardner and Doctor Bonham with a parcell of the garden now in the tenure of William Allen in weste Smythfelde after the expiracon of the lease sometyme graunted to Roberte Chidley gent. which the said W. A. nowe holdeth and the same then to be divided and layed forth at the discrecon of the governors of this house for soe longe tyme as he shalbe Doctor to this howse for such yerely rent and uppon such condicons as this Court thinck fytt."

Mr. Allen's widow did not die for nearly twelve years, and then before the President Sir Thomas Bennett and fourteen governors and Mr. Martin Bond the treasurer, on March 31, 1626.

"This day Mr. Doctor Harvey physicon to this hospitall made suite to have the howse in West Smithfeild late in the tenure of widowe Allen deceased according to a former graunte. It is ordered that if he will sufficiently repaire the same in all manner of reparacons to the contentment of the governors and give the yerely rent of thirteen pounds six shillings and eightpence: Or otherwise pay the yerely rent of £20 and the said howse to be repaired at the charge of this hospitall: Then he to holde the same soe longe as he shal be doctor to this hospitall and shall inhabitt the same and shall give his personall attendance for the visitacon

of the poore of this hospitall : And Mr. Thesaurer, Mr. Pallmer, Mr. Hill, Mr. Strangwayes and such other of the governors as shall meete on Monday next to confer with him accordingly."

On June 9, 1626, Harvey was given till the 19th to make up his mind whether he would accept Sara Allen's house, and on July 7 his stipend was raised from £25 per annum to £33, 6s. 8d. in consideration of his giving up the grant of the house. Thus it is clear that Harvey never resided in the hospital.

He worked hard within it and without. Lord Lumley and Dr. Caldwell had founded a lectureship in the College of Physicians in Anatomy and Surgery, of which the first lectures were given in 1584.¹

Harvey was appointed to this lectureship August 4, 1615, and continued in office till 1656. His autograph notes for the lectures of 1616 are in the British Museum, and were published with an autotype reproduction by a committee of the Royal College of Physicians of London in 1886.² Dr. Thomas Lawrence,³ who wrote the biography in the quarto edition of Harvey's works, published by the College in 1766, had examined this manuscript, but after his time it was mislaid for a hundred years. In 1877 it was reinstated among the manuscripts in the Museum.

¹ The lecturers before Harvey were : Dr. Richard Forster (of All Souls College), 1584-1602 : Dr. William Dunn (of Exeter College), 1602-7 : Dr. Thomas Davis (of Christ's College, Cambridge), 1607-1615.

² "Prelectiones Anatomiae Universalis by William Harvey." London, 1886.

³ "Gulielmi Harveii Opera Omnia a Collegio Medicorum Londinensi Edita." 1766.

These notes show Harvey's industry in the observation of nature and also what were the books he read. The first writing on the first page is a line of Virgil¹: "Ab Jove principium, Musæ, Jovis omnia plena." The pagan phrase Harvey intended in the sense, "From God all begins: all things are full of God." Virgil's line is derived from one in the "Phænomena" of Aratus, a Greek poet contemporary with Euclid, from whom St. Paul at Athens quoted "τοῦ γὰρ καὶ γένος ἐσμέν," "for we are also his offspring," and several lines of whom are quoted by Galen in his "De diebus decretoriis." At the foot of the same page Harvey has written a passage from the "History of Animals" of his favourite Aristotle, recommending the study of the anatomy of the inner parts of animals as a help to the explanation of the human organism.¹

Aristotle, whom Harvey had studied in a Latin translation, is mentioned more than fifty times in these notes, more often than any other author. Harvey had read Plautus² and Terence,³ Vitruvius⁴ and Plutarch, Cæsar and Cicero.⁵ He thought that Cicero and not Galen first perceived that nerves went from

¹ "Aristoteles Historia animalium," lib. i. cap. 16. The previous chapter has treated of the external parts of animals. "At uero interiores contra. Sunt enim hominum in primis incertæ atque incognitæ. Quamobrem ad cæterorum animalium partes, quarum similes sint humanæ, referentes, eas contemplari debemus." (Ed. Cratander; Basle, 1550, p. 16.) Before the line of Virgil a later hand has written *St.*

² "Capteivei," Act IV., s. 3, l. 4.

³ "Adelphi," V. 4. 1.

⁴ "De architectura" (Strassburg, 1550), bk. iii. p. 103.

⁵ Tusculan Disputations, i. p. 339, and "De Natura deorum," bk. ii.

the brain to the senses. In a little drawing he alludes to the remark of Vitruvius that the umbilicus is the centre of the human body, "item corporis centorum medium naturaliter est umbilicus." Once he borrows an illustration from Roman history using the decree of Trajan as to the imperial fund to explain the relations of the liver and the spleen. He never alludes to English literature. Once he quotes from Ecclesiasticus, and once from St. Augustine. He gives Æneas Sylvius as his authority for the story of John Zisca's skin. He quotes Hippocrates, but Galen is the medical author whom he names oftenest. He had looked into Oribasius. He respected Avicenna, and once mentions Averrhoes. He shows great reading in the anatomy books of his time, and sometimes uses their words. Thus his account of the heart begins, "Cor a currendo quia semper movetur," a phrase clearly taken from the Anatomy of Caspar Bauhin,¹ "Cor quibusdam à currendo propter perpetuos motus." He refers to Bauhin by name fourteen times. He had read the splendid volume of Vesalius.² The "Liber Introductorius Anatomix" of Dr. Nicolas Massa of Venice, published in 1536, is quoted by Harvey as to wounds of tendons, as to the length of the ileum³ and of the colon,⁴ and as to the position of the kidneys. He had read through the "De

¹ "Anatomica corporis virilis et muliebris historia" (Lyons, 1597), p. 99.

² "De humani corporis fabrica," libri septem.

³ Harvey facsimile 19b, and Massa, cap. x., "ego viginti pedum inveni."

⁴ Harvey facsimile 20a, and Massa, cap. viii., "est decem pedum et sæpe minus."

re Anatomica" of Realdus Columbus, a book showing much enthusiasm for its subject, and quotes from it passages as to the large size of the splenic vein in Cardinal Cibo¹ and as to the pulsation of the abdominal aorta in Cardinal Campegio.² On the opposite page to the record of the autopsies of these two cardinals and of Cardinal Gambara, Harvey no doubt read with peculiar interest of the presence of Dr. Caius at a post-mortem examination made by the author. Columbus, on another occasion, had discovered a spleen weighing 20 pounds, and had seen that organ bound up in a thickened capsule, and Harvey had met with similar examples. He had read the "Universa Medicina" of Fernelius, and refers to it as to the form of the liver and in five other passages. Fallopius he quotes about the coats of the intestine and as to gall stones, and several other times. He studied this author in a folio with a beautiful panel on the sides, a copy of the edition published by the heirs of Andrew Wechel at Frankfort in 1584. This book originally belonged to Harvey's father-in-law, whose name is on the title-page. On two blank leaves before the title are numerous notes in Lancelot Browne's hand, and others throughout the book show how carefully he had read it. He once

¹ Harvey facsimile 18*b*, and Columbus (Venice, 1559) book xv., p. 267: "In Cardinali Cibo vena quæ a liene ad os ventriculi tendit, insignis erat magnitudinis."

² Harvey facsimile 16*b*, and Columbus book xv., p. 267: "In Cardinali Campegio intestina omnia ad hypochondria redacta erant: propterea cavitus inferior abdominis intestinis destituta erat, et spina detecta. Quamobrem medico licebat abdomen Cardinalis attrahenti magnæ arteriæ motum persentire, et una cum illa durities persentiebatur."

quotes Scaliger in a note, and on another page has signed with his initials an interesting note. In this, after a quotation from Vesalius, Browne writes: "In comitis Lincolniensis Ammiralii magni dissecti arteriæ magnæ trunco iuxta lumbos in interna eius sede ossa quadam tenuia sed late reperta plura 1585—L. B." The Earl of Lincoln in whom Browne found this appearance of the lumbar vertebræ was a courtier as well as a commander on sea and land. "Neither was his soul less pliable to persons, than things: as boysterously active as King Henry could expect, as piously meek as King Edward could wish, as warily zealous as Queen Mary's times required, and as piercingly observant as Queen Elizabeth's perplexed occasions demanded."¹

From his father-in-law this book came to Harvey, who read and marked it throughout, and often initialled his brief notes and now and then wrote a capital delta to signify that he had himself demonstrated some fact stated in the text. Harvey quotes Andreas Laurentius² as having seen blood exuded with sweat in the *Sudor anglicus*. This was the physician to Henry IV. of France, who mentions that even during the civil war that king attended demonstrations in anatomy, so great was his interest in the subject. Archangelo Picholhomini of Ferrara³ Harvey quotes as to the substance of

¹ David Lloyd, "The Statesmen and Favourites of England since the Reformation," 1665.

² "Historia anatomica humani corporis," Frankfort, 1599.

³ "Anatomicæ Prælectiones"; Rome, 1586.

the pancreas and the function of the cæcum. Riolan of Paris he mentions several times, who afterwards wrote against Harvey's demonstration of the circulation, and could never accept it. Harvey was acquainted with many other books. He twice quotes Julius Jasolinus about the gall bladder and ducts. He had read Erastus, whose medical writings are still worth reading, though his opinion as to the desirability of subordinating the religious authorities of a state to the civil authorities is the best known of his ideas at the present day.

How closely Harvey had read in the book of Nature is shown by his references to the anatomy of more than eighty animals which he had dissected, and by his remarks on clinical medicine and on morbid anatomy. He explains how to ascertain the size and position of the spleen ; he compares the shedding of loose epithelium after scarlet fever to the scaling of the feather sheathes from a bird then living in the royal collection in St. James's Park. He had noticed a large liver after a prolonged suppuration, and the diminished liver of cirrhosis. He had noted black gall stones after prolonged jaundice, and had discussed with Dr. Goulston some gall stones which were grey like a bezoar. He had seen a scholar at Cambridge who was suffocated by the air from burning charcoal.

These notes for lectures show us Harvey in every part of his daily work : examining and treating his patients, performing autopsies with his own hands,

listening to the remarks of other physicians, watching every peculiarity of mankind whether within the hospital or outside it, lecturing at the College of Physicians with a dissected body on the table before him, the parts of which he pointed out with the little rod of ebony and silver still to be seen there.

Harvey's whole aim is to make the subject clear. His style is devoid of all formality or pretension. He takes the first illustration that comes into his head. When he describes in order the parts of the intestine, he justifies the successive names by pointing out that from St. Paul's to Leadenhall there is a continuous line of street with many names as you go along—Cheap, Poultry, and the rest. He likens the arrangement of the small intestine to that of an unset ruff, and explains the proportions of contiguous organs by a comparison of a kitchen and its appendant washhouse.

The conclusion of the notes on the heart shows that Harvey had already attained a clear idea of the course of the circulation. It follows, he says, from the structure of the heart that the blood is constantly borne through the lungs to the aorta as by two clacks of a water bellows to raise water. It follows from ligature that the course of the blood is from the arteries to the veins. Whence is demonstrated that the perpetual movement of the blood in a circle is made by the beating of the heart. The passage is a good example of the way in which he combined Latin and English in his notes,

and of his habit of putting his initials to any original remark of his own and of marking a demonstration argumentative, or physical, with a Delta.

WH constat per fabricam cordis sanguinem
per pulmones in Aortam perpetuo
transferri, as by two clacks of a
water bellows to rayse water
constat per ligaturam transitum sanguinis
ab arterijs ad venas
unde Δ perpetuum sanguinis motum
in circulo fieri pulsu cordis
An? hac gratia Nutritionis an magis Conservationis sanguinis
et Membrorum per Infusionem calidam
vicissimque sanguis Calefaciens
membra frigifacit a Corde
Calefit

Another manuscript book in the British Museum¹ contains similar notes, in Harvey's hand, for his lectures on the muscles of the human body. It has 121 leaves, mostly written on both sides, and was described in 1850 by Dr. G. E. Paget,² "a fellow of the two Colleges and pupil of the Hospital that love to claim a connexion with William Harvey." The manuscript contains the

¹ Sloane, 486: "Gulielmus Harveius: de musculis, motu locali," &c.

² Notice of an unpublished Manuscript of Harvey, by G. E. Paget, M.D., Fellow of Caius College, Cambridge, and Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, London. London and Cambridge, 1850.

The two works of Sir George Paget and that of Sir James Paget, brothers educated at St. Bartholomew's, are perhaps the most valuable works of research, in relation to the life of Harvey, while his biography by another St. Bartholomew's man, Mr. D'Arcy Power, is deservedly popular.

date 1627, and consists of two parts, the first on the anatomy of the muscles, the second on their action and pathology. Dr. Paget is inclined to infer from a paragraph on f. 7, "Huc usque de Musculis in Corpore sitis parte anteriori: restat de musculis parte exteriori &c.," that the manuscript began "with a description of the abdominal muscles, and that the first few leaves have been lost." There is, however, no sign of this material loss, and it seems possible that dissection had not been made before the time of turning the body came. Sixty-eight leaves are occupied by the anatomy of the muscles, and 450 muscles are enumerated. A note "De passionibus musculorum" shows how carefully he had attended to nervous and muscular symptoms. The difference between complete paralysis of a limb and partial loss of power accompanied by tremor he expresses by the terms *dead palsy* and *shaking palsy*. He had observed the *risus sardonicus* in his mother's brother William when dying, and the muscular contractions due to wounds and burns. He had tried to distinguish between *cramps* and *cricks*, *twinges* and *twitches*, *rigors* and *tremors*, and he compares the functions of the several parts of the nervous system by a homely simile:

An Cerebrum Master : Spina his Mate.

Nervi Boteswayne

Musculi Saylor

A little further on he prefers to compare the heart to an emperor or king, the brain to a judge or sergeant-

major, the nerves to magistrates, their branches to constables, the muscles to soldiers; or the heart to the captain, factor or owner of a ship, the brain to its master, the nerves to the master's mates, boys and officers, the muscles to the sailors.

In 1628, after twelve years of consideration, Harvey published in print his great discovery. His book, written in Latin, was printed at Frankfort by William Fitzer, with the title "*Exercitatio Anatomica de motu cordis et sanguinis in animalibus.*" It has two dedications, the first to the King, the second to Dr. Argent the president and to the fellows of the College of Physicians of London. Harvey compares the heart in the body to the King in the state.

"Most illustrious King: The heart of animals is the foundation of life, the chief of all things, of the Microcosm the Sun, whence all growth depends, whence all liveliness and strength are diffused. The King likewise is the foundation of his kingdoms and the sun of his Microcosm, the heart of the State whence all power is diffused, all favour produced."

After an introduction on the state of knowledge of the subject, Harvey states why he was moved to write on it, and quotes four lines from the "*Adelphi*" of Terence¹ to the effect that time and experience show ignorance in the past and add to knowledge in the future. The movements of the heart and of the arteries, as seen

¹ Act V., scene 4.

when the bodies of living animals are opened, are then described, then the movement of the heart and auricles, and then the motion, action, and functions of the heart. The course by which the blood is carried from the vena cava into the arteries or from the right into the left ventricle of the heart is next set forth, and after discussion of every proposition arising in the proof of this, in seven chapters, he arrives at the conclusion of the demonstration of the Circulation,—a short chapter, no word of which can be left out by those who wish to master Harvey's precise conclusion and his method of attaining it.

“Now at last I may be allowed to give in brief my view of the circulation of the blood, and to propose it for general adoption.

“Since all things, both argument and ocular demonstration, show that the blood passes through the lungs and heart by the force of the ventricles, and is sent for distribution to all parts of the body, where it makes its way into the veins and pores of the flesh, and then flows by the veins from the circumference on every side to the centre, from the lesser to the greater veins, and is by them finally discharged into the vena cava and right auricle of the heart, and this in such a quantity or in such afflux and reflux thither by the arteries, hither by the veins, as cannot possibly be supplied by the ingesta, and is much greater than is required for mere purposes of nutrition ; it is absolutely

necessary to conclude that the blood in the animal body is impelled in a circle and is in a state of ceaseless movement; that this is the act or function which the heart performs by means of its pulse; and that it is the sole and only end of the movement and contraction of the heart."

Three chapters of confirmatory circumstances conclude this great book. The precision with which the well-considered observations made by the author are described, and the closeness of his reasoning from them, are alike remarkable. The demonstration is perfect and conclusive. No equal discovery had ever before been made in the knowledge of the human body, and very few have since been made which approach Harvey's in importance. It was attacked by Dr. James Primrose in 1630, by Æmylius Parisanus in 1635, by John Vesling in 1637, and by John Riolan the younger in 1648, but it was accepted by the College of Physicians and generally abroad, and before Harvey's death was received by all authorities in the scientific world. The "*Mikro-kosmographia*" of Helkiah Crooke, published in 1616, with a second edition in 1631, was the last anatomical treatise to appear in England without the Harveian doctrine of the circulation. Harvey took no notice of his first two opponents, and they deserved none. He showed his respect for Caspar Hoffman in giving a demonstration before him, and he wrote to Vesling with better success. Harvey replied to Riolanus in two "*Exercitationes*

Anatomicæ." In all this time of controversy no one suggested that the discovery of the circulation was due to any one but Harvey. Harvey wrote one other book, in the title of which he also used his favourite word *exercitatio*. The subject is "De generatio animalium," and Dr. George Ent wrote in it a dedication to the President and fellows of the College of Physicians, in which he describes how he had persuaded Harvey to allow the book to be published, and relates the conversation which led to this. Ent, remembering Diogenes Laertius, compared Harvey's frame of mind to that of Democritus, the contemporary of Hippocrates, deeply searching into Nature, undisturbed in mind, cheerful in countenance. He asked Harvey, "Are all affairs well, and right?" "How can they be so," Harvey answered gravely, "when the commonwealth is surrounded with intestine troubles; and I myself as yet far from land tost in that stormy ocean? And unfeignedly, if the comfort of my studies, and the remembrance of many things long since observed, were not some refreshment to my mind, I know not what could prevail upon me, to desire to survive the present. So it hath come about that this life in shade and recess from public cares, which commonly causes sadness of mind in others, has proved a sovereign remedy to mine." Ent rejoined, mentioning Harvey's love for dissection and comparative anatomy; and Harvey answered, "It is true the examination of animals themselves has always delighted

me, and I have always thought that thence we might acquire not only the lesser secrets of nature but might realise a certain verisimilitude of the great Creator himself." He goes on to say that while venerating Aristotle and Galen and other great men of the past, he felt it was better worth while to give time to further natural observations and experiments than to read their books. Ent says that these remarks, as was Harvey's wont, flowed from him with admirable readiness. Ent went on to urge him to publish his last observations, and brought away the manuscript with him, and saw it through the press. It was published in London in 1651, and contains much interesting reading. Harvey relates a case of defective pericardium after a prolonged empyema, and tells of the birth of twins of a soldier's wife in Lord Mountjoy's army in Ireland when on the march—Sir George Carew, president of Munster, told him the story—and how the poor woman washed the twins in a river and marched on twelve miles, barefooted. Carew and Lord Mountjoy next day became godfathers to the children. Harvey describes the breeding of the gannets on the Bass Rock, which he visited in 1633, the year of Charles I.'s coronation in Scotland, when as physician to the king Harvey attended him to that kingdom. A cassowary was sent by the Prince of Orange to James I., and when it died Harvey dissected it. His inspection of hens' eggs on each day of incubation, and indeed the whole treatise, has been rendered

obsolete by better methods and instruments of observation, yet it remains evidence of his care and perseverance as an observer.

He speaks of a collection of medical cases which he hoped to publish, but these, if extant, are not now known. Sir George Paget thought they might yet be discovered. Some two dozen letters complete the remains of Harvey, as at present known. Nine of the letters in Latin are printed in the College edition of Harvey's works, and one other in Latin, contained in a letter book in the College Library, is addressed to Dr. Baldwin Hamsey on the illness and treatment of a lady, and has also been printed.¹ There is another in the Bodleian Library.² Eleven letters were discovered by Mrs. S. C. Lomas, editor of the Report on the MSS. of the Earl of Denbigh.³ These belong to the year 1626, in which Harvey accompanied Lord Arundel to Vienna. They are written to Lord Feilding. The first two are from Linz, in June, the third from Baden, and describe hunting, feasting, the state of the country, and of royal personages. The next six relate the discomforts of Treviso, where he was detained in lazaretto till after August 26, 1636. The tenth is in September from Florence, and the last is from Ratisbon, and records his having again joined Lord Arundel.⁴ One other letter is to the Master of Sidney-

¹ R. Willis, "Life of Harvey" (London, 1876), p. 296.

² Aveling, "Memorials of Harvey," 1875.

³ Historical MSS. Commission, 1911, pp. 28-39, 41.

⁴ These letters were purchased from the Earl of Denbigh by Sir Thomas Barlow, Bt., and by him munificently presented to the Royal College of Physicians

Sussex College at Cambridge, on a curious skull still in the library of that college.¹

A few other fragments of his handwriting are extant. In the "Album amicorum" of Philip de Clarges² the fourth entry from the beginning is in Harvey's hand: "Dii laboribus omnia vendunt. Nobilissimo juveni medico Phillippo de Clarges amicitiae ergo libenter scripsit Gul. Harveus Anglus Med. Reg. et Anatomie professor: Londini: May 8, A.D. 1641." This Philip de Clarges was son of the curator of the University at Leyden. He was at first a theological student, but afterwards took to medicine. It seems possible that he was related to the Dr. Thomas Clarges³ whose sister Anne married General Monck in 1653, and who was knighted by Charles II. at Breda on May 8, 1660, and afterwards sat in Parliament for various constituencies till his death in 1695.

A well-bound copy of the *Opuscula* of Galen, edited by Dr. Goulston and published in 1640, has numerous marginal notes in Harvey's hand, some signed with his initials. The library of the College of Physicians has Harvey's copy of the herbal of Fuchsius, with his name on the title-page, and the copy of Falloppius which he read and annotated.

¹ G. E. Paget. Unpublished letter of Harvey. Cambridge, 1848.

² Additional Manuscript 23,105 Brit. Mus. f. 38a. In these albums the earlier entries are often at the end. In this the twelfth entry is dated April 12, 1636, and the thirteenth April 14, 1636, and the sixteenth and nineteenth April 16, 1636, and April 19, 1636, while the thirty-fourth is 1640, and the first June 8, 1641.

³ John Price, "The Mystery and Method of His Majesty's Happy Restauration" (London, 1680), p. 42.

Physicians are occupied in the world of men as well as in that of scientific observation and reading, and Harvey enjoyed all the variety in life natural to his profession. Hobbes knew him, had studied his book, and speaks of him as "the only man I know that, conquering envy, has established a new doctrine in his lifetime."¹

In 1629 he was commanded by the King to go abroad with James Stuart, Duke of Lennox. To fulfil this command he obtained leave on December 13, 1629, to resign his office of treasurer at the College of Physicians, and asked and received leave of absence from the hospital on January 16, 1630, and from his court appointment. He asked that Dr. Smith, a fellow of the College of Physicians, might be his deputy. The governors desired to be assured of Dr. Smith's sufficiency. He was home again early in 1632, and on March 26 took part in the work of a committee which drew up rules for the library of the College of Physicians. He was excused from some of his duties at the hospital in consequence of becoming physician in ordinary to the King, and Dr. Andrewes was appointed to act in his absence.²

In May 1633, he was given leave of absence by the governors in order to go with the King to Scotland. He was probably present at the coronation there of Charles I. Early in October, he drew up sixteen regulations as to the admission and treatment of patients, and these were

¹ Sir Leslie Stephen, "Hobbes," London, 1904, p. 78.

² May 17, 1632, *Journal*, vol. iv.

laid before the governors on October 15, 1633.¹ These provided :—1. That none but curable patients be admitted, or with a certain number of incurable. 2. That patients taken in for a stated time be discharged at the end of that time. 3. That all patients certified incurable and “scandalous” or infectious by the physician shall be put out or sent to an outhouse. 4. None to be taken into an outhouse except from the hospital. 5. No surgeon to save himself labour shall take in or present any one for the Doctor. 6. None are to lurk here for relief only. 7. Any who refuse to take their physic are to be discharged. 8. Surgeons in all difficult cases, or where inward physic is necessary, shall consult with the Doctor at the times he sitteth once in the week. 9. No surgeon or his man is to trepan the head, pierce the body, dismember or do any great operation on the body of any but with the approbation and by the direction of the Doctor. 10. No surgeon or his man is to practise by giving inward physic to the poor without the approbation of the Doctor. 11. A boy or servant is not to act for a surgeon. 12. Every surgeon is to declare to the Doctor, whenever he shall in the presence of the patient require him, what he findeth and what he useth to every external malady, that so the Doctor being informed may better with judgement order his prescriptions. A note is added : “*The Chirurgions protest against this.*” 13. The

¹ Printed by James Paget in “Records of Harvey,” London, 1846, and reprinted in the St. Bartholomew's Hospital Reports, volume xxii., 1886. Original in Journal, vol. iv., f. 339.

surgeons are to follow the directions of the Doctor in outward operations for inward causes. They are to attend the Doctor once a week at the set hour at which he sits to give directions for the poor. 14. The apothecary, matron, and sister are to attend the Doctor when he sits to give directions and prescriptions, that they may fully conceive his directions and what is to be done. 15. The matron and sisters are to report to the Doctor, or apothecary in his absence, if any patients fail to come before the Doctor or do not take his physic. 16. The apothecary is to keep secret and not to disclose what the Doctor prescribes, nor the prescriptions he uses, but to such as in the Doctor's absence may supply his place, and that with the Doctor's approbation.

These regulations show that Harvey attended once a week. He sat in the great hall at a table, on which he wrote his prescriptions, and all the patients who could walk were brought up to him. The others he must have gone into the wards to see in their beds. The apothecary and the matron and sister stood near his chair.

In 1634 Harvey was commanded, as the King's physician, to arrange with the King's surgeons for the examination of four Lancashire women accused of witchcraft. The supposed witches had nothing unnatural in their bodies, and were therefore pardoned. He gave a tanned human skin to the College of Physicians on July 4, 1634, and on that day, by desire of the President,

made a speech to the apothecaries, desiring them to conform to the directions of the College.

In 1636, starting on April 7, Harvey accompanied Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel, on his mission to the Imperial Court. They reached Linz, where Harvey attended the Emperor's hunting party: then they went to Vienna, and Harvey thence to Baden, near Vienna, to see the baths. After this he parted from Lord Arundel at Ratisbon, and started for Venice to visit Lord Feilding. At Treviso, as has been already mentioned, he was detained in quarantine. After his release he went to Rome, where he dined at the English College¹ on October 5, 1636.

On the death of Dr. Bethune, in 1639, Harvey was appointed physician in ordinary to the King. He was at Nottingham with Charles in September 1642, and rode over to Derby to enjoy conversation on clinical medicine and pathology with Dr. Percival Willoughby.

He was present at the battle of Edgehill on October 23, 1642, where he had charge of the King's sons, Charles and James. He dressed the wounds of Adrian Scrope, who lived to be knighted at the coronation of Charles II. Harvey went on with the King to Oxford, and was incorporated M.D. there on December 7, 1642. He practised his profession, and worked at anatomy, making many dissections,² and living in a pleasant circle of men who cared for natural science,—Highmore, whose

¹ Munk, "Notæ Harveianæ.

² Highmore: Preface to his Anatomy.

mind was so much enlightened that he was soon after able to penetrate the obscurity of the cave which bears his name; Charles Scarborough, who, driven away from Caius, came to Merton, eager to solve physiological as well as mathematical problems; and George Bathurst, to whose rooms, in Trinity College, Harvey came to examine incubating eggs. Harvey was incorporated M.D. December 7, 1642, and was nominated Warden of Merton by a royal mandate in 1645. On the surrender of Oxford in 1646, he came to London, and thenceforward lived chiefly in the houses of his brothers, now with Eliab and again with Daniel.

Harvey's first payment as physician to St. Bartholomew's was in 1609, his last in 1643; and in the House of Commons Journals,¹ in the following year 1644, a motion about him is recorded on February 12, recommending Dr. Micklethwaite to be chosen physician at St. Bartholomew's in room of "Dr. Harvey, who hath withdrawn himself from his charge and is retired to the party in arms against the Parliament."

The governors do not seem to have taken any action till May 26, 1648, when they appointed Dr. Micklethwaite physician in reversion.

Harvey, whenever he was in London, was a regular attendant at the College of Physicians. He was a censor in 1613-25-26-29, an elect in 1627, treasurer in 1628 and 1629, councillor in 1655 and 1656, and Lumleian

¹ R. Willis: "William Harvey," from Journals of the House of Commons, iii. 397.

lecturer from 1615 till 1656. He offered to build the college a library on July 4, 1651, and formally gave it over complete to the college on February 2, 1654. In that year, on September 30, the college honoured itself by electing him President, but he declined on the ground of age. His statue was erected within the college, having been voted on December 22, 1652. When he resigned his Lumleian lectureship he gave an estate to the college, and bid a formal farewell to the fellows. He had had many attacks of gout, and these became more frequent as he grew older. He died in the house of his brother Eliab at Roehampton on June 3, 1657, and was buried at Hempstead in Essex in a vault underneath the church. In course of time this tomb became ruinous, and on October 18, 1883, his remains in their leaden case were translated to a white marble sarcophagus provided by the college in the Harvey Chapel within the church. The President and twenty-six fellows of the college, of whom I was one, were present. As we stood in the churchyard while the leaden case was being raised from the vault a keen wind was blowing, and a great flock of rooks above some tall trees near at hand kept rising and descending in the air, flying in great circles and cawing cheerfully. The leaden case was borne into the church by eight fellows, of whom I was the youngest, and the bier which we carried was preceded by three soldiers and a Cambridge undergraduate, representatives of Harvey's

family, followed by Sir William Jenner, President of the college, the four censors, the treasurer, the registrar, the Harveian librarian, the assistant registrar, George Paget the regius professor of physic at Cambridge, Acland the regius professor at Oxford, and seven more fellows. After the leaden case and a copy of Harvey's works and a record of the translation had been placed in the sarcophagus, its heavy marble lid was very slowly moved into its place ; Sir William Jenner in his black and gold gown, with the caduceus of Dr. Caius in his hand, stood by the sarcophagus the whole time. The scarlet gowns of the professors and their grave and manly countenances added to the academic solemnity of the scene, which was further increased by the four censors in their black gowns. Sir Andrew Clark, the second censor, had a volume of Butler's sermons under his arm. Dr. Frederic Farre, the treasurer, Sir Henry Pitman, the registrar, and Dr. William Munk, the Harveian librarian, showed in their faces their devotion to the college, and were prominent in an assemblage every man of which venerated the memory of Harvey, and was proud to be joined to him in the fellowship of the College of Physicians of London.

XXI

THE SUCCESSORS OF HARVEY



VERY physician who has held office at St. Bartholomew's since Harvey has felt that to succeed such a man was in itself one of the highest honours to be attained in the practice of medicine. All have been proud to be his successors.

His first successor was DR. JOHN CLARKE, who was appointed his assistant-physician on August 7, 1634, and ten years later became physician to the hospital, holding office till his death on April 30, 1653. *Richard Andrews*, to whose position Clarke succeeded, was a fellow of St. John's College, Oxford. He became a fellow of the College of Physicians in 1610, and was a censor during five years, of which the last was 1629. He was appointed to the reversion of the office of physician at St. Bartholomew's on April 25, 1631, and assistant-physician on January 19, 1632, but never rose higher, as he died July 25, 1634. *Dr. Edmund Smith*, who was of Caius College, and was elected a fellow of the College of Physicians June 25, 1632, performed

occasional duty for Harvey, and was paid £10 by the hospital on October 15, 1633, but was told that "in respect the Hospital hath nowe two phisicons that he doe not henceforth troble himself any more to visite or prescribe to the poore of this Hospital."¹ Dr. John Clarke was born at Brooke Hall, in Essex. He took his first degree at Christ's College, Cambridge, and his M.D. in that university in 1615. He passed the examination as a candidate at the College of Physicians September 30, 1617, and was elected a fellow November 28, 1622. He was a censor in 1639, 1640-42, and 1644, and was treasurer 1643-4. In 1645, the year after he became full physician at St. Bartholomew's, he was elected President of the College, and was continued in that office for five years. He died April 30, 1653. The college attended his funeral from his house to the church of St. Martin extra Ludgate in solemn procession.

On May 13, 1653, a Court of Governors was held at which JOHN MICKLETHWAITE, doctor in physick, formerly elected the physician assistant to Dr. Clarke lately deceased, by the free election of this court, was now chosen physician. It was ordered that the following be added to the physician's charge: "Provided alwayes that if any Patient now admitted or hereafter to bee admitted shalbe soo infirme of Boddy that he, shee (or they), cannot personally come into the hall without prejudice to their healthe that then at all times in such

¹ Journal, No. 4.

cases (having notice) you shall goe into the ward or wardes where such patient or patients are to prescribe for their diseases."

The new physician had married Dr. Clarke's eldest daughter. He held office till his death on July 29, 1682, being then Sir John Micklethwaite, physician in ordinary to the king. Micklethwaite was born in Holderness, where his father was a beneficed clergyman, and was baptized August 23, 1612, in the church of Bishops Burton. He studied medicine from December 15, 1637, at Leyden, and took his M.D. degree at Padua in 1638, being incorporated at Oxford ten years later. On November 11, 1643, he was elected a fellow of the College of Physicians, and gave the Gulstonian lectures in 1644. He was chosen to be censor seven times, was treasurer of the college 1667 to 1675, and president from 1676 to 1681. On February 12, 1644, in the House of Commons, "motion this day made for Dr. Micklethwaite to be recommended to the warden and masters of St. Bartholomew's Hospital to be physician, in the place of Dr. Harvey, who hath withdrawn himself from his charge, and is retired to the party in arms against the Parliament."¹ No steps were taken in consequence of this motion, but on May 26, 1648, Micklethwaite was elected assistant-physician. He was to receive £33, 6s. 8d. a year. He attended the king when he was taken ill at Windsor in 1681, and on his majesty's

¹ R. Willis, "William Harvey," London, 1878, p. 175.

recovery was knighted. He died July 29, 1682, and was buried in St. Botolph's, Aldersgate. The college, led by Sir George Ent, followed his remains to the grave.

As the fellows of the College dispersed down Little Britain or Aldersgate, or through St. Martin's-le-Grand, street-criers bawled out the title of a broadside printed for William Miller at the Gilded Acorn in St. Paul's Churchyard :

"An elegy to commemorate and lament the death of the worthy and most eminent Doctor of Physick, Sir John Micklethwaite, who died on Saturday, July 29th, 1682.

"Here lies a man in art so wondrous high,
That like the sun, once shin'd in majesty,
A great physitian and a glorious soul,
Of Honour's livery and of glorie's roll."

The ballad is long, and, if it adds nothing to the physician's fame, let us hope that it at least brought a good supper to the poor poet. A white marble monument, with a long Latin inscription, was erected in St. Botolph's Church by Micklethwaite's widow. His portrait was given to the college by Sir Edmund King.

Sir John Micklethwaite had in succession two assistant-physicians, neither of whom had the good fortune to become physician to the hospital. *Dr. Christopher Terne*¹ was elected at the court of May 13, 1653, when there were two other candidates, Dr. Trench

¹ Sometimes written Tearne.

and Dr. Pagett. The latter, known in literature as the friend of Milton, was recommended by "his excellency the Lord General Crumwell (being his kinsman)." Both Dr. Edmund Trench and Dr. Nathan Pagett had taken part in the investigations on Rickets instituted by Glisson, and are mentioned in his treatise on that disease, which had been published in Little Britain in 1650. Terne held office till March 24, 1670. He was born in 1620 in Cambridgeshire, and after studying medicine diligently, as his notes show, from 1644, he entered at Leyden on July 22, 1647, and took the degree of M.D. there, being incorporated at Cambridge and at Oxford in May, 1650. He became a candidate at the College of Physicians September 26, 1650, and was elected a fellow November 15, 1655. He delivered the Harveian oration. The manuscript¹ shows that Lord Dorchester was present, but does not name the year. The Barber-Surgeons appointed him their lecturer on anatomy in 1656, and the notes of three courses of his lectures are preserved among the Sloane manuscripts.² The course consisted of four lectures delivered at the Barbers' Hall upon a dissected body. The first dealt with the skin, the abdominal muscles, the peritoneum and the umbilical vessels: the second treated of the omentum, stomach and intestines, and their uses, the mesentery, the pancreas, the lacteals, the spleen, the liver and the lymphatic vessels: the

¹ Sloane, 1903.

² Sloane, 1917, 1918, 1921.

third, of the bile ducts, the suprarenal bodies, the kidneys, the urinary and genital tract: and the fourth, of the thorax, pleuræ, lungs, and trachea, of the use of the lungs, of the heart with the pericardium, and of the blood. He quotes Harvey and Glisson, and mentions post-mortem examinations which he had himself performed, among which is one of cancer of the pancreas, on April 7, 1656. In the same collection are three books containing notes of Terne's medical reading.

The Anatomy¹ of Caspar Bartholinus he had studied carefully in the edition brought out by his son Thomas Bartholinus in 1641, and had, I expect, often paused to admire its title-page, with the portrait of Caspar at the top, and below, those of Hippocrates and Galen, Vesalius and Riolanus, Bauhin and Spigelius, Pavius and Heurnius, with Adrian Falconburg dissecting the alimentary canal at foot. The order of this work Terne followed in his lectures. What Caspar Bartholinus has to say on human anatomy is comprised in a small octavo of some five hundred beautifully printed pages, but folios had no terrors for the industrious Terne. He had read the seven volumes of Dr. Nicholas Abraham de la Framboisière,² physician to the King of France, which treat of all parts of medicine and pharmacology, and instruct the student in the art of disputation before the Dean of the Faculty.

¹ *Institutiones Anatomie* (ed. Thomas Bartholini); Leyden, 1641.

² Paris, 1631.

He had gone through the thirteen hundred closely printed pages of the Consultations¹ of Bartholomew Montagna, and the two huge volumes in double columns of the Principles of Medicine² which Zacutus Lusitanus dedicated to Louis XIII. ; and the quarto of medical Answers and Consultations of Julius Cæsar Claudinus, and perhaps his duodecimo³ also ; and the writings of Daniel Sennertus⁴ and of John Freitag⁵ and Matthew Martin on diseases of the Mesentery,⁶ besides other books on chemistry and pharmacology ; such as the Thesaurus Medico-chemicum of Hadrian à Mynsicht and the Basilica Chemica of Oswald Croll,⁷ and the Florilegium of Philip Grülinge,⁸ and Peter Morelli's elegant book on prescribing,⁹ and Quercetanus and Bootius Boodt on gems, and the Praxis of Varandeus and Platerus and many more. He was one of the original fellows of the Royal Society.

Pepys heard him lecture on February 27, 1663: "About 11 o'clock, Commissioner Pett and I walked to Chyrurgeon's Hall, we being all invited thither and promised to dine there, where we were led into the theatre ; and by and by comes the reader, Dr. Tearne, with the Master and Company, in a very handsome manner : and all being settled, he begun his lecture,

¹ Opera selectiora ; Frankfort, 1604.

² Lyons, 1644.

³ Basle, 1641.

⁴ Epitome Institutiorum Medicinæ cum libra de febribus ; Amsterdam, 1644.

⁵ Gröningen, 1622.

⁶ Leipzig, 1630.

⁷ 1608, Prague.

⁸ Leipzig, 1644.

⁹ Methodus Prescribendi : Geneva, 1639.

and his discourse being ended, we had a fine dinner and good learned company, many Doctors of Physique, and we used with extraordinary great respect."

After the Great Fire, on October 25, 1666, it was resolved to discharge Dr. Tearne "for that the business of the Doctor will bee much lessened hereafter occasioned by the said late great losses in the Hospital revenews, and this court desires that he may have notice hereof and thanks for his former care." However: On "October 26, 1667, it was moved on behalf of Dr. Tearne that he was very willing, being permitted, to bestow his paynes and prescribe for the poor as formerly and now gratis without expectation of any salary or other compensation from this Hospital: it being so pious a work, and having a respect of this Hospital's late great losses by the fire and their former favour unto him. It was hereupon thought fit to return and acknowledge thanks for his said love and respects, and that he may by Mr. Boone have notice that his love and pains will be acceptable both to the Governors and the poor." On March 24, 1669, the resignation of Dr. Tearne was accepted. He was probably godfather to Christopher Benet, the earliest English investigator of tubercle. Beneath the portrait of Benet which forms the frontispiece of his *Tabidorum Theatrum*, 1656, are two lines followed by Tearne's signature:

Hospitii quicunque petis, quis Incola tanti
Spiritus, Egregia hunc, Consule, scripta dabunt.

His daughter Henrietta married Dr. Edward Browne, eldest son of the famous Sir Thomas Browne. Tearne died in his house in Lime Street in the city, December 1, 1673, and was buried in St. Andrew's Undershaft. His arms are depicted in Guillim's Heraldry¹: azure a fess or, in chief three anchors of the second.

Dr. Arthur Dacres was appointed assistant physician on the resignation of Tearne, March 24, 1669, and held office till his own death in September 1678. He was sixth son of Sir Thomas Dacres of Cheshunt, where he was born in 1624. In December, 1642, he entered at Magdalene College, Cambridge, took his first degree in 1645, was elected a fellow of Magdalene July 22, 1646, and took the degree of M.D. July 28, 1654. He was elected a fellow of the College of Physicians June 26, 1665, and became a censor in 1672. He was appointed professor of Geometry at Gresham College May 20, 1664, and resigned the professorship March 20, 1665.

A fine manuscript of the *Rosa Anglica*² of John of Gaddesden, now in the British Museum, was probably read by Dacres, who has written in it: "October 25, 1650. This book was lente me by my uncle Dacres and the Lady Atkins to be returned again when they please. Arthur Dacres." Lady Atkins was widow of Sir Harry Atkins, son of Dr. Henry Atkins, physician to King James I.

DR. EDWARD BROWNE was unanimously elected

¹ Edition sixth, p. 314.

² Sloane, 1067.

physician on September 16, 1682, upon the King's letter of recommendation, and held office till his death on August 28, 1708. He was the eldest son of the author of the "*Religio Medici*," whose medical pre-eminence was augmented by his literary fame, and whose learning was one of the glories of Norwich. Who could discourse like Sir Thomas Browne on all antiquities, and upon natural history? What pleasant conceits there were in his talk! How quaintly he would remind a company that it was time to break up: "to keep our eyes open much longer were but to act our Antipodes. The huntsmen are up in America, and they are already past their first sleep in Persia." He was a thoughtful physician, and a kind father, and Edward Browne owed much to his care. Edward was born at Norwich in 1642, and received his school education at the grammar school of that city, whence he went to Trinity College, Cambridge, in October, 1657.

His tutor was James Duport, a man of short stature, but great learning. The portraits of two others of his pupils, Isaac Barrow and John Ray, hang in the hall of Trinity to this day. Duport's continuous mental activity is shown by his translation into Greek and Latin verse of the Book of Job when he was thirty, of the Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Song of Solomon when he was forty, and of the Psalms when he was sixty; and these in the midst of a busy life as a college tutor and a university professor. Such a tutor was well

calculated to encourage Edward Browne in the pursuit of every kind of learning, in which his father had started him. Glisson was then Regius Professor of Physic at Cambridge, the most remarkable man who has ever held that post, and under him Browne attended lectures, oppositions, and responsions,¹ and after six years took the degree of M.B. in the summer of 1663. Then he went home, and enjoyed both work and play in the city of Norwich.

His journal of this period of his life begins with a description of the splendour of the palace of the Duke of Norfolk in Norwich.

January 1 (1664). "I was at Mr. Howard's, brother to the Duke of Norfolk, who kept his Christmas this year at the duke's palace in Norwich, so magnificently as the like hath scarce been seen. They had dancing every night, and gave entertainments to all that would come; he built up a room on purpose to dance in, very large, and hung with the bravest hangings I ever saw; his candlesticks, snuffers, tongues, fire-shades and irons were silver; a banquet was given every night after dancing; and three coaches were employed to fetch ladies every afternoon, the greatest of which would hold fourteen persons, and cost five hundred pound,

¹ "Supplicat reverentiis vestris Edward Brown ut studium sex annorum in medicina in quibus ordinarios lectiones audiverit (licet non omnino secundum formam statuti) una cum omnibus oppositionibus responsionibus ceterisque id genus exercitiis sufficiat ei ad intrandum in eadem facultate."—Copy of his supplicat, preserved by him with one of the grace for his degree. Sloane, 1797.

without the harness, which cost six score more. I have seen of his pictures which are admirable, hee hath printes and draughts done by most of the great masters' own hands. Stones and jewells, as onyxes, sardonyxes, jacinths, jaspers, amethysts &c. more and better than any prince in Europe. Rings and seales, all manner of stones and limmings beyond compare."¹ Four days later Browne dined with Mr. Howard, "where wee dranke out of pure golde and had music all the while." Mr. Howard taught him "to play at Ombre, a Spanish game at cards." The delights of dancing, and the complications of the matadores, and spadillio manillio, and basto did not prevent Edward Browne from pursuing science. He dissected two bulls' hearts, and the knee-joint of a calf, a turkey's heart, a monkey's foot, noted a powder against agues, saw yellow aconite and helleboraster in flower, cut up a hare, and a hedgehog and a badger, and talked with an Icelandic, but did not forget to draw Valentines on the eve of that saint. On February 22, he rode to London, arriving on the 24th. The next day he heard Dr. Tearne lecture on human anatomy, with a body on the table before him, at the Barber-Surgeons' hall in Mugwell Street, and attended six lectures in all. On March 4, he went back to Norwich, but at the end of the month returned to London, rode down to Dover, and crossed to Calais,

¹ Sloane, 1906, printed in Simon Wilkin, "Sir Thomas Browne's Works." London, 1836, vol. i. p. 44.

journeying to Paris, where he arrived April 11, and hired a chamber in Rue St. Zacharie for seven livres a month, and regularly attended medical lectures and hospitals. In October he proceeded to Montpellier, and continued his studies there, and then went into Italy to Genoa, Rome and Naples. From Rome he returned by Bologna to Venice and Padua, but in July caught smallpox in Paris. After his recovery in September, he met there Sir Christopher Wren, whose conversation delighted him, and who made acute remarks on the great pieces of architecture which they saw. Browne then stayed at home for a time, and in 1668 again travelled abroad, first to Holland, then to Vienna, whence he went on to Thessaly, and visited Larissa. "The county of Thessaly," he says, "seemed the more considerable to me, in regard that it hath formerly been the seat of great actions, and produced many worthy persons, and particularly because the famous Hippocrates, the father of physicians, lived and practised here."

He also went a tour in Hungary, and one in Styria and Carinthia, and visited copper and silver and mercury mines. He writes as if the chief object of his travels were the collection of information, and as if every fact he collected was equally worth setting down, so that his book is more likely to be preserved for reference than read for enjoyment. In 1669 he returned to England, and in 1673, with Sir Joseph Williamson,

the diplomatist, went into the Low Countries. They overtook Lord Peterborough upon the road, but Browne does not relate a word of his talk, which would have been better worth recording than that near Liege Ambiorix is believed to have destroyed two of Cæsar's legions. Franciscus Slusius, the mathematician, entertained them with venison and wild boar, but of the feast of reason which was probably spread at his board, nothing is told. Browne published his travels in two small quartos in 1673 and 1677, and in a folio in 1685. He also translated in 1672 "A Discourse of the Cossacks," and in 1700 Plutarch's lives of Themistocles and Sertorius in Dryden's edition. After the conclusion of his travels, his days were given to his profession. In 1675 he was elected a fellow of the College of Physicians, in 1694 its treasurer, and its president from 1704 to 1708. His house was in Salisbury Court, Fleet Street. He often mentions St. Bartholomew's in his letters to his father. He died at Northfleet, August 28, 1708. He married Henrietta, daughter of Dr. Christopher Tearne, and left a son and a daughter, after the failure of whose issue his property was to come to St. Bartholomew's, but this bequest has never taken effect.

Browne had read a good many books, and, I am sure, looked with pleasure into many of the fine volumes which his friend the Marquess of Dorchester gave to the College of Physicians. He knew French and Italian and some modern Greek, and had the usual classical

learning of his time. He was a person of courtly manners and of great general kindness, and deservedly occupied a high place among the physicians of his time.

DR. FRANCIS BERNARD, son of the Reverend Doctor Samuel Bernard of Croydon, was elected assistant physician November 20, 1678. He had one opponent, Dr. Nathaniel Hodges, who, like Bernard, had stayed in London throughout the plague. Bernard brought a recommendatory letter from the King. His father had suffered in the royal cause. The two petitions were put to the vote, and the election fell by a general and unanimous choice upon Dr. Bernard. There can be no doubt that his constancy in his duty as apothecary to the hospital during the plague led to this result, while his great learning was a further qualification for the post. Archbishop Sancroft created him M.D. February 6, 1678, and he was incorporated at Cambridge April 11, 1678. He thus became eligible for admission to the College of Physicians, was elected an honorary fellow September 30, 1680, and was created a fellow by the charter of James II., and admitted April 12, 1687. He was appointed physician in ordinary to James II., and, after the election of Dr. Edward Browne, became physician to St. Bartholomew's, and held office till his death on February 9, 1698.

Bernard is called Horoscope in Garth's "Dispensary." His note-books show that he took interest in astrology, and had considered nativities, but Garth has exag-

gerated his fancies in this direction, and has also unjustly represented him as mercenary. The history of his work at St. Bartholomew's, and those of his letters which have been preserved, show him to have been a man of intelligent interests and generous nature. The untidy state of his library is perhaps accurately described :

“ An inner Room receives the numerous shoals
Of such as pay to be reputed Fools,
Globes stand by Globes, Volumes on Volumes lie,
And Planetary schemes amuse the eye.”

He was, says the writer of the preface to the sale catalogue of his books, who evidently knew him, “ a person who collected his Books for Use, and not for Ostentation or Ornament, he seem'd no more solicitous about their Dress than his own, and therefore you'll find that a gilt Back or a large Margin was very seldom any inducement to him to buy.”

Bernard had sixteen volumes printed by Caxton. He prized a copy of Harvey's “ *Exercitationes de Generatione Animalium*,” given to him by the author in the year of its first publication.¹ He was fond of poetry, for he had several copies of Chaucer, the best being of 1602, a Spenser of 1611, and Gower of 1554, besides Drayton, Ben Jonson, Shirley, Waller, Denham, Cowley,

¹ “ The copy of the ‘ *De Generatione* ’ of Harvey in my possession is the edition of 1657 (*recte* 51), London, and bears this interesting inscription : ‘ *Sum Francisci Bernardi: Donum Eruditissime et Perspicacissime autoris May 1, 1651.* ’ ” Some Memoranda in regard to William Harvey, by S. Weir Mitchell ; New York, 1907.

Davenant, Skelton, Stanley and Hall, and the matchless Orinda, Hudibras, Fletcher's "Purple Island," and May's version of Lucan's "Pharsalia." It is remarkable that the "Rape of Lucrece" was the only part of Shakespeare, and the poem on the death of the Lord Protector the only one of Dryden's poems, in his library. The sale catalogue of his books has 126 pages of titles of medical treatises, and 151 of general and philosophic literature. He had a large capacity for theological reading, and seems to have pursued it in every direction. He was acquainted with the writings of the first Samuel Johnson, and, as he had great power of quotation, used perhaps to repeat that striking passage: "Men may reject the truths of God and religion for a while, they may flatter themselves that there is no need of being religious, that it is in vain to serve God. They may ask what difference betwixt them that serveth God and him that serveth him not. But this will not last always. Truth will prevail, and cannot be avoided. It will come at last, though it have no other welcome than that of Ahab to Elijah, 'Hast thou found me, oh mine enemy?'" Besides the classical languages, Bernard knew Italian,¹ Spanish, and French. He wrote a good English and a good Greek hand. When he borrowed a book, he returned it on the promised day, as is shown by a letter of his to Sir Hans Sloane.²

¹ "Adversaria," Sloane, 91.

² Sloane, 4058, f. 9.

DEAR DR. I thanke you for ye loane of your Ingenious booke Ramazzini, but I am sorry your time was so short, but I have that booke so much desir'd of Patricio at your service. I have sent you Ramazzini to save the faith of

your humble servant FRANC. BERNARD.

Aug. 3. Hora 5.15 p.m. Little Britaine.

A letter¹ dated September 18, 1696, shows that the publication in England of a book by Bernardino Ramazzini, not the famous treatise on the diseases due to particular occupations, was projected. Bernard says that his landlord would undertake the publication. It appeared in 1697, "The Abyssinian Philosophy confuted, or, Telluris Theoria neither sacred nor agreeable to reason," by R. St. Clair.

Two short notes show on what friendly terms Bernard was with Sloane:

DEARE DR. If this meet you before you are gone your Rambles, then know you for certaine I will obey your Commands between eleven and twelve. In the meane time I am yr. humble serv^t.

April 7, '94.

FRANCIS BERNARD.

To my honoured friend Dr. Sloane at Montague House in Bloomsbury.²

DEARE DR. I have written to you in Bloomsbury that I will obey yr. commands betweene eleven and twelve, but feareing you should be gone out to Battell as Princes use, or to Take a Purse as o^rs doe I have sent hither likewise To meet you and desire you not to fayle to be at ye Chapell to-morrow at eleven. I am your Humble servant,

F. B.

April 7, '94.³

¹ Sloane, 4036, f. 262. The seal bears a B. Francis Bernard had another seal, with a shield bearing three escallops on a bend dexter.

² Sloane, 4036, f. 167.

³ *Id.* f. 168.

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Bernard suffered from the gout, and another note shows that it sometimes prevented him from adding to the conversation of a pleasant company.

DEARE DR. I must crave yr Pardon and the Good Companyes that I am not able to wayte upon you, for I find my foote will not Permett me either to goe or sit easy, and I am very unwilling to make you uneasy by being so chagrin myselfe, and therefore pray excuse yr humble servant

FRANC BERNARD.

Nov. x. '94.

To my honoured friend Dr. Sloane at the Castle in Paternotr. Row.¹

Dr. Francis Bernard's younger brother Charles² was for ten years on the staff of St. Bartholomew's with him, and became the chief surgeon of his time.

Dr. Francis Bernard lived in Little Britain, and was buried in St. Botolph's Aldersgate, where his wife erected a monument to his memory.

DR. ROBERT PITT was elected physician in succession to Dr. Bernard on February 23, 1698, there being no other candidates. He held office till 1707, when, in consequence of a complaint that he was not attentive enough, he resigned. He was son of Robert Pitt, of the family which in later generations produced Christopher Pitt, the translator of Virgil, and the two famous prime

¹ Sloane, 4036.

² When I wrote the life of Francis Bernard in the Dictionary of National Biography, I was not certain of their relationship. It appears, however, in several contemporary writings which I have since come across. One is a MS. note in my copy of the Sala-Catalogue of F. B.'s library, October 4, 1698, with regard to Bruno, "Spaccio de la Bestia Trionfante Dialogo, Venice, 1584. 15 Guineas, bought by his Brother, Serjeant Bernard, and sold at his Auction for 28, bought by Mr. Clayton of the Temple now living, 1711."

ministers of the name. He was born at Blandford Forum, in Dorsetshire in 1653, became a scholar of Wadham College, Oxford, in 1670, and a fellow in 1674. He took his M.B. degree in 1678, and his M.D. in 1682, in which year he also became F.R.S. Two years later he settled in London, married Martha, daughter of John Nourse of Wood Eaton, in 1686, and became a fellow of the College of Physicians April 12, 1687. He and Sir George Ent weighed a land tortoise before and after its hibernation for a series of years, and published the result in the Philosophical Transactions for 1691. His books, "The Craft and Frauds of Physick exposed," 1702, "The Antidote," 1704, "The Frauds and Villanies of the Common Practice of Physick," 1705, dwell upon the excessive profits of the Apothecaries, on the necessity for the inspection of drugs, and on the purification of the Pharmacopœia by omission of obsolete materia medica. He admired Sydenham, and thus speaks of him :¹

"My Sydenham, by asserting the great part, which Nature acts for its own Preservation in every Distemper, demonstrates the necessity of most carefully detecting the most certain or doubtful Methods it uses and with the greatest Caution applying one, then another Remedy, to assist not oppress her strength and direct not overthrow the Motions to eject the Disease. He has made all Europe his Converts and Admirers."

¹ "The Frauds and Villanies of the Common Practice of Physick," 1705, p. 107.

As showing the necessity for the inspection of drugs, he described the bad quality of the rhubarb purchased from a contractor for King William III.'s army in Ireland. The contractor bought 40 lbs. for a guinea, and sold it for nearly £80, and the bad drug caused a great many deaths. Pitt says 1000 died, and later 4000 or 5000 more from other bad drugs. The troops seem to have suffered from enteric fever, so that a modern investigator would probably attribute the great mortality to that disease rather than to the execrable drugs. The next year there were good drugs, due to an inspection by Dr. Lower and Dr. Millington, but what was still more important for its health, the army marched on, and so reached an uninfected water supply.

Dr. Pitt first lived in the city in the parish of St. Peter le Poer, and for the greater part of his professional life in Hatton Garden. He died on January 13, 1713.

DR. HENRY LEVETT was elected physician April 29, 1707, and held office till his death in July 2, 1725. He was son of William Levett of Swindon in Wiltshire, and, after receiving his school education at the Charterhouse, went to Oxford in 1686, and in July of that year was elected a demy of Magdalen College. In the following year he was in residence when James II. endeavoured to force a president upon the college in the place of Dr. Hough, who had been lawfully elected, and on Tuesday, October 25, together with 21 fellows, 4 chaplains, 12 choristers, 8 clerks, and 26 other demys, signed

the answer to the King as to whether the College would submit to the Bishop of Oxford, the King's nominee, as president, in the following terms :

"Whereas His Majesty has been pleased by His Royal Authority, to cause the Right Reverend Father in God *Samuel* Lord Bishop of *Oxon* to be installed President of this College, we whose Names are hereunto Subscribed do submit as far as is Lawful and agreeable to the Statutes of the said College and no ways prejudicial to the Right of Dr. Hough."¹

Later in the year the fellows and the demys were expelled. A picture representing their expulsion is one of the illustrations of English History adorning the corridor of the House of Lords, and the occasion has a more permanent record in the glittering sentences of Lord Macaulay. It adds honour to St. Bartholomew's that a future member of its staff took part in so manly and so famous a stand for justice and against oppression. Sympathy was felt at Oxford for the expelled members of Magdalen College, and Levett was received at Exeter College in 1688. He did not take his first degree till November 24, 1692. He took his M.B. degree in 1695 and his M.D. April 22, 1699, and came to live in London, where he was elected a fellow of the College of Physicians December 23, 1708, became a censor in 1717, and was afterwards treasurer.

¹ Nathaniel Johnston, M.D., "The King's Visitatorial Power asserted"; London, 1688, p. 81. The last ten words, according to Johnston, were erased after discussion with the Lords Commissioners, but this does not seem certain.

In January 1713 he became physician to the Charterhouse. The beautiful house which stands by the gate was built by him, and its fine staircase and well panelled rooms are due to his taste. Levett wrote a Latin letter to Dr. John Freind, which is printed in the folio Latin edition of his works,¹ on two cases of smallpox. They are recorded to show the good effects of cathartics where the fever is severe and prolonged, and Levett mentions that he had seen many similar cases. He had talked over the subject of smallpox with Freind, and the last paragraph of the letter shows his regard for that learned physician:

"Non pluribus te morabor. Accipe ergo æquo animo hoc meum obsequium, tuæ amicitiae, tuis meritis, tuis denique postulatis debitum: nullum enim officium, Amice charissime, a me frustra requires, si quid erit in quo tibi queam gratificari. Datum ex Ædibus nostris: Junii 10, 1710."

Levett was probably the author of the brief but kindly life of Dr. William Wagstaffe prefixed to the collected edition of that physician's writings. When Freind was released on June 21, 1723, from the Tower, in which he had been confined on an unjust suspicion that he was concerned in Atterbury's plot, Levett was one of the four sufficient persons whose recognizances in the sum of £2000 each were accepted for his appearance in the Court of King's Bench on the last day of the then

¹ P. 274.

present Trinity term. The bail was finally discharged in November, 1723. Levett is buried beneath a marble tomb with a Latin inscription in the chapel of the Charterhouse "apud suos Carthusianos," among the brethren of Sutton's foundation who knew his learning and his kindness.

DR. SALUSBURY CADE was elected physician October 14, 1708, being one of two physicians recommended by the College of Physicians under the terms of Dr. Baldwin Hamey's will. Hamey settled an estate at Ashlins in Essex on the college, and one of the trusts accompanying the gift was that a sum be paid to St. Bartholomew's Hospital to increase the emoluments of the physicians there, provided the hospital accepted the nomination of the college on a vacancy. At every vacancy the hospital has informed the college, and the college has nominated two physicians, but Dr. Salusbury Cade's is the sole election in which the nomination of the College of Physicians has been accepted. Hamey wished to secure the appointment of good physicians, but the Governors have rightly felt that they ought not to transfer to any other body the duty entrusted to them of providing the most trustworthy medical care for the patients in whose interest they administer the charity. The whole responsibility for appointment, annual re-appointment, and if necessary dismissal, is and must always remain in the hands of the Governors: and any other arrangement would be a breach of their trust

for the patients. Cade received £40 a year from Dr. Hamey's estate, and his colleague £33, 6s. 8d. from the hospital. At the election, six other candidates offered themselves, among them Dr. Thomas Pellett, afterwards president of the College of Physicians, and Dr. Walter Harris, who had been physician to King William III.

Dr. Cade held office till his death, December 22, 1720. He was a native of Kent, took his M.D. degree from Trinity College, Oxford, in 1691, and was elected a fellow of the College of Physicians June 25, 1694. He was a censor in 1716 and 1719. His only printed work is a Latin letter to Dr. Freind on bleeding and catharsis in confluent smallpox.¹ He concludes that, after an imperfect crisis in confluent smallpox, bleeding and catharsis are generally required. An original letter of his to Sir Hans Sloane shows his fidelity to the College of Physicians:

SIR, I was yesterday in company with several of the Court of Assistants at the Surgeons Company, when Mr. Bernard (their Clerk) sent a clause to be added to the Bill for the Nightly Watch, for securing the sayd Company in the Privilege of being exempted from that Duty. I was by them informed that the persons who solicited the Bill had assured the Company that they would not oppose the insertion of the Clause, therefore they had no apprehension of any opposition to their desire, but Mr. Bernard, their Clerk, was to attend the Committee to see it inserted. I thought it my Duty to give you this information, for I am Sir, your obedient servant

S. CADE.

Old Baly: March 15th, 1719.

¹ Freind, "Opera Omnia Medica," p. 276; London, 1733.

² Sloane, 4045.

Another letter dated "Thursday at one," and directed to Sir Hans Sloane, Great Russell Street, tells that Cade had visited Sir Thomas Samuel, then at the fifth day of smallpox, whose relations desired Cade to meet Sir Hans Sloane at the Temple Coffee-house and take his opinion. They failed to meet, and Cade hopes he may see Sloane next day.

A third short letter, dated November 8, 1720, shows that Cade was then laid up with the gout. He died in the following month.

DR. WILLIAM WAGSTAFFE was elected physician December 29, 1720, and held office till his death on May 5, 1725. He is an instance of the curious accidents of fame, for that he is unforgotten is due to a dispute as to whether he is the author of some worthless writings published in his name after his death. The volume called the "Miscellaneous Works of Dr. William Wagstaffe" contains one harmless, amusing essay on the story of Tom Thumb, in which Addison's love for the old popular ballads is laughed at, and his criticism parodied. Dr. Johnson mentions it without praise or blame, as expressing an opinion of the time on the "Spectator" in question. The writer praises the story of Tom Thumb in the kind of way in which Addison has praised "Chevy Chase." The old ballads and tales were then despised by most men of letters. Even later in the century Johnson was so much influenced by the prejudice of the time that he failed to see the interest

which there is in the genuine if unpolished products of the country fireside, and thought the Border ballads which delighted the actors in the scenes they describe no more than bald, ill-told tales. The canons of taste have grown broader, and everyone now agrees with Addison that the simplicity and truth of these compositions give them a poetic charm which is as real as that of any of the lesser kinds of verse. Addison pointed out this ground of admiration, and quoted the remark of Sir Philip Sidney in his "Defence of Poesie" that "Chevy Chase" roused him like a martial trumpet. That tale of heroism must have truth and poetry, said Addison, which could stir the heart of a hero. His third method of praise was more commonplace. He compared lines of "Chevy Chase" with lines of the "Æneid," as if there was a standard in ancient poetry by which that of more modern times might be tried. In this part of the criticism, and in this only, has the writer who praises Tom Thumb had any success in his depreciation of the "Spectator." It was easy enough to take lines of Virgil, describing uninteresting details of action and of dress, and to put them side by side with the uninteresting details to be found in a child's story, and to say the ideas of Tom Thumb and the "Æneid" are thus the same; it is only in the form that there is any difference. A feeble measure of success in this method may perhaps be allowed to the "Comment upon the History of Tom Thumb," but in every other

respect it is poor, and the suggestion of a comparison of such wretched scribblers as D'Urfey and Dunton with the learned Ben Jonson and the chivalrous Sir Philip Sidney could not have been written by any man deep in literature or skilled in criticism.

With the exception of this essay, every piece in the Miscellaneous Works is abusive, coarse, or dull, and some of them have all three defects. In themselves they are uninteresting, and nobody would ever hear of them now had not the late Mr. Dilke, in his "Papers of a Critic," published a theory that Swift and not Wagstaffe was their author, and that the life prefixed to Wagstaffe's works was an imaginative production and not a real biography. Mr. Dilke's positive arguments are but two: that the biography is the sole authority for the facts it states, and that the original editions of the works were published by Morphew, one of the publishers whom Swift employed. He adds that Swift's enemies are attacked, and that the time of original publication and of collection fit in with Swift's views and acts in the years 1711 and 1726, their respective dates.

The hospital Journals have an important bearing on the question of the authenticity of the Life. They show that Dr. William Wagstaffe was elected physician in the room of Dr. Salusbury Cade, deceased, on December 29, 1720, as is stated in the life. The life says that Dr. Wagstaffe, having been out of health for some time, "took a journey to Bath, in March last, for the recovery

of his health, where he had not been many weeks before he relapsed ; and, continuing to grow worse and worse, he at length departed this life on May 5th last, in the fortieth year of his age." This circumstantial statement is fully borne out by two entries in the Journals. "February 3rd, 1725. The governors being informed that Dr. Wagstaffe, one of the physicians of this hospital, is so dangerously indisposed that his life is in very great danger, they are therefore of opinion there is a necessity his place be supplied by some able physician during his illness, and Dr. Levet, the other physician of this hospital, acquainted the governors that Dr. Mills, a governor of this house, and an eminent physician, out of the regard he bears to this hospital, is willing to prescribe to the poor of this hospital during Dr. Wagstaffe's illness, or if he died till a new choice ; which readiness of Dr. Mills to serve this hospital is received very kindly, and our clerk is ordered to wait upon him to return the thanks of the board, and to desire him to put in execution those kind intentions for the service of the hospital."

"May 27th, 1725. Ordered that the thanks of this court be given to Dr. Walter Mills for his kindness to the hospital in prescribing for the patients during the illness and since the decease of Dr. Wagstaffe, late one of the physicians of this hospital."

The county history of Buckinghamshire, in the list of rectors of Cublington, gives Thomas Wagstaffe,

M.A., inducted May 4, 1688, died 1723. The Life says : "His father, who was a younger brother, was bred a clergyman, and, as soon as he was capable of holding a benefice, was presented to the Rectory of Cublington, in the county of Bucks."

These confirmations of the chief statement of the life by independent records place its authenticity beyond doubt. The Life is written in a kindly spirit, and reads like the product of a colleague. It is no strained conjecture to suppose it to be by Dr. Levett.

William Wagstaffe received his school education at Northampton, and thence went to Lincoln College, Oxford, where he graduated B.A. June 16, 1704, and M.D. July 8, 1714. He was elected a fellow of the College of Physicians December 22, 1718, and later a fellow of the Royal Society.

Young Dr. Wagstaffe, when he came to town, married a cousin. She died, and some years later he married, says the Life, "a daughter of the truly eminent and learned Charles Bernard, Esq., who was serjeant-surgeon to the late Queen Anne of glorious memory." When he first came to London, Wagstaffe lived without a definite profession. His descent and his connections were such as would give him no friendship for the Whigs, and the original publication of the political pamphlets collected in his works belongs to this period. They contain attacks upon the Duchess of Marlborough, upon the Duke, upon Sir Richard Steele, and upon the

favourite physician of the Whigs, Sir Samuel Garth. The most abusive passages are those against Steele, of whom he has written an ironical "character." It does not contain one pointed expression, and has no incidental historical value. It is, indeed, difficult to extract from the four hundred pages of Wagstaffe's writings of that day any illustration of the manners or events of the reign of Queen Anne. Almost the only historical fact they contain is the popular pronunciation of the name of Dr. Sacheverell. The mob used to cry, "Huzza! Church and Cheverel."

Wagstaffe gave up writing pamphlets, and took to physic. He wrote one medical paper: a trivial letter against inoculation. It shows that his early acquaintance with the learned Dr. Freind was continued. Freind had studied the medical writings of the Arabs more deeply than any Englishman before his time, and in his "History of Physic" he has left a lucid exposition of what they knew, of how they acquired their knowledge, and of their additions to medicine. In the "Comment upon the History of Tom Thumb," Wagstaffe makes a punning allusion to his friend's Oriental learning. "I have also an *Arabic Copy* by me which I got a *Friend* to translate, being unacquainted with the language." Wagstaffe's letter on inoculation is addressed to Dr. Freind, and the last piece in the Miscellaneous Works, called "A Letter from the Facetious Dr. Andrew Tripe at Bath," is a coarse attack on Woodward the

geologist. Woodward, Gresham Professor of Physic, was a man of some ability, but of little learning and bad manners. He had published a violent attack on a passage on the treatment of smallpox contained in a book by Dr. Freind. A controversy arose, in which many pamphlets were written, and this letter was a jesting one on the Freind side. Thus it is clear that Wagstaffe was no unknown man to whom any publication might be ascribed without fear of contradiction. The veracity of Wagstaffe's printed biography so far as it can be tested by independent records, the circumstance that he was well known to the fellows of the College of Physicians, and to the governors, physicians, and surgeons of St. Bartholomew's, make it impossible to believe that immediately after his death, a conspicuous volume should be attributed to him which many of his friends must have seen and would have rejected had it been spurious. The essays, when considered with the veracious Life prefixed to them, cannot be doubted to be the works of Dr. William Wagstaffe of St. Bartholomew's. There is no evidence that he had any personal acquaintance with Swift, though they may perhaps have met in the fine library of Charles Bernard, father-in-law of Wagstaffe and friend of Swift.

DR. RICHARD TYSON was elected May 27, 1725,¹ and held office till his death January 3, 1750. He was

¹ His competitors were Dr. Thomas Pellett, Dr. Richard Hulse, Dr. Charles Bale, Dr. William Barrowby, Dr. Pierce Dod, Dr. James Monro, Dr. John Radcliffe.

nephew of Dr. Edward Tyson, the first Englishman to write monographs on the anatomy of animals. Richard Tyson was born in 1680, and after education at Pembroke Hall, as the college was then called at Cambridge, became a fellow there, took the degree of M.B. in 1710, and of M.D. in 1715. He was admitted a fellow of the College of Physicians June 25, 1718, and there held the offices of censor, registrar (1723-35), treasurer (1739-46), and president (1746-50). In the year of his election as physician at St. Bartholomew's, he had the additional distinction of being Harveian orator at the College. While he was physician, on February 19, 1729, it was resolved that the physicians, surgeons, assistant surgeons, and apothecary, in a body, every Saturday, between 7 and 11 in summer and 8 and 11 in winter, should visit all the parts of the hospital. This order was confirmed on July 16, 1747. The physicians visited three days a week, except for a week at Christmas, Easter, Whitsuntide and Bartholomewtide, and at those periods the poor were not admitted except for sudden accidents. From this date it was resolved that patients should be allowed to attend at all times, and the physicians in these as in other weeks. When this alteration was made, a resolution was also passed stating that the physicians and the surgeons had regularly attended and executed their duty in all respects. There is a portrait of Dr. Tyson in red gown and full bottomed wig at the College of Physicians.

DR. PIERCE DOD was elected July 22, 1725,¹ and continued in office till his death on August 18, 1754. He took his first degree October 14, 1701, being then a member of Brazenose College. He migrated to All Souls, and thence took his M.D. degree October 29, 1714. He was elected a fellow of the College of Physicians in 1720, and gave the Gulstonian lectures in that year, and the Harveian oration in 1729. The oration begins with a commonplace declamation on the origin of physic, on Hippocrates, Galen, Celsus, and the Arabians, and ends with praises of three recently deceased fellows, Dr. William Gibbons, Dr. John Freind, and Dr. Richard Hale.² He was elected F.R.S. in the following year. In 1746 Dr. Dod published fifty-eight pages entitled "Several Cases in Physick, Small Pox and Fever." The cases are related with more solemnity than they deserve, and they were ridiculed in "A letter to the real and genuine Pierce Dod, M.D., actual physician to St. B. H., by Dod Pierce, M.D." The pamphlet is an amusing piece of raillery. Hogarth, who saw the physician pompously walking about St. Bartholomew's, where that great painter was then employed, could not resist caricaturing him, and has drawn his portrait in a print called "The Consultation of Physicians."

¹ His competitors were Dr. Barrowby, Dr. James Monro, Dr. John Radcliffe.

² "Oratio coram Collegio Regali Medicorum Londinensium ex instituto Harveiano habita Festo Divi Lucae A.D. 1729; Piercio Dod," &c.

A letter of Dod's seems to suggest that he had had a difference with Sir Hans Sloane :

November 25 : 1735.

SIR HANS. My business not permitting me to attend your Society as I could wish, I take ye Liberty to acquaint You that I shall with your Leave discontinue my weekly Contributions for ye future, and I am

Sir, your most obedient humble servant,
PIERCE DOD.

The society was probably some social group within the College of Physicians. Dr. Dod lived in Red Lion Square.

On February 14, 1750, Dr. Dod and Dr. William Pitcairn were desired by the Governors to express their opinion as to the need for a third physician, and on February 22, 1750, a committee of the Governors made a report : that during November, December and January at a weekly average there had been 16 men and 15 women in-patients, and that the physicians have prescribed for 50 men and 50 women, and that on an average 150 men and 195 women out-patients were on the books every Thursday. They found that in 1654, there were not above 8 out-patients at any time under the care of the physicians. In 1670 there were 40. In 1674 it was ordered that there should be no more than 25 under the physicians, and 25 under the surgeons. In 1707 the numbers were limited to 100, and in 1715 to 150 out-patients. The committee considered that,

owing to the great number of out-patients, three physicians were necessary.

DR. WILLIAM PITCAIRN was elected physician February 1, 1749,¹ and resigned February 3, 1780. He was eldest son of the minister of Dysart, where he was born in 1701. He studied medicine under Boerhaave at Leyden in 1734, and took his M.D. at Rheims. When the Radcliffe Library was opened in April 1749, he received the degree of M.D. at Oxford. He was elected a fellow of the College of Physicians June 25, 1750, and gave the Gulstonian lectures in 1752. He was four times censor, and president 1775 to 1785. He lived in Warwick Court, off Warwick Lane, till 1784, when he was elected treasurer of the hospital, and came to live within it. In Upper Street, Islington, he had a house with five acres of botanical garden, and died there November 25, 1791. He is buried within the hospital, near the east end of the church of St. Bartholomew the Less. His portrait by Sir Joshua Reynolds, in his gown as president, is in the censors' room at the College of Physicians, and in St. Bartholomew's a ward is called after him to this day. He was praised in his own time for his sagacious use of opium in fevers. He received the famous gold-headed cane preserved at the Royal College of Physicians from Dr. Askew, and handed it on to his nephew, Dr. David Pitcairn.

¹ The votes were: Dr. William Pitcairn 115, Dr. William Barrowby 106, Dr. Ralph Bouchier 1, Dr. Samuel Horsman 0.

DR. WILLIAM BARROWBY was elected a third physician, there being but two on the staff before his time, March 28, 1750. He was the only candidate. He died of a cerebral hæmorrhage, December 30, 1751. He was born in London, and took four degrees as a member of Trinity College, Oxford—B.A. June 1703, M.A. October 1706, M.B. April 1709, and M.D. July 1713. He was elected a fellow of the College of Physicians December 22, 1718, and was censor in 1721, 1730, and 1734. He became F.R.S. November 9, 1721. He published a translation of the "*De Morbis Venereis*" of Professor Astruc of Montpellier in 1737. It is certain that he was not the author of the printed letter to Pierce Dod, attributed to him by Dr. Munk.

On December 19, 1750, the physicians and surgeons applied for leave to make post-mortem examinations, where cases were extraordinary, in order to discover the real causes of death. A committee of the Governors thought "that this practice might conduce greatly to the benefit of the public in general and also of the poor patients hereafter to be admitted, to the improvement of physic and surgery," and the leave was granted.

DR. ROBERT PATE was elected physician January 16, 1752,¹ and died in office January 13, 1762. He took the degree of M.D. at Aberdeen in 1750, and became a

¹ Dr. Pate had 114 votes. Dr. Anthony Askew, the only other candidate who went to the poll, had 100. Dr. Thomas Lawrence, Dr. William Heberden, Dr. Edward Archer, and Dr. Richard Jebb did not go to the poll. Some circumstance which I have failed to discover must have affected this election.

licentiate of the College of Physicians September 30, 1752. Dr. Pate lived in Hatton Garden.

DR. ANTHONY ASKEW was appointed physician August 22, 1754, by an unanimous vote, and continued in office till his death February 28, 1774. His father was a physician at Newcastle-on-Tyne, and Anthony Askew was born at Kendal in 1722. He received school education at Sedbergh school, and at that of Newcastle-on-Tyne, and then entered as a fellow commoner at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, taking the degree of M.B. in 1745. He then went to Leyden, where he spent a year in medical and classical studies, and became acquainted with Charles Townsend and Dr. Alexander Carlyle, who mentions that Askew proposed that if England was ruined by the triumph of the Pretender they should set up as booksellers.¹ His education was not without that part which comes from travel, for he spent two years visiting Italy, Hungary, Athens, and Constantinople. On his way, and after his return home, he collected books and manuscripts, and so formed a great library. After his death the printed books were sold during twenty-two days in York Street, Covent Garden. It was, says the catalogue, the best, rarest, and most valuable collection of Greek and Latin books that was ever sold in England. There were also a great many good English books known to us as old friends in all good libraries, such as the Spectators, and Grey's

¹ "Autobiography of the Rev. Dr. Alexander Carlyle"; Edinburgh and London, 1860.

Hudibras, Boswell's Corsica, and Brydone's travels, and most of the poets whose lives Johnson afterwards wrote. He had a folio Shakespeare of 1632, bound in morocco, with gilt edges, and in it the writing of King Charles I., in these words, "*Dum spiro spero—C. R.*," and in Mr. Herbert's hand "*ex dono serenissimi Regis Caroli servo suo Humiliss. T. Herbert.*" Then there was Theobald's Shakespeare of 1733, in seven volumes, for everyday reading. He had a book, by a namesake, which had belonged to General Monck, "Ascu's Historie of the Warres, Treaties, Marriages and other occurrences between England and Scotland from William the Conqueror," 1607, and nine copies of Chaucer, of various dates, all in black-letter, and Cicero "Of Old Age and Friendship," printed by Caxton in 1481. I wonder if it was some conversation about Askew, of whom they have a fine portrait in the combination room of Emmanuel, which led the accomplished Shuckburgh of that college to publish as an elegant gift book a translation of the treatise of which Askew had so rare an example. He had the first printed edition of Homer, and the first of Horace, as well as those of Lucretius, Lucan, Lucian, Galen, Herodotus, and Silius Italicus. He made a special collection of the editions of Æschylus, meaning some day to bring out an edition himself, but the scheme got no further than a quarto specimen printed at Leyden in 1746, "*Novæ Editionis Tragœdiarum Æschyli Specimen.*" The work

was intended to be in three volumes and the price two guineas. Twenty-five lines of the "Eumenides," with notes and a Latin version, are given. Askew made many MS. notes in an interleaved edition of the "*Rei Rusticæ Scriptores*," 1595, and there is a prefatory note in his hand in a beautiful Aldine italic Prudentius, but this is on the edition, not the text.

Askew took his M.D. degree in 1750 at Cambridge, and soon after settled in London. He had been elected F.R.S. in 1749, and was elected a fellow of the College of Physicians June 25, 1753. He was a censor five times between 1756 and 1767, gave the Harveian oration in 1758, and was registrar from 1767 to 1774. He lived in Queen's Square, Bloomsbury, so that he was but a few yards away from Dr. Mead's house in Great Ormond Street. Their tastes were similar, and they became warm friends. Askew in 1746 had dedicated his only printed work to Mead. A coloured statuette of Dr. Askew, said to have been made by a Chinaman to whom he was kind, is preserved in the college. The doctor is in the scarlet M.D. gown of his university, and wears a short wig. He holds in his hand the gold-headed cane, which he received from Mead. He gave to the college the fine bust of Mead by Roubiliac, now in the censors' room. Dr. Askew first married Margaret Swinburne, of the famous Northumbrian family, and secondly Elizabeth, daughter of Master Robert Holford of the Court of Chancery. Elizabeth Askew had six

sons and six daughters. One of the daughters married Sir Lucas Pepys, a physician of very regular habits, for during fifty years he only missed one of the monthly dinners of the club then existing in the college. Askew's life was spent in the world of physicians and of scholars. His hospitality and the pleasure he took in showing the treasures of his library were long remembered. Among the papers of the time a clear view may be discovered of a dinner-party of physicians in 1764, where he was at the table. George Baker was there, who had attended the funeral of Bentley, and perhaps talked with Askew, who had collected some inscriptions, on Bentley's discussion of the Sigeian inscription. Another physician present was Dr. Noah Thomas, whose portrait in a scarlet gown is now one of the ornaments of the hall of the College of St. John the Evangelist. The second Dr. Richard Tyson of St. Bartholomew's was there too, and Dr. Cadogan who wrote on the gout. The face of Dr. Richard Warren, another of the eleven at the dinner, is well known to this day from the beautiful portrait by Gainsborough, now in the censors' room of the College. Two Yorkshiremen, Dr. Blanshard of Queens' College, Cambridge, and Dr. Clifton Wintringham of Trinity were present, and three Irishmen, Dr. Brooke, Dr. Relhan, and Sir Edward Barry kept up the standard of hilarity. Askew's wife is described by Dr. Samuel Parr of Emmanuel as "a woman of celestial beauty and

celestial virtue," so that it must have been delightful to be admitted to their family circle in Queen Square. Parr was a frequent visitor, and there perhaps his pedantry was quiescent and his geniality dominant.

One hot summer Saturday afternoon I was walking back to St. Bartholomew's after making an exhausting post-mortem examination in a house near Shoreditch Church. Two folio volumes bound in red caught my eye in the window of a small second-hand book shop. I stepped in and bought the work, which was Paulus Jovius' history of his own time, printed at Florence in 1550. The book had on its sides shields of the fleur-de-lys of France, surrounded by the order of the St. Esprit, and on the back double Ls. Within the book was a note in the hand of Woodhull the collector, saying that he had bought it at Baker's auction of Dr. Askew's books. I carried the great volumes through the city to my house in the college of St. Bartholomew's, and then read here and there in the bishop of Nocera's Latin while I drank refreshing cups of tea. Next day I chanced to meet Robert Browning the poet, and mentioned the book to him. He had read it, and recalled passages in it, and told most pleasantly how the bishop had concealed the manuscript in a chest in the church of Sta. Maria sopra Minerva, when the Spaniards took Rome, and how a Spanish captain found out that Paulus Jovius valued the manuscript, and so only gave

it up on receiving a promise of the emoluments of a living in the gift of that church.

Dr. Askew is buried at Hampstead, where he died. A few words on a tablet in the church with his name, degree, hopes and age,

“The place of fame and elegy supply.”

DR. RICHARD TYSON was elected physician February 5, 1762,¹ and was in office at his death, August 9, 1784. He was son of Richard Tyson of St. Dionis Backchurch, and great-nephew of Dr. Edward Tyson, the comparative anatomist. He was born in 1730, and matriculated at Oxford as a member of Oriel College April 6, 1747, and graduated B.A. 1750, M.A. 1753, M.B. 1756, and M.D. 1760. He was elected a fellow of the College of Physicians in 1761, was four times censor between 1763 and 1776, and registrar 1774-1780. He lived in Queen Square, Bloomsbury. He left £100 to the hospital.

DR. JOHN LEWIS PETIT was elected physician March 17, 1774,² and died in office May 27, 1780. His grandfather was Brigadier Louis Petit, of the family of Petit des Etans in Normandy, who came to England on the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. His son John Petit, also a soldier, married Mary, daughter of John Hayes,

¹ Dr. Tyson obtained 142 votes, Dr. Edward Archer 73. Dr. Petit declined the ballot.

² The president and elects of the College of Physicians recommended Dr. Richard Brocklesby and Dr. Thomas Heald. Dr. Petit received the votes of 101 governors and Dr. Edward Archer of 62.

and was father of the physician. Dr. Petit was of Queens' College, Cambridge, where he took his first degree in 1756, and his M.D. in 1766. He was elected a fellow of the College of Physicians September 30, 1767, gave the Gulstonian lectures in 1768, and was a censor in 1768, 1774, and 1767. He was physician to St. George's Hospital from February 2, 1770, till his election at St. Bartholomew's. Percival Pott dedicated to him one of his books in terms which show that Petit's colleagues respected his attainments, and were attached to him. He left £50 to the hospital.

DR. DAVID PITCAIRN was elected physician February 10, 1780, and resigned early in 1793. He was born May 1, 1749, in Scotland, and was son of Major John Pitcairn, who was killed at the battle of Bunker's Hill. Dr. William Pitcairn was David's uncle. David Pitcairn went to the High School of Edinburgh, and, after some further education at the universities of Glasgow and Edinburgh, entered Benet College, Cambridge, as Corpus Christi was then called. Thence he took his M.B. degree in 1779, and his M.D. in 1784. He was elected a fellow of the College of Physicians August 15, 1785, and in 1786 was Gulstonian lecturer and Harveian orator. He was five times censor. In 1782 he was elected F.R.S. He soon acquired a large practice. Dr. John Latham mentions that Pitcairn, in his teaching at St. Bartholomew's, first made known that valvular disease was a frequent sequel of rheu-

matic fever. The discovery is the more remarkable, since the auscultation of the heart was not then practised. David Pitcairn died April 17, 1809. Dr. Matthew Baillie, the famous morbid anatomist, speaks of him as "a medical friend, whom I had known most intimately for thirty years, for whom I always felt the highest esteem, and whose memory I shall constantly cherish,"¹ in a paper in which he describes David Pitcairn's last illness and death. He had been subject for many years to attacks of quinsy, which readily yielded to treatment. On April 13, 1809, he had a slight sore throat, but did not look ill, and was able to do his work. On the evening of April 15 he was worse, and on April 16 was confined to the house. Dr. Matthew Baillie saw him about 10 P.M.

"He was then lying upon his left side, in some degree across the bed, and spoke thickly from the swelling of his throat. His skin was hot and his pulse frequent, but not hard. He had been bled copiously by his own desire, and the blood was very buffy. He had also taken some opening medicine, and had applied a blister to his throat. The blister, however, had occasioned so much irritation, that it was taken off before it produced its full effect. He did not consider himself to be in danger, and I thought that the disease was nothing but what he had often experienced, with a little

¹ Transactions of a Society for the Improvement of Medical and Chirurgical Knowledge, vol. iii. 275; London, 1812.

more than its usual severity." At night he was worse, and Baillie saw him at eleven next day, "and found him sitting up ; but his countenance was very pale, his pulse feeble and unequal, and his voice almost lost. There was some difficulty of breathing, but this was without any particular noise, or spasmodic character belonging to it. He had, however, an uneasy feeling in the larynx, and he wrote down with a pencil on a piece of paper, that his complaint was to be considered as croup. When the parts in the throat and mouth were inspected, the tongue was found to be very much swelled, and the under surface of it was exceedingly red. The velum pendulum palati was also red and swelled ; from the thickness of the tongue, the tonsils could not be seen distinctly." It was agreed to incise the velum, but no pus appeared. He could not swallow. "I called by myself," says Dr. Baillie, "between four and five in the afternoon, and found him in bed. His pulse was then regular, not deficient in strength, and not very frequent. He was breathing with difficulty and was a little drowsy, but his countenance was expressive of less distress. He thought himself, and I also thought him, somewhat better. About eight o'clock in the evening he became suddenly worse, and in less than half an hour afterwards he died."

At a post-mortem examination, besides the appearances already mentioned, it was noticed that the epiglottis and tongue were both swelled, the velum palati

and the tonsils inflamed but not much swelled, the inner surface of the larynx inflamed, and some thick purulent fluid in the sacculi laryngis, the lungs sound. Baillie thinks tracheotomy should be tried in future cases. We should probably say that the patient had some infection involving the tongue and larynx, perhaps like that of angina Ludovici, and that the immediate cause of death was oedema glottidis. There is a fine portrait of David Pitcairn by Hoppner in the censors' room of the College of Physicians. His widow Elizabeth, daughter of William Almack, gave it to the College. He is buried in the church of St. Bartholomew the Less.

DR. RICHARD BUDD was elected physician June 23, 1780,¹ and held office till August 7, 1801, when he resigned. He was born in 1746 at Newbury, where his father was a banker. His great-great-grandfather, of the same name, had founded a scholarship at Jesus College, Cambridge, so that Budd naturally went there. He took his M.B. degree in 1770, and his M.D in 1775. He was elected a fellow of the College of Physicians September 30, 1777, was Gulstonian lecturer and Harveian orator in 1781, and treasurer 1797 to 1818. He was physician to Christ's Hospital, and it was by his influence that potatoes were made part of the diet of the boys there. Scurvy was in Queen Elizabeth's reign of constant occurrence in the school, and it seems

¹ On the same day Lord North was admitted a governor. At the poll Dr. Budd had 95 votes and Dr. John Jebb 37.

strange that the potato should have been known in England for nearly two hundred years before it was tried as a fresh vegetable for the boys.¹ To bring such wholesome food in at last was

“A good deed in this naughty world,”

on which Dr. Budd might justly reflect with satisfaction in his old age. He lived for some time in Chatham Place, Blackfriars, and while there had two very remarkable maid-servants, a nursemaid who became the Lady Hamilton of Nelson's story, so often painted by Romney, and a housemaid who became Mrs. Powell, a celebrated tragic actress. When Lady Hamilton came to London in her time of splendour, she witnessed the acting of Mrs. Powell from a box at Drury Lane, and the admiration of the audience is said that evening to have been divided between these two former domestics of Dr. Budd.² He died September 2, 1821, and is buried at Speen in Berkshire. A portrait of him in chalk by Nathaniel Dance is in the committee room at St. Bartholomew's.

DR. JOHN GIDEON CAULET was elected physician August 26, 1784,³ and died of a fever July 24, 1786. He was the son of a wine merchant of Oporto, and was

¹ In France Arthur Young states that the potato was brought into use by Turgot in the Limousin during his ministry, 1774-81, and by Parmentier throughout France about 1788.

² Essays from *The Times*: “Lord Nelson and Lady Hamilton”; London, 1854.

³ The College of Physicians nominated Sir Clifton Wintringham and Sir Richard Jebb. Caulet was the only other candidate. He had offered himself at the election of Dr. Budd, but did not then go to the poll.

born in London in 1751. After education at St. Paul's School, he entered St. John's College, Cambridge, and took his M.D. degree in 1782. He was elected a fellow of the College of Physicians June 25, 1784, and gave the Gulstonian lectures in 1785.

DR. WILLIAM AUSTIN was elected physician after Dr. Caulet's death in 1786, and died in office of a rapid febrile disease on January 21, 1793. He was son of a clothier at Wotton-under-Edge, and was there born December 28, 1754, and received his school education at the grammar school. He entered Wadham College, Oxford, in 1773, and soon after obtained an exhibition in Hebrew, and became a scholar of the college. He took his B.A. degree in 1776, and became assistant tutor to the Laudian professor of Arabic, and lectured on that language. In 1779 he began medical studies at St. Bartholomew's. He took his M.B. degree in 1782, and M.D. in 1783, and practised at Oxford, where he also lectured on mathematics. In 1785 this various man was elected Professor of Chemistry, and became physician to the Radcliffe Infirmary. The following year he removed to London, and after his appointment at St. Bartholomew's rapidly came into practice. He was elected a fellow of the College of Physicians in 1787, and gave the Gulstonian lectures in 1790. They were published in 1791 as "A Treatise on the Origin and Component Parts of the Stone in the Urinary Bladder." A chemistry and a physiology now obsolete deprive the

work of any present value, but he deserves the credit of having demonstrated that the calcareous patches found in arteries are of a different composition from the white material which is found in gouty joints. He was the first lecturer on chemistry at St. Bartholomew's, and published two papers in the Philosophical Transactions on "Heavy Inflammable Air." Austin's career ended before he had received many of the rewards of professional labour, but the sonnet which Cowper wrote to him is a lasting memorial such as his varied ability and untiring industry deserved :

"Austin ! accept a grateful verse from me,
The poet's treasure, no inglorious fee.
Loved by the Muses, thy ingenuous mind
Pleasing requital in my verse may find ;
Verse oft has dashed the scythe of Time aside,
Immortalising names which else had died :
And oh ! could I command the glittering wealth
With which sick kings are glad to purchase health ;
Yet if extensive fame, and sure to live,
Were in the power of verse like mine to give,
I would not recompense his art with less,
Who, giving Mary health, heals my distress.
Friend of my friend ! I love thee, though unknown,
And boldly call thee, being his, my own."

DR. JOHN LATHAM was elected physician on January 17, 1793, and resigned in July 1802. He was son of John Latham, vicar of Siddington in Cheshire, and was born at Gawsworth, in that county, December 29,

1761. He was sent to the Manchester Grammar School, and thence entered Brazenose College in 1778. He took four degrees at Oxford, B.A. 1782, M.A. 1784, M.B. 1786, M.D. 1788. He made his medical studies at St. Bartholomew's, began practice at Manchester, continued it at Oxford, and came to London in 1788. He was elected a fellow of the College of Physicians September 30, 1789, and was a censor in the same year, Gulstonian lecturer in 1793, Harveian orator in 1794, Croonian lecturer in 1795, and President from 1813 to 1819. In October, 1789, he became physician to the Middlesex Hospital, and held office there till elected at St. Bartholomew's. He lived in Bedford Row, where the spacious old panelled houses still remind one of the time when it was near enough to their patients for physicians and surgeons to live there. His practice soon became large, and in 1795 he was appointed physician extraordinary to George, Prince of Wales. In 1807 illness made him retire for two years into the country, where the care of his colleague Dr. David Pitcairn restored him to health, so that he was able to return to town. He took a house in Harley Street, and practised there with success till 1829. He then retired to his country seat of Bradwall Hall in Cheshire, where he died April 20, 1843. He wrote "A Letter to Sir George Baker on Rheumatism and Gout" in 1796, and "Facts and Opinions concerning Diabetes" in 1811. He was of opinion that gout was not hereditary, and

was in favour of a dietetic treatment in diabetes. He shows much knowledge of Greek medicine, of the writings of Willis, and of *materia medica*. He also published ten papers in the *Medical Transactions* of the College of Physicians between 1806 and 1819. These are on the effects of opium in tetanus, on tumours, on angina notha due to abdominal disease, on lumbar abscess, on leucorrhœa, on cachexia aphthosa, on the use of super-acetate of lead in phthisis, on anthelmintics, on the medicinal properties of potato leaves, and on venesection in fits. He was an excellent observer at the bedside. When he resigned he gave £100 to the hospital, writing to the treasurer: "To say that I have experienced from yourself as well as from the governors at large the most kind and indulgent support would but ill express the feelings of gratitude which I shall ever entertain for an institution where I have spent the best part of my days very happily in an humble attempt to be useful." Latham's portrait was painted by Dance and by Jackson, but neither picture is to be found at the hospital, or at the College of Physicians. He married Mary, daughter of Peter Mere, vicar of Prestbury in Cheshire. Their second son, Peter Mere Latham, became physician to St. Bartholomew's, as did their great-grandson Joseph Arderne Ormerod.

DR. FRANCIS BIDDULPH was elected physician on February 7, 1793,¹ and died early in 1794. He was

¹ There were three other candidates, but they retired before the election.

of St. John's College, Cambridge, and took his M.B. degree in that university in 1790.

DR. EDWARD ROBERTS was elected physician February 13, 1794, and resigned in June, 1834. He was born in Surrey in 1762, and went to Trinity College, Cambridge, whence he graduated M.B. in 1787, and M.D. in 1792. He was elected a fellow of the College of Physicians September 30, 1793, and was five times a censor. In 1795 he was Gulstonian lecturer and Croonian lecturer in 1802-3-4. He was Harveian orator in 1801. He died at Croydon November 21, 1846.

DR. RICHARD POWELL was elected physician August 14, 1801,¹ and resigned in November, 1824. He was son of Joseph Powell, and was born at Thame in 1767. He became a scholar at Winchester school in 1781, and went thence to Pembroke College, Oxford, January 19, 1785. He migrated to Merton, and took the four degrees then usual for a physician at Oxford—B.A. 1788, M.A. 1791, M.B. 1792, and M.D. 1795. He studied medicine at St. Bartholomew's, and was one of the original members of the Literary and Philosophical Society, which later became the Abernethian Society. He was elected a fellow of the College of Physicians September 30, 1796, and delivered the Gulstonian lectures, on the bile and its diseases, and on

¹ The President and Elects of the College of Physicians recommended Dr. Matthew Baillie and Dr. William Heberden (son of the author of the Commentaries). Dr. Devy Fearson and Dr. James Haworth were the other candidates, but withdrew before the election.

the œconomy of the liver, in 1799. He was a censor in 1798, 1807, 1820, and 1823, Lumleian lecturer 1811 to 1822, and Harveian orator 1808. Powell deserves recollection as the first English writer to give exact directions for the physical examination of the liver, and as the first to point out that gall stones may remain adherent to the gall bladder, or fixed in its neck, without doing much harm to the patient, and he was also the first to describe (December 20, 1813) facial palsy, which ought rather to be called Powell's than Bell's. He described hæmatoma of the dura mater, new growth of the pituitary body, and meningitis consequent on necrosis of the walls of the internal auditory cavity. He was the first to publish the text of Rahere's charter to Hagno, of the second year of Stephen (*Archæologia*: vol. xix.). Besides these highly original contributions to scientific and historical knowledge, Powell did much other professional work. He revised and translated the London Pharmacopœia of 1809, was in 1808 appointed secretary to the Commissioners for regulating the Madhouses, and published in 1810 "Observations upon the Comparative Prevalence of Insanity at Different Periods." When in active practice he lived in Bedford Place, and after his retirement in York Terrace, Regent's Park, where he died August 18, 1834. A good portrait of him hangs in the committee room of the hospital.

DR. JAMES HAWORTH was elected physician August 6,

1802,¹ and held office till his death, May 2, 1823. Lancashire gave him birth, and Oxford education. He was first of Brazenose College, whence he took the degrees of Bachelor and Master of Arts, and then, being elected a Radcliffe travelling fellow, he migrated to University College, whence he took his M.B. degree (December 17, 1791) and his M.D. (June 21, 1793). He studied medicine at St. Bartholomew's. During his travels he came to know the Duke of Kent, who afterwards appointed him his physician. In the United States of America he met Dr. Priestley, who seemed to him less enamoured of a republic in fact than he had been in theory. Haworth was elected a fellow of the College of Physicians April 4, 1803, and was a censor in 1804 and 1814. In 1813 he became Croonian lecturer, and gave one lecture on the muscles and another on the nerves, but, being displeased with the conduct of the registrar² towards him, declined to receive any emolument. He delivered the Harveian oration in 1816.

DR. CLEMENT HUE³ was elected physician May 23, 1823, and resigned in May, 1860. He was born in the island of Jersey, and went to the school at Abingdon, of which the master was the Dr. Lemprière whose dictionary of mythology was once well known. He went on

¹ Dr. Richard Edwards, the only other candidate, did not go to the poll.

² Original letter of Dr. Haworth to Sir Francis Milman, June 25, 1813, preserved in the college.

³ The College of Physicians recommended Sir Lucas Pepys and Dr. William Heberden.

to Pembroke College, Oxford, where he became a fellow, and, after taking the degrees of B.A., M.A., and M.B., proceeded M.D. February 12, 1807. On September 30, 1808, he was elected a fellow of the College of Physicians, and was censor in 1812, registrar 1815-24, and Harveian orator 1829. Before he was elected on the staff, Dr. Hue lectured at St. Bartholomew's on chemistry, materia medica, and medicine. He took part in the investigation of the diseases of the Milbank Penitentiary¹ in 1823. He was also physician to Christ's Hospital and to the Foundling Hospital. He died June 23, 1861, and there is a tablet to his memory in the chapel of the Foundling Hospital.

DR. PETER MERE LATHAM was elected physician November 30, 1824, and resigned November 16, 1841. He was second son of Dr. John Latham and was born July 1, 1789, in Fenchurch Buildings. After education at the grammar schools of Sandbach and Macclesfield, he entered at Brazenose College in 1807, and while there obtained the Chancellor's prize for a Latin poem on Corinth. He took the usual degrees—B.A. 1810, M.A. 1813, M.B. 1814, and M.D. 1816. He studied medicine at St. Bartholomew's, chiefly in the wards of Dr. Haworth, and in 1818 became a fellow of the College of Physicians. In 1819 he gave the Gulstonian lectures and in 1827 the Lumleian, and in 1839 the Harveian oration. He was censor in 1820, '33, and '37. From 1815 to 1824 he was

¹ P. M. Latham: Account, 1825, p. xiii.

physician to the Middlesex Hospital. At the request of the Government, he investigated with Dr. Roget an epidemic which had prevailed at the Milbank Penitentiary, and in 1825 published an admirable "Account of the Disease lately prevalent at the General Penitentiary." The book is dedicated to his father. It describes the scurvy, bowel complaints, nervous disorders, fever, and intercurrent diseases which were observed, and arrives at the conclusion that there had been an endemic disease characterised by diarrhoea in the Penitentiary since its foundation. A scanty diet aggravated the disease and caused the scurvy. The prisoners were removed to hulks at Woolwich, a better diet was recommended, and the epidemic ceased. Twenty years later a similar epidemic occurred in the Penitentiary, and was investigated by Dr. William Baly. There were great difficulties in Dr. Latham's investigation, and the apothecary who was the regular attendant of the prisoners was less helpful than he might have been. At last his books were produced by him, and Dr. Latham analysed their contents with great skill, and showed how they unintentionally confirmed the views at which he and Dr. Roget had arrived. Latham has described his theory of teaching at St. Bartholomew's. "I have been physician here eleven years. Having no formal lectures to give, I have considered my business to be expressly in the wards of the hospital, and I have thought myself expressly placed there to be a *demonstrator* of medical facts. I use the

term *demonstrator*, because it will at once carry my meaning to your minds ; which is, that I have looked upon myself as engaged to direct the student where to look for, and how to detect, the object which he ought to know ; and, the object being known, to point out the value of it in itself and in all its relations.”¹ This passage, which is followed by a full description of his method in the examination and observation of patients, occurs in “Lectures on Subjects connected with Clinical Medicine,” which he published in 1836. In June of that year he was appointed lecturer on medicine at St. Bartholomew’s, and Sir George Humphry, who heard his lectures, told me that they were listened to with respect by the students. Latham’s Harveian oration was published in quarto in 1839. It contains a fine passage in praise of Arbuthnot : “Nemo erat tam doctus qui non illum doctiorem, nemo artium tam peritus qui non illum peritiorem ultro confiteretur. Plane redundabat doctrinâ, cujus ubertatem solebat etiam in colloquiis profundere ; et nunquam accuratius aut eruditius disputare videbatur quam interjocandum, nunquam magis esse philosophus quam in philosophis irridendis. Summi poetæ et literatissimi homines illum socium habebant et adiutorem operum ; et nonnulli pro meritis (sic posteris placuit)

¹ The following passage is interesting as showing the state of opinion on the great discovery of Laennec in England in 1836: “Auscultation, as it is called, professes to furnish important aid in the diagnosis of diseases appertaining to all the organs within the chest. Its use, however, has not yet become popular in this country, nor is its value ascertained. There are those who condemn it as absolutely worthless, and there are those who commend it as infallible.”—Latham, *Lectures*, pp. 49, 50 ; 1836.

numero, quod aiunt, nunc ascripti immortalium aliquam partem suæ immortalitatis illi debuerunt." In 1845 Latham published "Lectures on Clinical Medicine comprising Diseases of the Heart." That Latham treated rheumatic fever by moderate bleeding, calomel, and opium, and that great additions to knowledge have been made since his time, will not prevent any real student of medicine from reading a book so obviously based on wide observation.

Attacks of asthma forced Latham to resign his physiciancy, but he continued to practise in London, living at 36 Grosvenor Street, till 1865. He then retired to Torquay, and there died July 20, 1875.

Dr. William Baly was elected assistant physician May 24, 1854, and held that office till his death in a railway accident, January 28, 1861. He was at first assistant physician to Dr. P. M. Latham. He was born at King's Lynn in 1814, and received his school education in the grammar school there. Medicine he began at St. Bartholomew's in 1832, and afterwards studied in Paris and Heidelberg, and graduated M.D. in Berlin in 1836. On July 13, 1841, he was recommended to succeed Dr. P. M. Latham as lecturer on forensic medicine at St. Bartholomew's. Dr. Clement Hue opposed Baly, on the ground that he had not had a regular education, but on July 28 Baly was appointed. On July 10, 1855, he was appointed to share the lectureship on medicine with Burrows. Baly was elected a

fellow of the College of Physicians in 1846, and F.R.S. in 1847, and in 1859 he was appointed physician to Queen Victoria. On December 11, 1860, he was appointed a member of the General Medical Council by the Crown. The first step in Baly's career of success was his translation of Müller's "Elements of Physiology" in 1837, a work which took the place of Bostock's Physiology, which had for some years been the usual text-book for students. Müller's was itself displaced in 1848 by the handbook of Paget and Kirkes. Baly's Gulstonian lectures on dysentery in 1847 were founded on his investigation of an epidemic at the Milbank Penitentiary in 1841-2, and are of permanent value. He also wrote reports on epidemic cholera in 1854, with Dr. W. W. Gull of Guy's Hospital. A gold medal, bearing his head, is awarded every other year by the Royal College of Physicians to the person who shall be deemed to have most distinguished himself in the science of physiology. The first recipient was Richard Owen, the comparative anatomist. A portrait of Baly hangs in the great hall of St. Bartholomew's.

DR. GEORGE LEITH ROUPELL was elected physician June 19, 1834, and held office till his death from cholera September 29, 1854. He was eldest son of George Boon Roupell of Chartham Park, Sussex, and after education at a private school entered in 1815 at Gonville and Caius College, and there held a Tancred studentship in medicine. His degrees were M.B. 1820,

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M.L. 1824, and M.D. 1825. On September 30, 1826, he was elected a fellow of the College of Physicians. He was a censor 1829, 1837, and 1838, and gave the Croonian lectures in 1832 and 1833—in the latter year on cholera. These lectures were published the same year. In 1837 he published "Some Account of a Fever prevalent in the Year 1831." This seems to have been what is now called epidemic cerebro-spinal meningitis. In 1839 he published "A Short Treatise on Typhus Fever"—a work with but few original passages. He relates that 136 students at St. Bartholomew's anatomised in the dissecting room seventeen patients who had died of typhus fever, and that of these students two only were attacked by the fever, and these two had also been in contact with living cases, an interesting confirmation of what is now known of the infection by body lice in this disease. Dr. Roupell never married, and died of cholera September 29, 1854. His portrait hangs in the common room of the medical officers at St. Bartholomew's.

SIR GEORGE BURROWS, Bt., was appointed assistant physician in 1834. He was the first assistant physician to receive a charge for that office, and in it a notice of regular duties as regards out-patients. He became physician December 14, 1841, and resigned that office at the end of 1863. He died December 12, 1887. His ancestors, like those of Harvey, were Kentish yeomen, and his father was a surgeon-apothecary who after-

wards took a medical degree, and was elected a fellow of the College of Physicians in 1839. George Burrows was born November 28, 1801, in Bloomsbury Square. His first education was at a private school at Ealing. In 1819 and '20 he began his professional studies by attending Abernethy's lectures, and dissecting at St. Bartholomew's. He told me that he remembered in that time an old physician, whose name he would not mention, who saw patients in the way anciently used in the wards. The physician came in accompanied by the apothecary, and sat down in an armchair at the head of a table. The apothecary stood on one side of him, and on the other side the sister of the ward. The patients who could sit up sat on benches on each side of the table, and moved up to the physician's right, so that he saw each in turn and prescribed, and the apothecary took the prescriptions. The matron held a towel, and after seeing each patient the physician washed out his own mouth with water into a bucket at his side, and rubbed his hands with the towel. Those at the table disposed of, he saw the patients who were too ill to leave their beds. Burrows went to Caius College, where he was a Tancred student, and, after taking his degree as tenth wrangler in the tripos of 1825, was elected a fellow. He then completed his medical studies at St. Bartholomew's, where he was a clinical clerk of Dr. Peter Mere Latham, and a dresser of Sir William Lawrence. He took his M.B.

degree in 1826, then studied in Pavia and Paris, and received his M.L. degree in 1829. In his early professional life, he told Dr. Francis Harris, Italian was thought a language proper for a physician to know. He took his M.D. degree in 1831, and was elected a fellow of the College of Physicians in 1832. He was Gulstonian lecturer 1834, Croonian lecturer 1835-6, Lumleian lecturer 1843-4, was a censor four times, and a councillor for fifteen years. He represented the College in the General Medical Council from 1860 to 1869, and presided over that body from 1864 to 1869. From 1871 to 1875 he was President of the College of Physicians. He was elected F.R.S. in 1847. At St. Bartholomew's he was lecturer on forensic medicine (1831-6), and lecturer on the principles and practice of medicine (1836-1863). He was appointed physician extraordinary to Queen Victoria in 1870, and physician in ordinary in 1873; and was created a baronet in 1874. His chief publication was a book "On the Disorders of the Cerebral Circulation." He demonstrated that the then prevalent idea that the quantity of blood within the cranium was constant, and was unaffected by outside circumstances, was erroneous. It is in reference to this that a brain under a glass shade is introduced into the portrait of Burrows by Knight which hangs in the great hall of St. Bartholomew's. He had charge of the cholera wards established by St. Bartholomew's in 1832, and a report on the

epidemic as seen in the hospital was drawn up by him. He married Elinor, Abernethy's younger daughter, in 1834, and they were survived by two sons and a daughter. The daughter married Alfred Willett, surgeon to St. Bartholomew's. Burrows was constant in work and in his upright way of life, discharging every duty with exactitude: a man who permitted neither unpunctuality nor frivolity. He did not hesitate to express censure when he thought censure required. A clergyman at St. Bartholomew's rather aggressively invited his criticism on a sermon which he had just delivered. "Let me tell you, sir," said Burrows,¹ "that many a man has been put in a lunatic asylum for much less nonsense than you preached to us to-day." He had, says Sir James Paget in a memoir in the Hospital Reports, the same hatter and the same tailor for sixty-five years, and his coachman had been in his service forty-seven years at the date of his master's death. He long lived at 18 Cavendish Square, and there died. He was buried in Highgate Cemetery.

DR. FREDERIC JOHN FARRE was elected assistant physician July 23, 1836, and physician May 10, 1854. His election gave the hospital four physicians instead of three, the number it had had for the previous hundred and four years. He held office till 1870, and died November 10, 1886. He was the second son of Dr. John Richard Farre, a licentiate of the college and a good

¹ Related to me by Dr. Francis Harris.

morbid anatomist, some of whose specimens are preserved in the museum of St. Bartholomew's, to which they were given by his son: His grandfather was a medical practitioner in Barbadoes. Frederic John Farre was born in Charterhouse Square December 16, 1804. He received his school education at the Charterhouse, of which he was captain in 1823. Farre went to St. John's College, Cambridge, in 1823, where he became a foundation scholar and went out as thirty-second wrangler in the tripos of 1827. His other degrees were M.A. 1830, M.L. 1833, and M.D. 1837. He lectured at St. Bartholomew's on botany, being appointed the first lecturer in that subject in 1831. Throughout life he pursued the study of botany, and he lectured on it for twenty-three years. In 1844 he became lecturer on materia medica, and lectured till 1876. He formed an excellent collection of drugs in the hospital museum. Farre was elected a fellow of the College of Physicians in 1838, and was censor in 1841 and 1842, and senior censor in 1854. He was treasurer 1868 to 1883. He spent a great deal of time at the college every day, and wrote a history of it in three MS. volumes, in the first of which, after his death, the registrar (Pitman) and the librarian (Munk) wrote a note pointing out its grave inaccuracies, lest, as they say, it might at any future time be unadvisedly taken to be a true representation of facts or records. It was from want of historical training that Farre erred, for he was deeply attached to the college. At St.

Bartholomew's, when I came up from Cambridge he was near the end of his time, and, having no claim on his kindness, I found him very kind to me as a member of his own university. There was much generosity in his nature, but it was necessary to observe carefully all the forms of respect in approaching him—a characteristic of his period, which was also observable in his colleague Sir George Burrows. He took pains with his clinical clerks in the wards, and did not seem tired of a life of long exertion and but little reward. Before going round, he usually ate a small rice pudding in the sister's room. In his lectures he explained, so that his hearers easily remembered them, such facts as the way in which opium is obtained as the exuded juice from incisions in growing poppy capsules scraped on to dock leaves, and the way to distinguish senna leaves from willow leaves. The lecturer dwelt much on drugs themselves, their colour, their adulterations, and their geographical origin. It was hard to make lectures interesting on such a subject. Whoever has read Garrod's "*Materia Medica*," the textbook of the time, will realise that St. Chrysostom himself could have done little more in discourses on such a subject.

Dr. Farre was also physician to the Charterhouse. He first lived at 35 New Bridge Street, Blackfriars, and later in Montague Street, Russell Square. He was one of the three editors of a manual based upon Pereira's "*Materia Medica*," and he wrote a paper on the treatment

of pericarditis with opium in the Hospital Reports. These, with an introductory lecture to students in 1849, entitled "Self-culture and the Principles to be observed in the Study of Medicine," were his only published works.

Farre was the captain of the school during Thackeray's first year there, and a passage in "The Adventures of Philip" shows his recollection of Farre :

"Phil returned to Grey Friars in a deep suit of black ; the servants in the carriage wore black too ; and a certain tyrant of the place, beginning to laugh and jeer because Firmin's eyes filled with tears at some ribald remark, was gruffly rebuked by Sampson major, the cock of the whole school ; and with the question, 'Don't you see the poor beggar's in mourning, you great brute ?' was kicked about his business."

Kindness of heart and indignation at wrong were characteristics of Farre, and short as must have been the time that they were at Charterhouse together, it was long enough for the little Thackeray to observe so distinctly these traits in the captain of the school that he recalled Farre's indignation when he was writing nearly forty years after. I am glad that Farre has received this honour :

". . . Quod nec Jovis ira, nec ignes,
Nec poterit ferrum, nec edax abolere vetustas."

A copy of "Scapulæ Lexicon Græco-Latinum" (Oxford, 1820), finely bound, with the Charterhouse arms, given to the College of Physicians in 1880 by Farre, has a

label bearing the words "Frederick John Farre: Captain, 1823," and signed by the head master, J. Russell.

DR. HENRY JEAFFRESON was elected assistant physician July 23, 1836, and physician in May, 1854. He died in office December 7, 1866. He was born January 24, 1810, and was son of a surgeon-apothecary at Islington, who was a descendant of Colonel John Jeaffreson who served in Monck's army. Henry Jeaffreson was educated at St. Paul's School and at Pembroke College, Cambridge, where he took the three medical degrees only, M.B. (1833), M.L. (1836), and M.D. (1838). He was elected a fellow of the College of Physicians in 1839, and was a censor in 1849 and 1850, and senior censor in 1857. He lived in Finsbury Square or its vicinity throughout his career, and had a large private practice. He used to go round his wards in St. Bartholomew's at 8 A.M. He died of typhus fever. When he perceived what his illness was he gave a colleague a letter of introduction to the life insurance companies whose adviser he was, and desired him to call on them at once. The colleague said, "Oh, but you will get quite well." "No," said Jeaffreson, "a man does not get well of typhus fever at my age." The generous feeling and action which he showed in his last hours of consciousness had characterised him throughout life. His prognosis of his own case proved exact. He was buried in the cemetery at Highgate. A small scholarship named after him was founded in the medical school.

DR. PATRICK BLACK was elected assistant physician in 1842, and physician June 6, 1860. He retired on reaching the age of 65 in 1878. He was son of Lieutenant-Colonel Black of the Bengal Cavalry, and was born at Aberdeen in 1813. After school education at Eton, from January, 1828, to July, 1830, he went to Christ Church, whence he graduated B.A. in 1834, and M.D. in 1836. He became a fellow of the College of Physicians, was three times censor, and delivered the Croonian lectures in 1855. He became warden of the College of St. Bartholomew's in 1851, and resided there till 1856. During this period he also held office as the first administrator of chloroform. He then lived in Queen Anne Street, Cavendish Square, till his death on October 12, 1879. He had charge of cholera wards in the epidemic of 1854, in 1855 became lecturer on medical jurisprudence, and in 1861 lecturer on medicine, an office which he held for seventeen years, without acquiring fame as a lecturer or exciting much interest in his subject, probably because he had never toiled in the post-mortem room, so that he did not care for the pathological side of medicine, and because he had a profound disbelief in the therapeutical part, and therefore took little interest in methods of treatment. When I asked him whether Sydenham's remark about agues getting well without bark in certain seasons might be accepted, he said "Yes, but the statement may be applied to all seasons." When I called on him in his last illness,

he pointed to a bottle of physic which stood on a table at his bedside, and said, "I need hardly tell you that this is only here out of complaisance to a colleague." He had considerable ability and power of observation, but in medicine and in other subjects found scepticism the least toilsome way out of difficult problems. He was a pleasant associate and a kind friend. I was his clinical clerk for a year, and learned much from him, particularly in relation to prognosis; and does not Hippocrates say *Τὸν ἰητρὸν δοκέει μοι ἄριστον εἶναι πρόνοιαν ἐπιτηδεύειν*. Robert Bridges, afterwards Poet Laureate, who was his house physician, praised in Latin elegiacs his handsome form, his character, and the way in which knowledge might be acquired from him. His printed works are "Chloroform: How shall we ensure Safety in its Administration?" 1855; "Respiration," "Scurvy," "Essay on the Use of the Spleen," 1876. His sceptical turn of mind pervades all four treatises. He married Miss Mark, November 18, 1843, and they had several children. One of his grandsons, also Patrick Black, was my house physician for a year, and showed much ability.

DR. WILLIAM SENHOUSE KIRKES was elected assistant physician in 1854, and physician January 27, 1864. He died in the same year on December 8. Kirkles was born in 1823 at Holkar in North Lancashire, and attended the grammar school of Cartmel, leaving at thirteen to become apprenticed to a firm of surgeons in Lancaster. In 1841 he began his studies at St.

Bartholomew's, where he was a diligent and clever student. He took an M.D. degree at Berlin in 1846, and in 1855 was elected a fellow of the College of Physicians. James Paget and Kirkes in 1848 published a "Handbook of Physiology," which had a long series of editors, most of whom wished not to be thought physiologists, but who knew what students thought profitable in the subject, and produced editions which sold well. The reputation of this book, his pathological studies in Berlin, his distinction as a student, and his general industry, with the weakness of his opponent, secured the election of Kirkes as assistant physician, and he seemed likely to attain large practice as a physician when his life was cut short by double pneumonia and pericarditis.

A scholarship and gold medal in clinical medicine were founded to commemorate Kirkes, and are awarded annually at St. Bartholomew's. He was one of the first investigators of the effects of emboli.

DR. ROBERT MARTIN was elected assistant physician in November, 1854, and physician in 1865. He resigned owing to severe illness, which seemed to threaten his mind, in October, 1867. In the end he completely recovered, and in 1876 was appointed consulting physician. The College of Physicians, of which he had been elected a fellow in 1859, appointed him on to its council in 1873, '5, and '6, and he was elected a censor in 1877 and '8. Though he had no patients there of

his own, he used to come down regularly to St. Bartholomew's and look into the wards of his friends, and always into the post-mortem room. He looked a man likely to be trusted by the public, and his conversation showed how well versed in medicine he was. His absence seemed to have checked his career, and though he was consulted, it was not to the extent that might have been expected from his standing and attainments as a physician.

"The tide of business like a running stream,
Is sometimes high and sometimes low,
A daring ebb and a tempestuous flow,
But always in extreme."

He never complained, and was what he looked—a fine, courageous, athletic man, capable of standing up against fortune. He lived among the chief physicians of his time, and showed not a particle of envy or of disappointment.

His father and grandfather were medical practitioners, and he was born at Pulborough in Sussex, August 29, 1827. He went to Clapham Grammar School in 1837, and in 1846 to Caius College, where he was appointed to a Tancred studentship in medicine. He took the degrees of M.B. 1851, M.L. 1852, and M.D. 1859, and between the two last studied in Göttingen, Vienna, and Paris. He became lecturer on natural philosophy at St. Bartholomew's in July, 1854, and in September was appointed to take charge of two wards

set apart for cholera patients. In November, when the epidemic was over, he received the thanks of the governors and a present of seventy guineas, and the same day, a vacancy having occurred, he was elected assistant physician. The Crimean war was going on, and in 1855 Dr. Martin and Mr. Holmes Coote obtained leave from the governors to go to Smyrna to look after a hospital for our troops. He returned in 1856, and was appointed warden of the college and administrator of chloroform, offices which he held till 1861, when he went to live at 19 Queen Anne Street, Cavendish Square. In the first volume of the St. Bartholomew's Hospital Reports in 1865 he wrote an article entitled "Cases from the Wards." John, Mary, and Radcliffe were his wards, and all the cases are described in a style both lucid and easy to read. He edited in 1876 the works of Dr. Peter Mere Latham for the Sydenham Society, and wrote an introduction. These are his only printed works.

DR. GEORGE NELSON EDWARDS was elected assistant physician June 27, 1860, and physician January 23, 1867. He was still in office when he died December 6, 1868. His father was a surgeon at Eye, the town and honour whence a large part of its county has come to be called High Suffolk. The physician was born in 1830, went to the grammar schools of Yarmouth and Beccles, and then to Caius College, where he was nominated to a Tancred studentship. He took the three medical degrees—M.B.

in 1851, M.L. in 1854, and M.D. in 1859. In 1859 he was elected a fellow of the College of Physicians, and in 1866 he became lecturer on forensic medicine at St. Bartholomew's. He published in 1862 "The Examination of the Chest, in a Series of Tables," and was joint editor of the first three volumes of the St. Bartholomew's Hospital Reports—1865-7. In the first volume he wrote an account of two cases of poisoning by mercuric methide, a condition not before described in medical books. He was of short stature, and some of his contemporaries, including the surgeon who wrote a supercilious memoir of him in the Hospital Reports, were inclined to speak scornfully of his attainments and ability. His success in his profession was, however, considerable, and was the just reward of a dogged persistence in work. He died of chronic renal disease, after a long period of trying illness, which began with a convulsive attack while standing at the bedside in one of his wards. This was followed by dropsy, and by a blindness of such gradual onset that he did not know when he was quite blind. Dr. Francis Harris, who had been at Cambridge with him, felt for him, and visited him often, and one day found him sitting with the sun shining on his face, so unconscious of the light that he asked to have the blind drawn up. Edwards had worked hard, and had attained a success which might have been long continued. His physical sufferings were great, yet he never complained of them.

DR. FRANCIS HARRIS was elected assistant physician March 13, 1861, and physician February 11, 1868. He resigned in 1874, and died at his London house, 24 Cavendish Square, September 3, 1885. He was son of John Rawlinson Harris, a hat manufacturer, who lived in Southwark, was elected M.P. for that borough August 5, 1830, and died a few weeks later. Harris was born in Winchester Place, Southwark, December 1, 1829. After school education he went to Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, and there took three degrees—B.A. 1852, M.B. 1854, and M.D. 1859. His thesis for the last was "On the Nature of the Substance found in the Amyloid Degeneration of various Organs of the Human Body." It contains a description of four cases of amyloid disease, which were the only examples he had found among sixty autopsies at St. Bartholomew's. The essay is carefully set forth, and gained him some reputation. It was his only published work. He studied medicine at St. Bartholomew's and in Paris, and worked in Professor Virchow's laboratory at Berlin. He was appointed demonstrator of morbid anatomy at St. Bartholomew's November 8, 1859, and held office till March 12, 1861. At this time, as he told me, he thought of taking to obstetric practice, as there seemed no likelihood of vacancies among the physicians. He went into the society of the chief obstetricians of the day, and was soon satisfied that great abilities were not necessary to rise high. Most of the obstetricians of London, he found, might be placed in one

of two classes—those who quoted texts to their patients and those who told them indecent stories. He disliked both varieties, and the death of Baly enabled him to become assistant physician and to relinquish the obstetric career. He was on the staff of the Hospital for Sick Children in Great Ormond Street from 1859 to 1865. He had always been interested in botany, and on November 13, 1860, was elected to the lectureship in that subject, which he held till 1866. At his country house he had a well cultivated garden, and in his greenhouses produced two seedling orchis hybrids which are called after him—*Dendrobium Harrisii* and *Calanthe Harrisii*. As physician his clinical lectures were excellent, and he took great pains in their preparation, but did little other work, whether within the hospital or without, except his official duties in the wards, where he both practised and taught with great judgment and ability. He had married a very charming cousin and grown rich. Dryden speaks of the advantages of poverty :

“The daring of the soul proceeds from thence,
Sharpness of wit and active diligence.”

These advantages withdrawn, Harris preferred the country, where he had a pleasant residence called The Grange in the parish of Lamberhurst, with its occupations of gardening and sport, to scientific research and medical practice in London. Thus his generation profited but little from his great abilities. I was his

house, physician for a year, learned much from him, and enjoyed his conversation and his hospitality. It was by his advice that I decided to try to become a member of the medical staff of St. Bartholomew's, and thus to him I owe much of the happiness I have enjoyed at the hospital. His house stood on the top of a hill, whence the road descends into the village of Lamberhurst. A cottage by the roadside, near the thirty-ninth milestone from London, bears his initials and the date 1882. The Grange is a few yards farther south on the other side of the road, and I never pass them on my way to my home in Sussex, or from it, without feeling gratitude to Dr. Harris, and remembering his manly form, his early grey hair, and his pleasant wit. He is buried in the churchyard of Brenchley, just beyond the hop gardens, and fields over which he shot partridges every year.

DR. JAMES ANDREW was elected assistant physician February 24, 1864, and physician January 27, 1869, and held office till March 23, 1893. He was born at Whitby, where his father was a clergyman, September 8, 1829. After receiving school education at Sedburgh, he became in 1848 a scholar of Wadham College, Oxford, and thence took a second class in classics in 1852. His career on the river was remarkable, and with him as stroke the Wadham boat made eight bumps in 1853 and 1854. In 1857 he became a fellow of his college. He began medical study at Edinburgh

in October, 1856, and proceeded to St. Bartholomew's November 5, 1857. He had rooms in Smithfield, dressed for William Lawrence, and was clinical clerk to Burrows. In June, 1860, he took the degree of M.B., and in 1863 that of M.D. He became a member of the College of Physicians in 1861, and a fellow in 1866. He was afterwards a censor, and delivered the Lumleian lectures in 1889, and in 1890 the Harveian oration. He was elected lecturer on medicine at St. Bartholomew's, and became justly popular in the school as a teacher of clinical medicine. He maintained in his M.D. thesis that the systolic murmur of mitral regurgitation is always audible at the angle of the left scapula, and published five papers on allied subjects in the Hospital Reports. His pupils and friends had his portrait painted by the Hon. John Collier, and gave it to the hospital. It is an admirable representation of him as he stood at the bedside of patients, and shows the kind of stethoscope he habitually used. He died three years after he retired from office.

DR. REGINALD SOUTHEY was elected assistant physician January 25, 1865, became physician January 26, 1870, and resigned July 26, 1883, on being appointed a commissioner in lunacy. His father was Dr. Henry Herbert Southey, a fellow of the College of Physicians and brother of Robert Southey, the poet. The laureate often began the initial of his surname from the base of the R which indicated his Christian name, and I

used often to observe Dr. Reginald Southey writing his own name or initials in precisely the same way, when I was his house-physician. He had that kind of ability as a writer which is often met with in a man born and brought up in a literary circle, but not himself possessed of much power. His medical opinions were not constant, and hence perhaps he never attained much private practice, but he was careful and elaborate in his examination and treatment of patients in his wards. He was remembered long after he retired from practice, owing to the fine tubes of which he introduced the use in the drainage of dropsical legs, and which have given much relief to many patients.

Southey was born September 15, 1835, at 4 Harley Street, and died November 8, 1899, at Sutton Valence. Westminster was his school, whence he went to Christ Church in October 1853, and thence took a first class in natural science in 1857, going on to the degree of M.B. in 1861 and M.D. in 1866, his medical studies being made at St. Bartholomew's. He was elected a Radcliffe travelling fellow, and in that capacity studied at Berlin, Prague, and Vienna, and in 1862 visited South America, and in 1863 Madeira. In 1861 he became a member of the College of Physicians, and in 1866 was elected a fellow, in 1867 gave the Gulstonian lectures on "The Nature and Affinities of Tubercle," and in 1881 gave the Lumleian lectures on renal disease. At St. Bartholomew's he lectured on forensic

medicine, and was inclined to make the horrible parts of the subject as dramatic as possible. He wrote a good deal in medical dictionaries, transactions, and reports. He was a kindly and a very industrious physician.

SIR WILLIAM SELBY CHURCH, Bt., sometime Lee's reader in anatomy at Christ Church, Oxford, who is fortunately still consulting physician to the hospital, was appointed assistant physician March 20, 1867, became physician December 22, 1874, and retired November 27, 1902. He was President of the Royal College of Physicians 1899-1905.

DR. SAMUEL JONES GEE was elected assistant physician March 5, 1868, and physician October 24, 1878, holding office till 1904. He was the only surviving child of William Gee, and was born September 13, 1839.

After education at University College School in London, from 1852 to 1854, he passed in May, 1857, the matriculation examination of the University of London. In the following October he entered as a student at University College Hospital, and thence graduated M.B. in 1861, and M.D. in 1865. He was elected a fellow of the Royal College of Physicians in 1870, gave the Gulstonian lectures "On the Heat of the Body" in 1871, the Bradshaw lecture "On the Signs of Acute Peritoneal Diseases" in 1892, and the Lumleian lectures "On the Causes and Forms of Bronchitis" in 1899. He was a

censor in 1893 and '94, and senior censor in 1897. At St. Bartholomew's he was successively demonstrator of morbid anatomy (1870-4), lecturer on pathological anatomy (1872-8), and lecturer on medicine (1878-93). He attained a considerable private practice, and in 1901 was appointed physician to the Prince of Wales.

I was a clinical clerk to Dr. Gee in the out-patient room, and soon after became house physician to Dr. Harris, whose assistant physician Gee was, and thus came to have the advantage of the friendship of both to the end of their lives.

Gee was already an author; he had written in the *corpus medicorum* known as "Reynolds' System of Medicine," of which vol. i. appeared in 1866 and vol. ii. in 1868. In the former he wrote on Varicella, in the latter on Tubercular Meningitis, both admirable essays. It is interesting to observe that at the age of twenty-six his style was perfectly formed, and that it did not alter in his later life. His tendency to aphorisms was already well developed. He was versed in the "Commentaries" of Heberden, a work which he admired throughout life. The "*Gulielmi Heberden Commentarii de Morborum Historia et Curatione*" (London, 1802), which he had then studied, he afterwards gave to me, and it has some marginal notes in red ink in his very clear rounded handwriting. The essay on Tubercular Meningitis is based on observations made at the Children's Hospital. It shows that he had begun to

look into Galen, whose writings on fevers he often had in his mind, and sometimes mentioned while giving instructions at the bedside.

The first book Gee published was "Auscultation and Percussion, together with other Methods of Physical Examination of the Chest." It appeared in 1870, and is a most clear display of every part of the subject. He had revised each observation again and again, and, with astonishing conciseness, tells nearly all that previous writers had stated in each part of the subject, as well as his own conclusions. Gee's style may at first seem affected, but it was in reality a natural result of his study of seventeenth century writers, and became his constant method of expression. His second book, "Medical Lectures and Aphorisms," appeared in 1906. It is dedicated to the memory of Sydenham, and contains Gee's Lumleian, Bradshaw, and other lectures, followed by 272 aphorisms collected by Dr. Thomas Jeeves Horder. These give a perfect idea of Gee's teaching at the bedside, and the world of medicine owes a debt of gratitude to Dr. Horder for having thus preserved a record of the clinical teaching of Dr. Gee. The 1495 aphorisms of Boerhaave contain a summary of all the medical knowledge of his time. The aphorisms of Hippocrates are isolated dicta upon important points, and it is to this species that the clinical aphorisms of Gee belong. Three historical essays are included in the volume, one on sects

in medicine, one on the conflict of medicine with the smallpox, and one on Abraham Cowley, M.D., and his Philosophical College. Besides these, Gee wrote an article in the *Athenæum* on the death of Andrew Marvell, showing that a passage in Morton's "Pyretologia" proves that the poet's death was due to his being bled too much in a fever, probably malarial.

Gee was well read in Fletcher's "Purple Island," in Milton, in Goldsmith, and in Armstrong, and less deeply in Dryden and Pope.

The present poet laureate, who acted as best man at Gee's wedding on December 7, 1875, has described him in verse :

" Quis venit ille autem gracilis comptusque capillos,
Grandia terga sequens, dimidioque minor?
Tute, Gei, mihi quem dulce et habuisse magistrum,
At quanto comitem dulcius esse tuum.
Ipse gregem video te circumstare sedentem,
Jam repetoque diem cum gregis unus eram :
Et desiderio moveor, nec credor ab ullo
Velle meum quem nunc occupat ille locum,
Ut deceat nuper-natos curare docebis,
Aptare ut tenues mollia ad ora cibos :
Teque auscultantem palpantem et percutientem
Pectora, sic morbi ducere signa vident :
Tu nisi et exemplum mihi consiliumque fuisses,
Rideret rapidâ me schola docta fugâ."

Gee first showed the true proportions of the cranium in congenital hydrocephalus ; and his was the first

distinct account of simple splenic cachexia in children. He trained many generations of students in exact methods of physical examination, and in the precise observation of disease. He was one of the best clinical teachers of his time, and his admirable method was based on what he had learned from Sir William Jenner, modified by a careful study of Boerhaave and Van Swieten. He had attained from a study of the "Phthisiologia" and "Pyretologia" of Morton a method of arranging his clinical observations in relation to various diseases which made them easy to follow intelligently and to use in diagnosis, and which was very different from a mere tabular statement or list of possible causes. Of all medical writers he most admired Sydenham, and had read him again and again, and might have said with Morton, "*Sydenhamii nostri nomen ad astra eveherem atque eum illustre exemplum omnibus artis Medicæ praxi versatissimis proponerem.*" He gave me a copy of the "*Observationes Medicæ*" (1676) of Sydenham, and commended the passage from Cicero which its title-page bears :

"*Opinionum commenta delet dies : Natura judicia confirmat.*"

He often mentioned Sydenham in conversation, and would have agreed with Whitwell Elwin, the learned editor of Pope, with whom he once spent a very pleasant evening within the walls of St. Bartholomew's, that

the Shakespearian lines were appropriate which Elwin had written in his own copy of Sydenham :

" Such a man
Might be a copy to these younger times
Which, follow'd well, would demonstrate them now
But goes backward."

Gee cared for Bacon's Essays, but not for De Quincey. He admired Hobbes though he was not a Tory, and Locke though he was not a Whig. He took little interest in modern politics, and was inclined to think that Oliver Cromwell was the greatest of all the rulers of England. Gee's life was spent much in the world of books, and his friends were well chosen there. He died suddenly on the morning of August 3, 1911, at Keswick, where he was spending a holiday with his daughter, his only surviving child. His body was cremated on August 8. Three men who had borne the caduceus of Dr. Caius in the College of Physicians, with the senior physician of St. Bartholomew's and two of its surgeons, were present, and represented the societies in which, after his own family, his affections were placed. He was a constant friend and a pleasant companion, a learned physician, and a most excellent teacher.

Dr. John Wickham Legg, of the university of London, was elected assistant physician November 27, 1878, and resigned January 27, 1887. He was assistant

physician to Dr. Gee, and was elected a fellow of the College of Physicians in 1876.

Between the death of Dr. Gee and my own retirement from the office of physician, eight other physicians have been appointed at St. Bartholomew's, and five physicians with charge of out-patients. All these are fellows of the Royal College of Physicians. It will be sufficient to add to their names their universities and their dates of appointment. Three of the five last have been elected full physicians :

SIR DYCE DUCKWORTH, Bt. (Edinburgh).—Assistant physician February 25, 1869 ; physician August 14, 1883.

DR. PHILIP JOHN HENSLEY (Cambridge).—A. P. March 24, 1870 ; P. April 27, 1893.

SIR THOMAS LAUDER BRUNTON, Bt. (Edinburgh).—A. P. January 27, 1875 ; P. August 22, 1895.

DR. NORMAN MOORE (Cambridge).—A. P. September 27, 1883 ; P. December 18, 1902.

DR. SAMUEL WEST (Oxford).—A. P. February 24, 1887 ; P. October 8, 1903.

DR. JOSEPH ARDERNE ORMEROD (Oxford).—A. P. May 25, 1893 ; P. March 31, 1904.

SIR WILMOT PARKER HERRINGHAM (Oxford).—A. P. August 22, 1895 ; P. September 22, 1904.

DR. HOWARD HENRY TOOTH (Cambridge).—A. P. September 26, 1895 ; P. September 26, 1905.

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DR. ARCHIBALD EDWARD GARROD (Oxford).—A. P. January 22, 1903 ; P. February 13, 1912.

DR. JAMES CALVERT (London).—A. P. November 5, 1903 ; P. March 31, 1913.

DR. HERBERT MORLEY FLETCHER (Cambridge).—A. P. April 28, 1904 ; P. March 31, 1913.

DR. JOHN HANNAH DRYSDALE (Cambridge).—Physician with charge of out-patients.

DR. PERCIVAL HORTON SMITH HARTLEY (Cambridge).—Physician with charge of out-patients.

FLOREANT.

XXII

THE SURGEONS OF THE OLD GUILD



THE first surgeons to St. Bartholomew's were formally appointed and awarded salaries in 1549. They were three in number and members of the Company of Barber-Surgeons founded by Act of Parliament July 24, 1540. The barbers had been incorporated by a royal charter of Edward IV. in 1462, which entitled them to practise surgery, and, in fact, established them as authorised practitioners of their art in London. An unincorporated Guild of Surgeons, without property, was united, by the act of 1540, to the Company of Barbers, part of whose art was surgery, for the public benefit, and that there might be but one craft and no confusion as to who, outside the College of Physicians, might practise the whole art of surgery.

Those who elected to practise as barbers only, not having proved themselves efficient in surgery, were not allowed to practise as surgeons. At bleeding and bandaging the barber easily became an expert. His cheery conversation and the assemblage of his clients at his place of business made him a popular man. Even

when he was well read, and able to practise a good deal of surgery, he did not despise his tonsorial work. Our modern idea of surgeons as highly trained men of science did not exist at that time. All physicians had some knowledge of surgery, acquired, like their knowledge of medicine, chiefly from books. Sometimes they directed the performance of operations, and were entitled, if they chose, to perform them. The London hospital surgeon of Tudor times was generally a barber-surgeon's apprentice, who had listened carefully to all his master's dicta and to the lectures at Barbers' Hall, where he had also the opportunity of seeing enough of dissection to make him a fair anatomist. He had sometimes read Tagaltius and Guido and Lanfrank, and knew a little Latin, but scarcely ever any Greek. When he did not attempt to display learning he often wrote forcible English, containing good descriptions of cases and vigorous denunciations of impostors.

Thomas Vicary, the Master of the newly formed Company of Barber-Surgeons in its first year, and for the fourth time in 1548, was one of the six governors of St. Bartholomew's nominated in 1548, and in June, 1552, he was appointed "one of the assistants of this house for the terme of his lyffe." He was resident in the hospital, and took an active part in its administration, though he never acted as a member of its surgical staff. His name often appears in the Journals. He was present at the first meeting recorded in them, October 4, 1549, and

was at the meeting of October 18, 1549, when it was "Agreyd at the same tyme at the request of the iii surgeons for bycause thinges perteyning to their facultey be very dere that they shall have every one of them *£*xuiii a yere & that to be payd them quarterly from Mykelmas last passed." On *October* 18, 1550, it was agreed that: "so many gowns be made of the white rugge that is now in this howse as shalbe thought meete by the discessyon of Mr. Vicary as well to serue for the wearyng and ease of the poore men as also of the poor women that be diseased with the pockes—(the gowns to remain in the howse)," and standing or hanging tables are to be made in every ward where need is for the poor people to feed upon at the discretion of Mr. Vycarye. Other entries show that his functions were numerous. "*November* 22, 1550. Received the same day from Mr. Judde, mayor of London, at the buryall of my lady his wiff xxx gownes of mantell fryese for the poor of this howse. That is to saye xx gownes for men and ten for women. There be also twelve gownes more made of whit fryese bought by us. All whiche gownes be comytted to the discessyon of Mr. Vycars." *October* 2, 1554, Mr. Vicary to have oversight of all officers within the hospital. *December* 7, 1555, Mr. Vycary and Mr. William Hone appeared as churchwardens of the parish of Little St. Bartholomew's, and brought in their account. "*May* 2, 1556. This day it is agreed that Mr. Vycares and the hameneres shall make provysyon for a cooke

whych shall be a bachelor without wiffe and children." *September* 26, 1556, Mr. Vicarie to cause a lock to be made for the counting-house door with three keys for the safer keeping of the evidences, one key for the President, one for Mr. Malorye, alderman, and the third for Mr. Walkeden, treasurer. *October* 8, 1558, "This day Mr. Vickers brought into this court certen articles for the good order of the poore, and it is ordered that the same shalbe written in a Table and sett upp in the Greate Warde by the discession of the almoners and the same orders to be kept in euey poynt under the paynes conteyned in the same." *June* 10, 1559, "This day it is orderyd that Mr. Vicarie shall provide a bible and other bokes nedeful for the hospitler." *October* 6, 1559: in the list of governors his name stands as Mr. Thomas Vicary, surgeon.

A discussion about the water supply from Canonbury was going on with the inhabitants of the parish of St. Bartholomew's the Great. *September* 18, 1560: "This day it is orderyd that Mr. Vicarie may shewe the evidence for the water to Sir Richard Sackfeld to use his advise therein."

On *October* 14, 1560, Vicary was the senior of the four almoners. On *August* 2, 1561, a tenement at Duck Lane end was let to Thomas Vicary and Alice his wife from February 1, 1562, for forty years at a rent of £3, 6s. 8d. In the margin is written: "Mr. Vicare for a house in paradise." This was probably at the Smith-

field end of Duck Lane. Alice Vicary continued as the tenant till 1575-6.

On *September* 20, 1561, Vicary was again chosen almoner; and this was his last appointment in the service of the hospital.

He made his will¹ January 27, 1561, in St. Bartholomew's Hospital, and it was proved on April 7, 1562. He left to the poor of the hospital £10, and to the hospitaller, matron, steward, cook, and porter, 10s. each. To the Barber-Surgeons' Company he left a copy of Guido, probably his "*Cyrurgia*," and some arms—two bills, two bows, two sheaves of arrows, two bracers, two shooting gloves, two skulls, one hand-gun and one jack. To Henry Picton, his servant, he bequeathed a copy of *Vigo*, and his other books and instruments equally to him and to Richard Vener. To Stephen Vicary he left his estate at Boxley in Kent, and appointed his wife Alice Vicary his executrix and residuary legatee.

A book entitled "*A Profitable Treatise of the Anatomie of Man's Body*" has been ascribed to Vicary. The earliest extant edition is dated 1577, but its title seems to refer to an earlier edition, no example of which is now extant. The 1577 edition is dedicated to Sir Rowland Haiwarde, President of St. Bartholomew's from 1572 to 1593, by the surgeons to the hospital. Subsequent editions appeared, entitled "*The English-*

¹ Printed by F. J. Furnivall and P. Furnivall; "*The Anatomie of the Bodie of Man.*" Early English Text Society. Extra Series, liii., London, 1888.

man's Treasure, with the true Anatomie of Man's Bodie" in 1626, in 1633, and for the ninth time in 1641. Dr. J. F. Payne¹ has conclusively proved that this treatise is, with the exception of a few sentences, an abridged transcript of an English composition of 1392.² The work is a compilation from Lanfrank of Milan and Henry de Amanda Villa, and the order of the chapters in the manuscript agrees, with two exceptions, with that of "The Englishman's Treasure." That book, like the manuscript, contains none of the discoveries of Vesalius, whose anatomy appeared in 1543, and some of whose plates Geminus, a colleague of Vicary at court, had brought out in 1545. However, in every age men are found imbued with only the learning of a past age, and as in all the notes of Vicary in our records no sign of surgical pre-eminence appears, it is easy to believe that, since he was one of the wardens of the Barbers' Company in 1525, his mental stores belonged to the time before Vesalius, and that if he came to hear of him, he preferred his old Langfrank. Some of the verbal errors of the "Anatomy of Man" are due to obvious misreadings of words in De Amanda Villa. The dedication to Sir Rowland Haiwarde, the president of St. Bartholo-

¹ On an unpublished English Anatomical Treatise of the fourteenth century and its relation to the Anatomy of Thomas Vicary. *British Medical Journal*, January 25, 1896. Read in the section of Anatomy and Histology at the Annual Meeting of the British Medical Association held in London, July-August 1895.

² The present owner, Mr. Henry G. Wellcome, has kindly allowed me to examine the MS., which does not seem much later than the date of composition. It is of paper mended with vellum.

mew's and to the governors, is in the prose style of William Clowes, of which the following sentence is a good example :

"And further, for as muche as your Worships are very careful for those poore and greeued creatures within the Hospital of S. Bartlemewes whereof Master Vicarie was a member, We are therefore now encouraged to Dedicate this little worke of the Anatomie being his and our travayles, to you as Patrons of the Booke, to defende agaynst the ravening Jaws of envious Backbyters, whiche never cease by all unlawful means to blemishe and deface the workes of the learned, expert, and wel disposed persons." The lines at the end of the Address to the Reader are examples of the kind of verse he was fond of writing :

"O Lorde which made the loftie skyes,
 Worke in our Rulers hartes,
 Alwayes to have before their eyes
 Safegarde to godly Artes."

His having composed the prefatory matter perhaps explains why the name of Clowes is put out of his order of seniority among the four surgeons at the head of the dedication: William Clowes (1575), William Beton (1569), Richard Stone (1573), Edward Bayly (1575), while the other three are named in the order of their election. The manuscript, though no composition of Vicary's, may have been found among his papers after his death. The address, "Thomas Vycarie to his Brethren

practising Chirurgerie," and the heading "A breefe Treatise of the Anatomie of man's body : Compyled by me Thomas Vycarie Esquire, and Sargeant Chirurgion to King Henry the eyght, for the use and commoditie of all Unlearned Practicioners in Chirurgerie," were very likely composed not by Vicary, but by the editor, relying on the provenance of the manuscript.

A grant made to Vicary of some of the lands of the Abbey of Boxley, and his purchase of a small estate in that district, suggest that he was a native of Kent. He was already of some standing in the Barbers' Company when he was elected third warden in 1525, and he became upper warden in 1528. In 1530 he was elected master of the company, and was re-elected to the office in 1541, 1546, 1548, and 1557. While holding office in the company, he was appointed in 1528 surgeon to King Henry VIII., with a salary of £20 a year, and in 1536 became serjeant-surgeon with a salary of £26, 13s. 4d., continuing in office to the end of the reign, and being reappointed under Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth. In 1554 he was appointed surgeon to King Philip. The personal appearance of Vicary is preserved for us in the large picture by Holbein, which belongs to the Barbers' Company. King Henry VIII. upon his throne, with his two physicians Dr. Chambre and Dr. Butts kneeling behind him with their apothecary, is handing to the barber-surgeons a sealed document which represents the Act of Parliament uniting the surgeons to the

barber-surgeons. Vicary is the foremost of the surgeons. He is in his gown, and wears a closely fitting skull-cap and a chain of office. The beautiful hall in which the picture hangs at the present day is more modern than that in which Vicary presided, but is worthy of an ancient guild. Its artistic design, and the fine pictures on its walls, with the rare plate which is to be seen upon its table when spread, show that the barber-surgeons of London were men of taste. Any surgeon who reads the conversation of Master Nicholas the barber with the clerical university man in Don Quixote's library will see that the barber was well read and had good taste in books. He was a contemporary of Vicary or of his immediate successors, and shows that the barber of old times practising surgery is not a predecessor of whom the surgeons need be ashamed. He was a man anxious to be connected with the world of learning, and sometimes belonged to it. As time went on, that part of learning now called science came more and more into his life, and the barber-surgeon no longer wore the old gown of his guild. The surgeons were created a separate corporation on June 25, 1745.

The surgeons to St. Bartholomew's from 1549 to 1745, forty-five in number, belonged to the guild.¹ There were at first three.

¹ The chief men held offices in the guild, so are easily traced. The late Mr. Sidney Young informed me of the records of apprenticeship and admission of others. Some are stated in the hospital Journals to belong to it. The remainder could probably be discovered in the voluminous accounts or minutes of the guild, so far as these are perfect.

WILLIAM GARTAR is mentioned in the accounts as surgeon in 1547-8. He and his colleagues received £18 a year each from Michaelmas 1549. From January 21, 1555, he was willing to pay Stephen Garlop 6s. 8d. of his wage for every patient cured, but it was arranged on February 9, 1555, that he should hand over to Garlop £4, 5s. quarterly. Gartar seems to have been dissatisfied, and on March 23, 1555, declared that he would no longer serve.

THOMAS BAILEY was also in office in 1547-8. In 1559 he was middle warden of the Barber-Surgeons. Thomas Vicary, acting as a resident governor of St. Bartholomew's, gave him a gown, and in his will bequeathed to Bailey "my gowne of browne blue, lyned and faced with black budge, my cassocke of black satten fured and garded with velvet, my best plaister box, garnished with silver, my salvitory of silver and a seringe of silver, with all other instruments of silver."

GEORGE VAUGHAN, the third surgeon employed in 1547, held office till his death in 1569. He gradually rose in the Barber-Surgeons' Company,¹ being junior warden in 1558, middle warden in 1563, senior warden in 1565, and master in 1569, and died in office. Vicary left him a doublet of crimson satin. It is worth observing that these three surgeons urged and obtained

¹ For dates of office in the guild and transactions in it, I am indebted to "The Annals of the Barber-Surgeons of London, compiled from their records and other sources, by Sidney Young." London, 1890. I wrote the lives of Vicary, Clowes, Woodhall, Charles Bernard, Freke, and Nourse, in the "Dictionary of National Biography."

improvements in their time, such as a kettle to boil their "necessaries" in, and a hot house for the poor to sweat in.

STEPHEN GARLOP was admitted surgeon to the hospital, to remain during good behaviour and to have the wages, on October 5, 1555. He held office till 1567. On August 14, 1555, "This day yt ys orderyd that Garlop the surgyon shall have the chamber that ys empty in the dorter to dryie and make hys plasterys." On March 21, 1556, he was allowed to go into the country, leaving a deputy, and to be back "before wek sonday next," and on April 10, 1557, he had leave to go for five days into the country.

THOMAS SKOTT was first appointed on duty for Garlop, and then succeeded him in 1567. He held office till August 21, 1575, when he was discharged, owing to the complaint of the other surgeons that he was unable to do his work. He was very poor and not able to live, and was granted £5 a year. In 1571, when he was senior surgeon, operations were more numerous than ever before, and the treasurer was authorised to give each surgeon 10s., "but this to be no presedent hereafter."

WILLIAM BEDON was employed as surgeon, and on May 20, 1569, was given £6, 13s. 4d. till he shall be promoted into the room of one of the surgeons of this house and had come into office on July 2, 1569, when he was given 6s. "to buye him such a bonde (a scarf) as thother surgyons of the howse have." He retired from

active service in 1575, but seems to have been connected with the hospital till his death in 1581. On May 14, 1572, he was granted 10s. for his pains in healing the leg of a poor man outside the hospital, a porter at the water-side. A house in Duck Lane was let to him on April 13, 1577, at 53s. 4d. a year. Clowes mentions that Bedon gave him a good receipt, the Potus Antiochæ. It had twenty vegetable ingredients, "then boyle them together (as is sayd in the auncient copie) the time and space ye may say the psalme of Mercie, which copie was written, as it is recorded, above 200 yeares agoe."

RICHARD STORY was promised the post of surgeon at the next vacancy "of any of the three surgeons of this howse of lyttell St. Barthemewes" on March 14, 1572, and was admitted into the room of Thomas Bailey deceased on January 22, 1574. A house in the close called the Cock was promised to be let to him on July 29, 1570, but on November 18, 1570, it was decided that he should have the house lately held by Joan Edge, the floors to be repaired, and on August 15, 1579, he was granted a lease of a new dwelling-house for his life and that of his wife. He was to have 3000 bricks to make a cellar, or else 30s. He died early in 1587. Clowes relates a ludicrous incident of Story's practice.

A gentleman, staying in London, but whose home was fifty miles off, and who had already given evidence of a violent disposition by shearing off his physician's

beard and hair with a pair of tailor's shears, sent for a Dr. Simonds, who "tolde him he would send him a neighbour of his, one Master Story, a chyrurgian of S. Barthlomewes Hospitall, and a man (said he) well experienced in his arte."¹ Dr. Simonds told Story what manner of man the patient was. Story, however, went and stayed five days, but could get no fee whatever. After asking twice a day for eight days, the patient gave him some money and promised, if Story would complete the cure at his home in the country, to give more. Story went there, and asked for a further advance, but the patient, in a rage, only replied that he should not go till he had cured him. Story was troubled, but tried his best to effect a cure. However, the case grew worse, and the patient sent a man with twenty angells to Clowes in London. Clowes, not knowing that Story had been, went down. The patient began by giving Clowes to understand that if the treatment failed his servants were ready to revenge the failure. Clowes replied boldly, and "then this cankred chuffe looked on me like one that had lately come out of the devil's slaughter house, and said if he dyed under my cure, there were in his house, that should take accompt of me before I went. Then I told him, if he or any of his durst touch or abuse one haire of my head, it would bee deerely answered." Meantime poor Story was

¹ William Clowes: "A right Frutefull and Approoved Treatise for the Artificiall Cure of that Malady called in Latin *Struma*, and in English, the Evil, cured by Kinges and Queenes of England." London, 1602, p. 54.

locked up, and at 10 P.M. a swashbuckler made him rise and mount and ride towards London. They came to a great lonely wood where the swashbuckler made the surgeon alight, and left him there with scoffs and scorns. At last Story came into London bye way, rested, and so got home at last. The next day Clowes heard of this in the house, but said little. Luckily he cured the patient, who became affable, took him out, and showed him his rivers and woods, and "a number of Heronsheiw nestes," but Clowes felt uneasy all the while, and was delighted when he received £20, and got away from the house. He records with satisfaction that the unruly patient afterwards broke his neck out riding, and that the swashbuckler came to the gallows.

EDWARD BAYLEY was appointed September 18, 1575, and held office till 1584. He seems to have been negligent, and was deprived of his office in consequence. On September 9, 1581, he applied for restoration, and was put on trial till Christmas, and after that was restored; but on February 22, 1584, it was reported that he had been negligent of the poor so that some had perished, and he was given notice to leave at Lady Day. On May 23 he asked for a gratuity because he had always had £5 less than any other surgeon, and he was given £5 because he was poor. The reason for his receiving £15 a year only was that when appointed his salary was charged with £5 annual pension for his predecessor, Thomas Skott.

WILLIAM CLOWES had taken great pains in the cure of divers sick within the hospital, and it was resolved on April 7, 1575, that he shall be as one of the surgeons, and have for his wages and stipend £20 yearly from "our Ladies Day next coming until it shall fortune any of the Ordinary surgeons die or otherwise depart." He and Bayley are to have 13s. to buy them "bendes" to wear at Easter, to go with the children of the hospital (Christ's) to the Spittel. On March 16, 1576, he was elected surgeon, and he resigned in 1586.

"March 3, 1586. This daye William Clowes Surgion of this house made request that he myght departe with the favour of the governors of this house from the rome of one of the surgions of this house for that he is otherwyse to be imployed. Order is therefore taken for that he meaneth not longe to tarry heare as one of the surgions that he shall have the good wille of the governors of this house."

Clowes mentions the beginning of his practice in his treatise¹ on the Struma in 1602 :

"I have studied and practised this worthy arte of Chirurgery sithence the fourth year of her Majestie's Raigne A.D. 1563, where first I served in her highnes' wars at Newhaven, under the commaund of the Right Honourable Ambrose Earle of Warwicke, Knight of the Noble Order of the Garter, then Lieutenant of the Army and Forces in those parts."

¹ P. 6.

Clowes was born in 1544,¹ and before he entered the military service had learned his profession as apprentice of Mr. George Keble, practitioner both in physic and surgery, of London. He often quotes Keble, and speaks of him with gratitude. Keble taught Clowes how to make several complicated ointments, plasters, and balms. He recommends one as "a very good spiced playster which my maister Mr. Keble often used and he did therewith much good for paynes and aches"; and of an ointment he says: "I tooke this unguent out of a written book of secrets of my master's, M. George Keble. Sure Alexander the Great was never more bound to Aristotle his master for his lessons in philosophie than I was bound to him for giving me the first light and entrance into the knowledge of this noble art of chirurgerie."² Of Warwick's unsuccessful campaign Clowes says little. On a folding plate in one of his books are rude engravings of surgical operations on the field of battle, and in the middle a picture labelled "the surgeon's chest." It is interesting, as showing that the drawing was from the actual thing, and that Clowes long kept the chest which he had carried on his first campaign, for on the lid are engraved—surrounded by a garter and surmounted by an earl's coronet, the bear and ragged staff—the well-known badge of the Earl of Warwick. Clowes thought a well-furnished chest an essential equipment of a

¹ This date was discovered by Mr. H. A. Clowes, a licentiate of the College of Physicians, from a manuscript prayer of Clowes in the British Museum.

² "A Prooved Practise." 1591.

military surgeon, and complains that some surgeons of later days were imperfectly equipped, "with a little chirurgerie stuffe in budgets and bagges being very unfit furniture to serve in her Majesties service." "Unfortunate and unhappy," he adds, "shall that souldier be that tasteth of these surgeons wants." The fact that the accoutrements bore the arms of the general, and not of the sovereign, is worth notice as a mark of the old personal, as distinguished from the public, character of the army. The latest trace of this was perhaps the naming of regiments and companies from the officers who had raised them. All traces of this seem now to have disappeared; but English readers of every generation to come will be reminded of the usage when they make the acquaintance of Captain Shandy of Leven's, and Lieutenant Le Fevre of Angus's.

Clowes formed a life-long friendship on the Havre expedition with a surgeon named John Banester. In a letter to "Master Banester, my deare and loving friend," he enumerates the reasons of their friendship, and concludes; "but chiefelie for that we both do serve under the Right Honorable Earle of Warwick our verie good Lord and Master, whom God long preserve in health."¹ In one of Clowes's books is a laudatory letter from Banester.

Banester also came to practise in London, and he and

¹ Banester, J.: "An Antidotarie Chyrurgicall." London, 1589.

Clowes were often associated in the treatment of cases. Clowes served at sea in the year 1570, and describes an accident on board. The capstan got loose, turned about, and broke Ralfe Cowdale's ribs. Soon after this Clowes settled in London, and in course of time became surgeon to Christ's Hospital as well as to St. Bartholomew's; but in 1586 he was sent to the Earl of Leicester, Lord Lieutenant and Captain General of her Majesty's forces in the Low Countries, and continued there for nine months. He and Mr. Goodrouse (or Godorus) had excellent results as regards gunshot wounds, for they lost none but those mortally wounded at once. All the surgeons were not so successful, for he says that many bad surgeons slew more than the enemy. He was at Arnhem when Nimeguen was besieged, and there he tried for the first time a new balm on a horseman who had received a wound in the thigh seven inches long from a pikeman. Some of his cures were successful in spite of the greatest disadvantages. At the siege of Nimeguen, a pioneer named Barnard Thirkill, born in Yorkshire, and serving under Mr. Clifford, captain of the Engineers to General Norris, was shot in the shoulder. The surgeon's art triumphed with difficulty, "for that this intemperate rustickall borish fellow was of a merueilous dogged and currish nature and disposition and usually given to drink strong drinkes of all sortes." After this war Clowes spent the rest of his life in practice in London, and in writing books. In one, published in

1602, he mentions that he then had a house at Plasto, in the parish of West Ham within the county of Essex. In Rokeby House, West Ham, his arms were over a fireplace.¹ This interesting relic of a great London surgeon has foolishly been removed to the Dublin Museum. Clowes was buried in West Ham church, and his will proved February 13, 1603. He left a son of his own name, who became serjeant surgeon to King Charles I., and four daughters, Friswith, Ivan, Katharine, and Marie.²

Clowes is an interesting writer—sometimes too long, but rarely obscure. The points of the cases he records are easily made out, and the histories are well told. His “Prooved Practise” and his treatise on the Struma are his best works.³

Clowes seems to have been much attacked, and writes fiercely in his epistle dedicatory of his assailants.

¹ A chevron engrailed bearing three crescents and between three unicorns' heads erased. Crest a demi-lion crowned bearing a pole-axe.

² Genealogy of the Clowes family, drawn up by Mr. H. A. Clowes, L.R.C.P.

³ His works are:—

1. 1579. *De Morbo Gallico*.
2. 1589. Letter to Banester in *Antidotarie*.
3. 1591. *A Prooved Practise* for all young chirurgians.
4. 1591. Translation of *Almienar*.
5. 1596. *A Profitable and necessarie Book of Observations*. (2nd edition of 3.)
6. 1596. *A briefe and necessary treatise touching the cure of the disease now usually called Lues Venerea*.
7. 1597. Letter to Peter Lowe (in Lowe's surgery).
8. 1602. *A right Frutefull and Approoved Treatise for the Artificiall Cure of that Malady called in Latin Struma, and in English, the Evill, cured by Kinges and Queenes of England*.
9. 1637. *Treatise on Lues*. Reprint.
10. 1637. *A Provitabile and necessarie Book of Observations for all those that are burned with the flame of Gunpowder*. 3rd edition.

He is as full of proverbs as Sancho Panza, and has them for all occasions. As to his enemies, "and, therefore, I say unto such aforesayd, let not the Paynter goe beyond his pensill nor the shoemaker beyond his shoo, for so his pride may have a fall." "He is called an ill Fisher that cryeth stinking Fishe." "It is no conquest to beat an Asse to death." As to his own work:—"I do not heere rehearse a tale of a tub which requireth no longer remembrance than the view." In an account of a man treated by a quack, "he did compound for fifteen pound to make him as whole as a fish of all diseases." "Wheretofore his fever was ill, now much worse, a malo ad pejus, out of the frying-pan into the fire." The cure was to come "as certain as the sea burns." Though he does abuse critics and impostors, he has no fear of them, for "the greatest barkers are not the best biters." His abuse is not measured, but there are abundant proofs of his general good sense and honesty.

He treated "Mr. Crippes leeftenant to Sir Phillip Sidney's horsemen," and other officers. One had a wound from a bullet in the shoulder-blade, which would not heal. A foreign practiser was called in who declared that the bullet had been poisoned, and that the treatment must be directed against the poison. Clowes assented, honestly declaring that he knew nothing of how to deal with wounds so poisoned, but having at the same time an inward doubt as to whether poison could

be carried by a bullet. The treatment answered, the officer got well, and Clowes often thought the case over. At last he had an opportunity of testing the question of whether the discharge of a missile by gunpowder would prevent its carrying poison on its surface. "For being sent for to Portsmouth unto the right honourable the Earle of Sussex about the cure of Mr. Munnes, Lief-tenant of the Towne," he asked the master gunner to let him see an arrow shot out of a musket. The master gunner delivered a musket thus loaded to a soldier, "who presently did take his rest and discharged the piece against a gate being distant from the place where he stood about two hundred and eight score paces off, and the arrow did strike very deep in the post of the gate." Clowes went up, and found that the feathers of the arrow were unburnt, and so concluded that the foreign practiser was right, and that poison might be carried unburnt into a wound on a bullet. Clowes could read French and Latin, and mentions a long list of authors whose works he had studied. Calmatheus he had made "as it were a Day-starre or Christallin cleare looking glasse."¹ The surgical works of Tagaltius, Wecker, John of Arderne, Guido, Vigo, Quercetanus, Horatius Morus, and Ambrose Pare were well known to him, and he gives a list of seventeen English authors on medicine with whose books he was acquainted. The list is interesting as a summary of English medical

¹ "Struma," p. 9.

writings of the time. The physicians are Dr. Record, Dr. Phare, Dr. Turner, Dr. Langton, Dr. Bourd, Dr. Bailey, Dr. Bright, and the surgeons Mr. Baker, Mr. Hall, Mr. Banister, Mr. Jemeny, Mr. Trehiron, Mr. Lite, Mr. Barrowe, Mr. Bullen, Mr. Kellaway, and Sir Thomas Elyot, who was not a practiser, but had studied physic under Linacre. Clowes knew many men of his time, and speaks with generosity of his professional contemporaries. They returned his compliments. Godorus, or Goodrouse, serjeant surgeon to Queen Elizabeth, wrote a copy of English verses in his praise. John Read, chirurgion, dedicated his translation of Arceus' "Method of curing woundes," published in 1588, to Banister, Clowes, and Pickering. In Peter Lowe's "The whole Course of Chirurgerie," London, 1597, there is a letter from Clowes; and in George Baker's "Guydos Questions," London, 1579, the author says, "for which antidotary you are much bound to my brother Clowes for furnishing it with many excellent medicines."

Clowes had frequent encounters with practitioners of doubtful character, and, if he was abused by them, he was always ready to reply. Of one he says that he will "with his Momus pen leade others to seeke a Diamont with a Linke, which could shew itself in the darke": and of another, "he is more fitter to be made a turnebroche or a scullion of a kitchen than to be admitted to be eyther a Physition or Surgeon."

Sometimes he used verse in these controversies :

“ No man can lead so just a lyfe,
 No worke be writ so true,
 That can escape their squinting eyes
 Or passe their elvish view.”

A book which belonged to Clowes is in the possession of Dr. Frederick William Cock, who has kindly shown it to me. It is “The whole worke of that famous churgion Maister JOHN VIGO ; Newly corrected, by men skilfull in that Arte. Where unto are annexed certain works, compiled and published by Thomas Gale, Maister in Chirurgerie” [beneath which title and above the place of printing is written in a seventeenth century hand, ‘Gulielmus Clowes generosus chirurgus Londoniensis’]. At London. Printed by Thomas East, 1586.”

Clowes’s methods of treatment were not very gentle. He was content with almost any joining and recovery in fractures, and took small account of a little shortening of a limb. He describes very clearly his method of amputation. “All which being well considered, you shall have in readinesse a good strong fourme and a stedie and set the patient at the very ende of it : then shall there bestride the fourme behinde him a man that is able to hould him fast by both his armes : which done if the legge be to be taken of beneath the knee let there bee also an other strong man appoynted to bestride the legge that is to be taken of and he must hould fast the member above the place where the incision is to be

made, very stedily without shaking, and he that doth so hould should have a large hand and a good gripe, whose hand may the better stay the bleeding; but in some bodies it will not be amiss to admit bleeding, especially in such bodies as are of hot complexions and do abound in blood. And I have knowen, through the skilfulnesse of the houlder not much above 3 iiii. of bloud lost at a time, but in weake bodies it may not be suffered to loose much bloud; for bloud is sayd to be the treasure of life for which cause a good houlder is not to be spared. In like manner there must be an other skilful man that hath good experience and knowledge to hold the legge belowe, for the member must not be held too high for staying and choking of the saw, neither must hee hould downe his hande too lowe for feare of fracturing the bones in the time it is a sawing off, and he that doth cut off the member must be sure to have a sharpe sawe a very good catlin and an incision knife and then boldly with a stedie and quick hand cut the flesh round about the bones without staying, being sure that the Periostium or panicle that covereth the bones be also incised and cut with the Nerue that runneth between the two bones of the legge, which shall be done with your incision knife: all this being orderly performed, then set your saw as neare the sound flesh as easely you may, not touching it and with a light hand speedily sawe it off."

Here and there are glimpses of his practice in St.

Bartholomew's, as where he mentions that about twenty patients were admitted, "most commonly upon the Monday," in each week.

His description gives a terrible idea of what men suffered in old times. The actual cautery was freely used to stop bleeding: "the yron is most excellent, but that is offensive to the eye and bringeth the patient to great sorowe and dread of the burning and the smart."

He made some improvements in the method of treatment in the Hospital. A styptic powder had been used, but he introduced a better:—

"Maister Gales powder which I will hereafter set downe in this booke which powder of his was a worthie invention and better pleased the patients then the burning yrons which were I say very offensive unto the eye and yet the powder wrought with extreme payne and made a very great ascher by that meanes the bone afterwards hath beene cut of newe agayne, as I haue seene many times within the Hospitall of St. Bartholmewes and so did make a very long worke or euer they were cured: but this powder here published neuer causeth payne, but often bringeth with it seasonable white matter. The forsaid powder is of my collection and gathering, the which I did put first in practise in the Hospitall of Sainct Bartholmewes; as it is well known unto some of the surgions that then serued there, and yet liue within this citie of London who were

present with me when I first put it in practise, after the order before declared at which time there was taken off in one morning seuen legges and armes, and so by Gods assistaunce we stayed all their fluxes of bloud, without any payne unto them but only in the compression and close roulling and tendernesse of the wound excepted."

Clowes tells how but twenty-eight men of a crew of ninety-two were able to work a ship entering a western port owing to scurvy. That disease was then common on land as well as at sea. At Christ's Hospital "twenty or thirty children had the scorby at a time." Clowes washed their mouths out with vinegar and salt water. He understood the art of embalming, and gives directions for it. Clowes' last book is his treatise on the Struma. It is as full of observation, reading, and intellectual vigour as his earlier works. It is in black letter, but ends with an address to the reader in Roman type, in which he mentions that the number of copies printed was not many, and looks forward to a revised edition. An approbation concludes the book :

"This Booke was examined, seene and allowed to be Printed, according to order appointed: And are now to bee solde at Master Laybourne's, a Barber Chirurgical dwelling vpon Saint Mary Hill, neere Billings-gate."

No further edition appeared, and as Clowes, lately in full vigour, died within the period of a severe epidemic

of plague, it does not seem improbable that as his last study was the enlargement of glands, so he may have fallen a victim to a disease in which they are as prominent and more fatal symptoms than in tuberculosis or, as Clowes called it, the struma.

JOHN HAYSIE was appointed surgeon October 7, 1584, and died in 1592. He was a warden in the Barber-Surgeons' Company, going through all the steps 1580, 1584, 1586, and was master in 1589. With William Clowes and Richard Story he asked for more wages because the work had increased, January 15, 1585, when the governors granted £10 to be equally divided amongst the three surgeons for all past services.

JOHN GRIFFIN was appointed March 26, 1586, and resigned in 1593. Among the Barber-Surgeons he was junior warden 1581, middle warden 1586, and senior warden 1589. He was sometime servant, or as we should say, assistant to Robert Balthrope, serjeant surgeon to Queen Elizabeth, and lived within St. Bartholomew's in the house once Serjeant Balthrope's. When Griffin was a suitor for the place of Richard Story, he presented a letter from Balthrope as to his sufficiency, and it was resolved on February 26, 1586, that he should have the place for three months on trial. He was elected before the end of that period. Serjeant Balthrope bequeathed to him "my silver salvatory [salve-box] parcell guilted." The serjeant's monument, showing his figure kneeling in gown and ruff, remains

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in the church of St. Bartholomew the Less with the epitaph :

Here Robert Balthrope lyes intombed, to Elizabeth our Queene,
Who sergeant of the surgeons sworne neere thirte yeeres hathe
beene.

He died at syxtie-nine of yeeres, December's ninthe the daye,
The yeere of Grace eight hundred twice, deductinge nine a waye.
Let heere his rotten bones repose, till angell's trompet sounde,
To warne the worlde of present chaunge and raise the dead from
grounde.

VIVIT POST FUNERA VIRTUS.

Since Balthrope lived in St. Bartholomew's, he must often have been seen walking across its court in the black satin doublet and velvet hose, with a black cloth cloak laid with lace and faced with velvet which are mentioned in his will. This was grave attire, but in the country his dress was a white canvas doublet and a pheasant-coloured cloak, with sleeves and cape faced with russet velvet. On his finger he wore a great ring of gold with the seal of his arms; silver on chevron sable five fleur-de-lys silver. He completed in manuscript a translation of the surgery books of Tagaltius and of Ambrose Paré into English, and left medicines, books, instruments, bottles, boxes, and pots for the use of "the sicke and sore people" in St. Bartholomew's and St. Thomas's Hospitals. He had been apprenticed to Nicholas Alcocke, surgeon to King Edward VI., who left him an English translation of Guido. Balthrope was

master of the Barber-Surgeons in 1565 and 1573, and was contemporary with Dr. Caius in the precincts of St. Bartholomew's Hospital. His will¹ shows that he had a good many books: two Bibles, two dictionaries, Guido de Cauliaco in French and in Latin, Bartholomeus de proprietatibus rerum, Vidus Vidius, Valescus his practice, Albucasis, Dioscorides, Celsus, Mesue, Marcus Catenarchus, Leonardus Fuschius, Gyrolanus in French, Quintus Curtius in English, Vigo, Turner's herbal, Eliot's dictionary, Tagaltius, and a big Latin book wherein are bound together the surgeries of Guido, Brumis, Theodoricus, Lanfrancke, Albertus Palus, and the Anatomy of Geminus. It is probable that Dr. Caius had a copy of Geminus' plates from Vesalius, which Balthrope also possessed, so that within the hospital walls there were two copies of the modern anatomy of which Vicary, also resident there, must have been ignorant if he had any hand in the "Englishman's Treasure."

HENRY TERREY, surgeon of Christ's Hospital, was a suitor for the place vacated by Story, and brought letters of recommendation from the Lord Mayor and from the Governors of Christ's Hospital, but was told that "at this time the governors [of St. Bartholomew's] are not able to pleasure him," and advised to try on the next vacancy. He was appointed August 21, 1591, and died shortly before January 15, 1592.

¹ Young: "Barber-Surgeons," p. 531.

WILLIAM PICKERING was surgeon to Bridewell in 1580, and was paid £3 on March 18, 1581, for healing patients there. On the retirement of Clowes in 1586, whose appointment was an extra one, Pickering seems to have done duty in a similar way at St. Bartholomew's, and was regularly appointed surgeon April 8, 1592, after the death of Henry Terrey. Lewis Rogers, Anthony Spaceman, Richard Hynde, Thomas Cole, and John Christopher were also competitors for the post, and some of them had letters from members of Her Majesty's Council and others of the nobility. Thomas Cole was afterwards elected surgeon to St. Bartholomew's. Lewis Rogers had been servant or assistant to Serjeant Balthrope, who bequeathed to him "my greater surgery Chest which is in my Chamber here at London with all that is therein except gold and silver." On March 5, 1597, Pickering brought a letter from the Privy Council that he might have leave to be absent with Lord Burghe in Ireland, and be restored to his place of surgeon on his return. Leave was granted to him, and he went, but never returned to St. Bartholomew's.

THOMAS COLE, "barbor surgion, made sewte for the place of John Haysie, late surgion," and was appointed May 22, 1592, and held office till February 25, 1608. On April 30, 1597, he was given charge of the poor of Bridewell "in regarde of his antiquity," and was to have the yearly stipend of £3, 6s. 8d. while Pickering the surgeon was employed in Ireland. His end was unhappy,

as is shown by a minute : "That whereas Thomas Cole one of the chirurgions of this house is in trouble and prison, whereby he cannot supply his office to the poore of this house as he ought, that John Collson, chirurgion whoe hath the nexte reuercon of the same offices do execute the same from henceforth, untill Thomas Cole shall be at his liberty." At the next court, on February 25, Cole resigned.

JOHN HYNDE was appointed surgeon September 10, 1593. He had been on duty during the illness of Griffin, and held office till 1599.

JOSEPH FENTON was, on April 2, 1597, appointed to serve as surgeon during the absence of William Pickering in Ireland. On January 28, 1599, Fenton brought a letter from the right honourable my Lord of Essex wherein "was shown that his honor hath made choyes of the said Fenton to be employed in Her Majestie's service for Ireland, and that Fenton should not be deprived of his roome during the said service." He had leave to go at his honor's pleasure, and then William Marten, surgeon, shall supply the room of the said Fenton during Fenton's absence. On May 27, 1601, Fenton, Mapes, and Cole asked for augmentation of their stipends. From midsummer next it was agreed that each should have £26, 13s. 4d. a year, and £5 in benevolence forthwith, and they are not to ask again. However, Fenton, Mapes, and Collston asked again, October 14, 1610, and were granted £30

a year for the future. On October 23, 1601, Fenton asked for a back-door from his house to the cloister of the hospital, and brought a letter from the Lord Treasurer advocating the granting of his request. He was given the leave he asked. I have only met with one trace of Fenton's practice. Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton, had a swelling in his thigh, which was lanced by Fenton. The surgeon was poisoned during the operation, and John Chamberlain writes to Sir Dudley Carleton:¹ "Fenton hath ever since lain at death's door, and the bell hath tolled for him twice or thrice." Chamberlain, living in or near the hospital, no doubt heard it. The Earl died June 15, 1614, but Fenton recovered. On December 8, 1630, he is reported to be ill, but he did not die till March 22, 1634. In the Barber-Surgeons' Company, Fenton was appointed auditor of the master's accounts September 8, 1600. On July 20, 1607, he was appointed an examiner of surgeons with Richard Mapes, serjeant surgeon George Baker, and John Gerard of the "Herbal." In 1624 he became master of the company.

RICHARD MAPES was appointed in 1599, and resigned owing to weakness, April 22, 1616. He was junior warden of the Barber-Surgeons in 1604, middle warden 1606, senior warden 1608, and master of the company 1612. On March 30, 1602, he was granted 40s. by the Court of Governors for healing and dressing certain poor

¹ Birch: "Court and Times of James I.," i. 326.

persons in Newgate "this to be noe presydent." On March 3, 1603, he asked for a lease for 48 years of a house at Pye Corner at 40s. a year, with a fine of £40. On October 6, 1610, he agreed to give up the lease. He subscribed 20s. towards the Plantation of Ulster¹ on July 26, 1609, and on September 24, 1611, Mapes and Gerard of the "Herbal" were appointed to arbitrate² in a dispute between two barber-surgeons. He left a wife named Faith, and four young children.¹ He left £6, 13s. 4d. to be given on the feast of St. Cosmas and Damian to twelve poor persons at the Barber-Surgeons' Hall: 10s. each, and a repast with the rest.

JOHN COLLSTON first came on duty when Thomas Cole was in prison for debt, and, having produced Cole's written resignation, was on February 25, 1609, appointed surgeon. It was the meeting at which Harvey was promised the reversion of the office of physician. Collston died December, 1625.

JOHN WOODHALL was appointed June 19, 1616, and held office till his death in September, 1643. He lived first in Broad Street, and from 1619 in Little Wood Street in the parish of St. Alphege, and attended at St. Bartholomew's every Monday and Thursday. On March 23, 1637, he and each of the other two surgeons received 20 nobles in respect of their great pains in providing salves in the cure of 16 persons "burned and scorched and bruised with gunpowder the last general training

¹ Young: "Annals of the Barber-Surgeons," pp. 429, 473.

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² *Ibid.*, pp. 214, 217.

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and brought into this hospital for their cure." On February 28, 1640, they were told that they should receive £10 for salves from Lady Day instead of the £6 paid before. He was admitted a Barber-Surgeon in 1599, became junior warden in 1625, middle warden in 1627, and master in 1633. On November 20, 1627, he was sent by the guild to Portsmouth to attend to the cure of wounded soldiers from the isle of Rhé. He was an examiner of surgeons in 1641. Such are the chief circumstances of his life mentioned in the records of the hospital and in those of the Barber-Surgeons' Company. Two commendatory poems of his surgical friend George Dunn, and some passages in his own works, mention other incidents. His professional life began as a surgeon in Lord Willoughby's regiment in 1591, and, having learnt German well enough to act as an interpreter, he stayed eight years in the empire with intervals in France and Poland. Afterwards he dwelt in Holland, where his landlord earned a dishonest living by making mithridate of nine instead of seventy-five ingredients and by concocting a false Venice treacle put up in pewter boxes. Woodhall was in London during the plague of 1603, and after it he again visited Poland. He owned a secret remedy for plague called "aurum vitæ." He was, in 1612, appointed the first Surgeon-General of the East India Company, an office he held for thirty years. He drew up rules for the surgeons, with lists of implements and drugs, and pre-

sented candidates for approval to Dr. Atkins and Dr. Winston.¹ He published two books, "The Surgeon's Mate" in 1617, and the "Viaticum, being the pathway to the surgeon's chest," in 1628. Both were published, together with a "Treatise for the cure of the Plague," in a handsome folio in 1639. It is dedicated to King Charles I., who eleven years before had the far higher honour of the dedication to him of Harvey's great work. It is curious that this king should have received a dedication from both a physician and a surgeon to St. Bartholomew's. The "Surgeon's Mate" has a prolix preface, ending with four lines translated from the German, which may be given as an example of Woodhall's verse :

Who likes, approves, and useful deemes
This work, for him 'tis wrought :
But he that light thereof esteemes
May leave the book unbought.

Then follows a statement of the duties of a surgeon's mate, and then an account of the contents of a surgeon's chest, both instruments and drugs. Accounts of wounds, abscesses, fractures and amputations next cover a great many pages. An account of the scurvy follows, in which the poor sailor landing afflicted by it seemingly dying, yet in the end recovering, is well drawn :

"And yet to any man of judgement it may seeme a

¹ Calendar of State Papers, Colonial, 1623, p. 123.

wonder how a poore miserable man ; comming on Land from a long Voyage even at the point of death, namely, swolne sometimes to an unreasonable greatnesse not able to lift a leg over a straw nor scarce to breathe by reason of strong obstruction, yet in a few daies shall receive the fulnesse of former health, yea with little or no medicine at all." He had, for the time, a good method of treatment.¹

"Further, the Chirurgion or his Mate must not faile to perswade the Governour or Purser in all places where they touch in the Indies and may have it, to provide themselves of juice of Oranges, limes or lemons, and at *Banthame* of tamarinds : Also sometime though a man be well, a comfortable caudle made with some Wine, Spices, Sugar and the yolk of an egge were very good ; for these are helps in that case as well to prevent the disease, as also to helpe it when it comes."

"And further experience teacheth what I have oft found true, that where a disease most raigneth, even there God hath appointed the best remedies for the same grief, if it be his will they should be discovered and used : and note for substance, the Lemmons, Limes, Tamarinds, Oranges, and other choice of good helps in the Indies which you shall finde there do farre exceede any that can be carried thither from England, and yet there is a good quantity of Juice of Lemmons sent in each ship out of England by the great care of the

¹ "Surgeon's Mate," pp. 163-164.

Marchants, and intended onely for the reliefe of every poore man in his neede, which is an admirable comfort to poore men in that disease; also I finde we have many good things that heal the scurvy well at land, but the sea Chirurgeon shall do little good at Sea with them, neither will they endure. The use of the juyce of Lemmons is a precious medicine and well tried, being sound and good, let it have the chief place, for it will deserve it, the use whereof is: It is to be taken each morning, two or three spoonfuls, and fast after it two houres, and if you adde one spoonfull of *Aquavitæ* thereto to a cold stomach, it is the better."

Woodhall's other book, "The Viaticum, being the path-way to the Surgeon's chest," is somewhat shorter. It begins with a preface containing a list of the king's ships, and followed by an epitome of the contents of the surgeon's chest. Chapters on the dressing of gunshot wounds, cataplasmes, the trafine and its use, are the contents of the remainder of the book. A treatise on Plague, also printed in 1639, ends with his own recommendation, supported by testimonials, of his remedy called *aurum vitæ*, the composition of which is not revealed. He sold it in sealed packets. "A treatise of Gangrena" is the fourth and last in the volume. He advocates amputation in the mortified part, and gives cases from the wards of St. Bartholomew's to prove the excellent results he obtained. Harvey was his colleague, and he mentions one therapeutic practice of the great

discoverer: "*Pilulæ Cambogiæ* ———. This Cambogia is much used in Holland and Germany, and Doctor Harvey of St. Bartholomew's Hospitall, calleth it purging saffron and giveth it in pills *per se*."¹ Besides his work at St. Bartholomew's and in the service of the East India Company and his private practice, Woodhall took some part in the affairs of the Virginia Company in 1620-23. His portrait, with Hippocrates to his right and Galen to his left, is at the bottom of the title-page of the "Surgeon's Mate."

WILLIAM WRIGHT was on November 4, 1625, promised appointment if he "shall procure his lettres of approbacion of his sufficiency of Chirurgery according to the statute in that case provided before Christmas next or sooner." On January 7, 1626, he had procured the letters, and was admitted "one of the chirurgions of this house." The same day *Andrew Mathews* was admitted to be one of the surgeons for bone-setting, fractures, and dislocations. After his death the office was to be spared, and the said cures to be done by the surgeons of the hospital. On June 9, 1626, it was ordered that the surgeons should attend every Monday and Thursday to dress and oversee their assistants (servants) dress the patients. Some of the governors are asked to attend on Thursday to see these duties performed. Wright died in June, 1632.

HENRY BOONE was recommended April 25, 1631, by

¹ "The Surgeon's Mate," p. 62.

Mr. Clowes, serjeant surgeon to the king, supported by Mr. Richard Croshawe, a governor, and was promised the first next reversion. He was admitted surgeon July 7, 1632, and resigned May 18, 1644. On November 14, 1634, he was given a lease of a house in the close of the hospital on condition of his living in it. In the Barber-Surgeons' Company he was junior warden 1643, middle warden 1644, senior warden 1647, and Master 1655. When King Charles I. returned to London from Scotland in 1641, Boone was one of those chosen to meet him, well mounted and attired in plush or velvet, with a chain of gold, and attended by a freeman clad in white and green with a green flat cap and a white ribbon about it. In 1637 he was given leave with Edward Arris, to mount the skeleton of Canonbury Besse, whom they had dissected, in the anatomical theatre adjoining the hall. He also gave a large tortoiseshell as an ornament.

JOHN PINDER, on December 8, 1632, was appointed to take duty during the illness of Joseph Fenton. After Fenton's death Pinder was appointed surgeon March 22, 1634, and held office till his death in May, 1647. He had been chosen of the livery January 19, 1627, and was junior warden of the Barber-Surgeons' Company in 1641.

WILLIAM KINGE, barber-chirurgion, was elected one of the surgeons in room of John Woodhall deceased, October 7, 1643. He resigned owing to blindness in February, 1655. He was son of Edward Kinge, a surgeon of the Barber-Surgeons' Company, who was apprenticed

to James Bates (afterwards warden in 1591, 1595, and 1597), and was admitted to the freedom by servitude January 27, 1579. William Kinge was admitted to the freedom by patrimony June 13, 1609. He was senior warden in 1646, and master in 1650. He gave in 1645 a great tortoiseshell to the hall, with the arms of the company painted on it, which may still be seen there. In his time regular certificates were granted to surgeons after examination at the hall in Monkwell Street. Mr. Sidney Young, in his admirable "Annals of the Barber-Surgeons," has printed one from their records, which mentions Kinge as one of the examiners:—

CERTIFICATE IN THE BEHALF OF A CHIRURGEON.¹

To all people to whom this present writeing shall come,
JOHN FREDERICKE Esqr. Alderman of the Cittie of
London, Thomas Allen, Abraham Clerke and Thomas
Bowden, Masters or Governors of the Mistery and
cominalty of Barbers and Chirurgeons of London
send Greeting in our Lord God everlasting.

Whereas WEE have had experience and sufficient
Tryall as well of the good behaviour and honest con-
versacion of Samuell Holditch a Freeman of the said
mistery and Cominaltie and one of the Cloathing of our
said Corporacion as alsoe of his skill experience and
knowledge in the Arte or Science of Chirurgery: Now

¹ P. 343.

KNOW YEE that we the said Masters or Governors (att the humble suite and entreatie of the said Samuell Holditch and for his further approbacion of his skill) Have on the day of the date of these presents caused him to be deliberately examined and tryed before us concerning his sufficiency and knowledge in the same arte by William Kinge, Edward Arris, Henry Boone, Robert Bullacke, Charles Stamford and Lawrence Loe, Masters in Chirurgery being six of the examiners appointed and authorized according to Lawe for the examinacion and approbacion of Chirurgeons And findeing him the said Samuell Holditch a fitt and able person to practice use and exercise the said Arte of Chirurgery Wee doe by these presents as much as in us is admitt approve of and allowe him to practice use and exercise the said Arte or science of Chirurgery, and all and every the parts thereof according to the force forme and effect of the statutes in that behalf made and provided.

IN WITNESSE whereof we the said Masters or Governors have hereunto subscribed our names and caused the Common seale of ye said Corporacion to be fixed this seaventh day of May in the yeare of our Lord God according to the accompt kept in England One thousand six hundred fifty and five.

JOHN FREDERICK
THOMAS ALLEN
ABRA: CLERKE
THO: BOWDEN

JOSEPH BYNNS was elected November 12, 1647. "This day it is ordered upon the petition of Joseph Bynns Barber Chirurgion that he shalbe one of the Chirurgions of this house in the Roome and place of John Pinder Deceased the elecion being made in the usuall manner by the balatting Box, the choice being betweene one Thomas Woodhall and the said Joseph Bynns there being found for the said Bynns 31 and for the said Woodhall but 21, and that he shall have the ffees and profitts to the same and late belonging so long as he shall orderly and carefully behaue himself therein for the good of the poore and content of the Governors of this howse."

Sir George Clerk had recommended Thomas Woodhall, Major-General Skippon wrote on behalf of his surgeon, Thomas Everham, and a petition in favour of Edward Cockyn, late apprentice to Henry Boone, was sent in by soldiers and patients who had experience of his "sufficiency and care." Bynns held office till his death in May, 1664. He was junior warden of the Barber-Surgeons 1662, and middle warden 1663.

ROBERT ARRIS, chirurgion, having cured fifty out-patients, was granted a gratuity of £3 on May 20, 1654. He was apparently on duty for Kinge, who was growing blind, and on February 25, 1655, was elected to succeed him. He died in office in August, 1661. He was son of Edward Arris, master of the company (1651), alderman of the ward of Bridge Without (1663), and founder

of the Arris Lecture, which is still given at the Royal College of Surgeons. Edward Arris for some time lived within St. Bartholomew's Hospital, of which he was a benefactor. His son Robert was admitted to the freedom of the Barber-Surgeons' Company January 21, 1651. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Henry Boone, the elder, surgeon to St. Bartholomew's.

THOMAS WOODHALL was son of John Woodhall, the surgeon, who petitioned for a reversion in his son's favour July 1, 1637. Thomas was elected September 3, 1661, after a contest with Ralph Thickness and John Speare. He died in office—killed at Somerset House by a Frenchman in a drunken quarrel, says Pepys, February, 1666. On September 28, 1665, the clerk was desired to "prepare a letter to bee sent to Mr. Thomas Woodhall now attending his Majestie to give him notice that the Hospitall is visited and to desire his address to his Majestie for a letter to the Commissioners for the sick and wounded to forbear sending any sicke seamen hither during theis Contagious tymes." Woodhall had dissected at the Barber-Surgeons' Hall in accordance with a formal leave granted to him with three other surgeons on January 11, 1648.

HENRY BOONE, son of Henry Boone, surgeon from 1632 to 1664, was appointed on his father's resignation on May 18, 1664. On July 31, 1665, he was for the second time warned to live nearer the hospital. On November 5, 1669, it was resolved that he should have a

house in Well Yard, and should live in it. He did so, and was living there in October, 1674, when the house was repaired for him. On his motion, on September 4, 1675, a steel truss was made for a patient at a cost of 10s. He died, and his successor was elected August 20, 1686. On March 19, 1687, it was resolved that three guinea pieces of gold should be given to his widow "for the scarf that lately appertained to her husband."

JOHN SPEARE was elected surgeon May 18, 1664, after a contest with Robert Sanderson and Robert Gill. He died in office in July, 1665.

ROBERT SANDERSON was elected surgeon December 15, 1665. He held office till his death in August, 1686; at which time he was senior warden of the Barber-Surgeons. In the two previous years he had been middle and junior warden.

GEORGE HORSNAYLE was on April 1, 1666, appointed to act for Thomas Woodhall, "who is obliged to be much at Whitehall and elsewhere with the King." On March 5, 1666, a king's letter on behalf of Horsnayle was produced, and a letter from his highness Prince Rupert on behalf of Anthony Choqueux, his Majesty's surgeon in ordinary and also Prince Rupert's surgeon. There were three other candidates, Thomas Page, Thomas Serle, and Edward Cockayne. They were all put to election by show of hands, and George Horsnayle was elected. He was junior warden of the Barber-Surgeons in 1680, middle warden in 1681, senior warden in 1684,

and master in 1685. In their records his name is written Horsnell. He died in office at St. Bartholomew's in the spring of 1697.

THOMAS GUNTER, citizen and barber-surgeon, was appointed on August 20, 1686, by the Royal Commission appointed by the king's letters patent for the government of hospitals. This was a department of the illegal High Commission appointed by James II. One other surgeon was appointed by it in the same year. It was abolished in 1688. In each case the candidate recommended by the governors to the Commission was appointed. Gunter died in 1687, and his successor was appointed on November 17, in that year.

CHARLES BERNARD, who is described as "citizen and barber-surgeon, for many years assistant surgeon," was appointed surgeon by the Commission on the recommendation of the governors of the hospital, on August 26, 1686, and held office till his death in 1711. He was a younger brother of Dr. Francis Bernard. He attained a large surgical practice, and was made serjeant surgeon to Queen Anne when she came to the throne. He had noticed that after an operation for cancer, the growth often reappeared,¹ and he was certainly the first Englishman to observe this. He gave up operating for stone in 1705. His portrait is at the Barbers' Hall, and he was master of the company in 1703 without ever serving as warden. Swift knew and cared for him, and

¹ "The Present State of Chyrurgery." London, 1703.

mentions him and his library in the *Journal to Stella*. Bernard was the first surgeon in England who had a fine library of literature, and was well read in it. The sale catalogue of his books contains 221 octavo pages, and many of the books were very fine copies. On the title-page he generally wrote: "Car: Bernard. Chir. Lond." One of his books is mentioned by Budgell in the "*Spectator*."¹ "Nothing has more surprized the learned in *England* than the price which a small book, entitled '*Spaccio della Bestia trionfante*,' bore in a late auction. This book was sold for thirty pound."² The "*Spectator*" goes on to discuss why the book sold for so much and what there was in it, concluding that there was little in it to endanger religion or gratify the purchaser. Charles Bernard's library was his chief delight.

ROBERT STEVENS presented to the governors an order of the Court of High Commission, and was appointed assistant surgeon March 12, 1687. On November 17, 1687, he was recommended by a letter from his Majesty for the place of surgeon void by the death of Thomas Gunter. On the same day and in the same way, *Timothy Sutton* was appointed assistant surgeon. These were the last interferences on the part of the crown with the rights of the governors. Stevens died in office, and his successor was elected November 4, 1698. Timothy Sutton was assistant surgeon during Stevens' period of office, and died in 1696.

¹ No. 389.

² In a priced catalogue of the sale in my possession, £28.

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JOHN SALTER was elected assistant surgeon August 20, 1696. There were seven other candidates, of whom William Cowper, the famous anatomist, was one. On April 20, 1697, Salter was elected surgeon, Cowper being again a candidate. Salter held office till his death in February, 1721. On February 21, 1709, the governors resolved that Salter should receive the whole salary for cutting for the stone.

HENRY BOONE was elected assistant surgeon April 20, 1697, and surgeon November 4, 1698, and died in office in July 1719.

EDWARD GREEN was elected assistant surgeon November 4, 1698, and surgeon November 9, 1710, and died early in 1728. He was middle warden of the Barber-Surgeons in 1709, senior warden in 1710, and master in 1711. In his time, September 12, 1724, it was resolved that the surgeons should have 6s. 8d. for every operation for stone.

ROBERT GAY was elected assistant surgeon August 3, 1699, and surgeon July 30, 1719, and died in office in July, 1729. When he was elected there were three surgeons, Charles Bernard, John Salter, and Henry Boone, and three assistant surgeons, Edward Green, *Samuel Haywood*, and Gay. There had before only been two assistant surgeons. On March 2, 1699, it was resolved that a scarf be provided for the third assistant surgeon.

ROBERT KEYLMAY was elected assistant surgeon

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November 9, 1710, and surgeon on March 8, 1720, and died in May, 1725. He was first a candidate in April, 1697.

Nathaniel Smith was assistant surgeon on July 9, 1714, but never became surgeon.

Randolph Church was elected assistant surgeon March 8, 1720. He never became full surgeon, and died early in 1722.

JOHN DOBYNS became assistant surgeon July 30, 1719, and was elected surgeon May 27, 1725. The record of his election is: "John Dobyns senior assistant surgeon elected Master surgeon." He died at the end of 1730. Edward Nourse was his apprentice. A volume in the British Museum, with five syllabuses of anatomical and surgical lectures, has Dobyns' autograph on the title-page of the third syllabus. It is dated 1729, and is a corrected edition of the syllabus of 1711 "In usum Collegii Chirurgorum Londinensium."

HENRY BULL was elected assistant surgeon out of ten candidates February 23, 1722, and surgeon February 21, 1728, and died in the autumn. At the contest for the assistant surgeoncy he received 91 votes, and William Greene 64. He was junior warden of the Barber-Surgeons in 1726.

WILLIAM GREEN was elected assistant surgeon April 5, 1723, on the death of Nathaniel Smith. There were twelve candidates. He was elected surgeon September 12, 1728, and died in the spring of 1736.

JOHN FREKE was elected assistant surgeon, there being eight other candidates, on May 27, 1725, and surgeon¹ July 24, 1729, and resigned in February, 1755. He was born in 1688, and was son of John Freke, rector of Ockford Fitz-Paine, Dorsetshire, and his wife Jane Baker.² His professional education began as apprentice to Mr. Richard Blundell, whose daughter Elizabeth he afterwards married. When the discussions about separation arose in the Barber-Surgeons' Company, Freke was one of the five surgeons named to present the views of the chirurgical members of the guild. Soon after his appointment at St. Bartholomew's as assistant surgeon, he was nominated to the care of the small collection of specimens which was the beginning of the present great pathological museum of the hospital. In the Journal of 1727 it is recorded that "through a tender regard for the deplorable state of blind people, the governors think it proper to appoint Mr. John Freke, one of the assistant surgeons of this house, to couch and take care of the diseases of the eyes of such poor persons as shall be thought by him fit for the operation, and for no other reward than the six shillings and eightpence for each person so couched

¹ *Joseph Webb* became assistant surgeon after Freke's appointment as surgeon, and held office till appointed to Kingsland in 1749. Two other assistant surgeons, who went no further, may be mentioned:—*Richard Scrafton*, appointed March 25, 1737, who held office for about a year, and *John Townsend*, assistant surgeon, April 7, 1739 to 1748, when he was appointed to the Lock.

² Freke Pedigree, kindly shown to me by Lady Carbury, which enables me to correct my statement in *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, vol. xx. p. 246.

as is paid on other operations." He worked also at midwifery, and devised an improvement in the forceps, which has been described by Mr. Alban Doran,¹ sometime assistant demonstrator of anatomy at St. Bartholomew's, in his erudite investigation of the history of the midwifery forceps. Thus was Freke the first curator of our museum, the first ophthalmic surgeon, and the first improver of midwifery at St. Bartholomew's. He was elected F.R.S. in 1729, and described at the Society a bony growth² which he found in a boy of fourteen; and in 1743 an instrument for reducing dislocations of the shoulder. He was in favour of early paracentesis in empyema, and performed it by dissecting through the skin and muscles, dividing the pleura with his finger, and then placing a canula in the wound. Like Charles Bernard, he had observed the importance of considering secondary growths in cancer. These latter observations occur in his one professional book, "An Essay on the Art of Healing," which appeared in 1748. In the same year he published "An Essay to show the Cause of Electricity and why some things are Non-Electricable, in which is also considered its Influence in the Blasts on Human Bodies, in the Blights on Trees, in the Damps in Mines, and as it may affect the Sensitive Plant." An enlarged edition was published in 1752 under the title of "A treatise on the Nature and Property of Fire." He attributed the closure of the

¹ Transactions R. S. of Medicine.

² Philosophical Transactions, 1736.

leaves of the Sensitive Plant, when touched, to a discharge of electricity from the plant. He thought that electricity drew pollen from plant to plant, that the phosphorescence of the sea was due to it, and that it was the cause of rheumatic fever.

Freke carved with his own hands a chandelier of oak which hangs in the steward's office at St. Bartholomew's. It is gilded, and on a smooth encircling band has the inscription "*Opus Johannis Freke hujusce nosocomii chirurgi 1735.*" Freke knew and admired Hogarth. Fielding was another of his friends, and has twice mentioned him in "Tom Jones." In the first passage, which is in Book II., Fielding rallies Freke on his ingenuity in conjecturing the causes of natural phenomena, and urges him to find out the real cause of those changes of fortune which the ancients attributed to the goddess Nemesis. "We wish Mr. John Fr——, or some other such philosopher, would bestir himself a little in order to find out the real cause of this sudden transition from good to bad fortune." The second passage is in the fourth book. Black George has produced quiet in his whole family by the sudden use of a switch, "for the virtue of this medicine, like that of electricity, is often communicated through one person to many others, who are not touched by the instrument. To say the truth, as they both operate by friction, it may be doubted whether there is not something analogous between them, of which Mr. Freke would do well to

enquire, before he publishes the next edition of his book."

Freke died November 7, 1756. He was buried beside his wife, who had died November 16, 1741, under the canopy of an ancient tomb, probably that of one of the masters of the hospital, in the church of St. Bartholomew the Less. His bust in plaster is preserved in the hospital library.

JAMES PHILLIPS, then senior assistant surgeon, was elected January 22, 1731, and resigned in November 1749. He was master of Robert Young, afterwards surgeon.

THOMAS BIGG was elected assistant surgeon, out of six candidates, September 12, 1728, and surgeon March 25, 1737, and resigned in March, 1745.

Francis William Manaton was elected assistant surgeon March 29, 1745, and died in November, 1749.

EDWARD NOURSE was elected assistant surgeon¹ January 22, 1731, and surgeon March 29, 1745. He died May 13, 1761. He was son of Edward Nourse, a surgeon at Oxford, whose father was also Edward Nourse, and lived in the London parish of St. Michael's on Cornhill, and was born at Oxford in 1701. At the age of sixteen he became the apprentice of Richard Dobyns, then assistant surgeon and afterwards surgeon to St. Bartholomew's, and paid a fee of £161, 5s. On December 10, 1725, he received, after examination, a

¹ There were seven candidates, and their votes were: John Blagden 9, Henry Holloway 58, Jacob Leigh 0, Edward Nourse 111, Richard Scrafton 58, William Pearse 0, Henry Tutte 8.

diploma at Barber-Surgeons' Hall. On March 5, 1731, he was elected demonstrator of anatomy at the Barbers' Hall. In 1728 he was elected F.R.S. It has been asserted that Nourse¹ was the first surgeon to lecture at St. Bartholomew's, but the evidence as to this is inconclusive, and the printed syllabus of his lectures in 1729 points to the Barber-Surgeons' theatre in Monkwell Street as the place of his lectures. The course consisted of twenty-three lectures.

He was the last surgeon to St. Bartholomew's elected before the final separation of the barbers and the surgeons. From his time the surgeons left Monkwell Street, and the barbers alone remained in the ancient home of the guild. That all men were not pleased by the change is recorded in a famous piece of literature: " 'Mr. Barber, or Mr. Surgeon, or Mr. Barber-Surgeon,' said Jones. 'O dear sir,' answered Benjamin, interrupting him, ' "*infandum, regina, jubes renovare dolorem*." You recall to my mind that cruel separation of the united fraternities, so much to the prejudice of both bodies, as all separations must be, according to the old adage, *vis unita fortior*, which to be sure there are not wanting some of one or of the other fraternity who are able to construe. What a blow was this to me who unite both in my own person.' " ²

¹ Introduction to Handbook or Calendar of Medical School.

² "Tom Jones," book viii, chapter vi.

XXIII

THE CORPORATION OF SURGEONS



THE surgeons became a separate company on May 2, 1745. John Ranby, serjeant surgeon to King George II., was their first master. Mr. Sandford and Cheselden, surgeon to St. Thomas's, were the first wardens. The title of the new company was "The Masters, Governors, and Commonalty of the Art and Science of Surgery,"¹ but it was most often mentioned as the Corporation or Company of Surgeons. The corporation consisted of a master, two wardens, ten examiners, and eight other assistants. The examiners and assistants were chosen from the freemen of the company, and were appointed for life. The master and wardens were elected each year from the examiners and assistants. The first meeting was held July 1, 1745, in the pleasant hall of the Stationers. In August, 1751, the Surgeons' Company began to occupy a building in the Old Bailey, which they leased from the City, and the site of which now forms part of the Central

¹ South: "Craft of Surgery," London, 1886, edited by D'Arcy Power, F.R.C.S.

Criminal Court. In 1753, the company began to teach anatomy. Percivall Pott, surgeon to St. Bartholomew's, and John Hunter, who had made part of his studies there, were the masters. Crane, Paul, Hewitt, and Minors were the other teachers. These offices were for a long time not popular, and the teaching languished. The means of the company were small, and little prestige attached to it. It seemed to have come into existence an age too late, and at last died out. The presence of a warden was required, by the Act of 18 George II., at any meeting of the corporation. One warden died in May, 1796, the other at the same time lay paralysed in Warwickshire. A meeting of the master and seventeen assistants was held in 1796 without the presence of any warden. This was not a permissible meeting, and was held by counsel to have produced the legal termination of the corporation. A bill to reinstate the corporate body was brought into Parliament, but was thrown out in the House of Lords, July 17, 1797. Thus the Corporation of Surgeons came to an end.

I once asked an old housekeeper who lived at the Barbers' Hall, what became of the surgeons after they separated from the barbers. "I do not know," she said, "what became of them. They went out of the city."

The first notice in the hospital records of the alteration from the Barber-Surgeons' Guild to the Corporation

of Surgeons is a minute of April 2, 1747, to the effect that the surgeons waited on the treasurer, "to desire an Order that the Arms of the Late Company of Barber-Surgeons which is now embroidered on their Scarves might be taken off, and that instead thereof the Arms of the Company of Surgeons might be worked thereon, the Company of Barber-Surgeons having been lately dissolved by Act of Parliament, alledging that the Governors of St. Thomas's Hospital had ordered the same Alteration in the Scarves of their Surgeons. And a question being put whether the Alteration of the Coat of Arms on the Surgeons' Scarves be made at the Expence of the Hospital or not, it was Carried in the Negative, and agreed that the Surgeons have Liberty to alter the same at their own Expence." Decorated with these scarves, the surgeons used to walk before the governors on Easter Monday and Tuesday, according to ancient custom.

The first surgeon elected from the "Masters, Governors, and Commonalty of the Art and Science of Surgeons of London" was a man worthy to begin in St. Bartholomew's a new order in his profession.

PERCIVALL POTT was admitted into the freedom of the Barber-Surgeons September 7, 1736. He used sometimes pleasantly to say to his pupils that they might remember they had been dressers to a barber-surgeon. On April 7, 1739, he was a candidate for the post of assistant surgeon, and got 41 votes, his oppo-

nent, John Townsend, 202, while five others did not go to ballot. He was elected assistant surgeon to St. Bartholomew's March 14, 1745, receiving 109 votes, while Stafford Crane had 48, Francis William Manaton 26, Philip Stevens 8, and Robert Young declined the ballot. Pott was elected surgeon November 30, 1749, and held office till his resignation July 12, 1787.

The finest work of art at St. Bartholomew's is his portrait by Sir Joshua Reynolds. The surgeon is sitting in his chair in a crimson coat, and in the background is a bright glimpse of landscape which lights up the picture without drawing attention from the face. A very old lady, whose mother's medical attendant had been a dresser of Percivall Pott, told me that this practitioner, who took great pride in having learned his profession from so great a surgeon, and often spoke of him, mentioned that Pott often came to the hospital in a red coat and sometimes wore a sword.

Two physical conditions in the human body bear his name to this day: Pott's disease and Pott's fracture. The malady is a paralysis of the legs due to disease of the bodies of vertebræ. A specimen which Pott prepared to show the diseased vertebræ in such a case is in the museum at St. Bartholomew's. He described it in "Remarks on that kind of Palsy which is frequently found to accompany a curvature of the spine," London, 1779. The treatise is dedicated to his colleague, Dr. John Lewis Petit.

The fracture called after him he had suffered in his own person after a fall from his horse in Kent Street, Southwark, in 1756. He described it in a lucid essay on fractures and dislocations, illustrated by an excellent drawing. The fracture was of the lower end of the fibula, the internal lateral ligament being torn. In such cases, as he points out, the internal malleolus of the tibia is also fractured, and sometimes, as in Pott's own case, the skin is broken by the bone, so that the fracture is compound.

Pott's treatise on ruptures was his first, and seems to have been his favourite work. He composed it in 1756, while confined to his bed in Watling Street by his fracture. He afterwards enlarged it by an addition of remarks on hydrocele.

His account of tumours which render the bones soft gives an interesting view of the state of knowledge of new growths in his time.

Pott never makes pedantic quotations, but it is easily seen that he was well read in the books of his profession. He had a fine copy of Albucasis, now in the library of St. Bartholomew's, from which he more than once quotes. He had read Falloppius, and had looked into Hippocrates, Paulus Ægineta, and Rhazes.

Pott wrote some observations on injuries of the head (1760), which he had originally delivered as part of a course of surgical lectures to students at St. Bartholomew's. The cases which he mentions in these,

besides their surgical interest, illustrate the life of the period. A girl is tossed by an ox in Smithfield, a man is thrown from a horse on to the rails there, a man receives an injury in a mob on Tower Hill trying to rescue a sailor from a pressgang, a young man playing at cudgels in Moorfields is stunned by a stroke on the forehead.

Pott also wrote on gangrene of the toes, on amputations, on cataract, on fistula lachrymalis, and on nasal polypus, besides shorter papers on other subjects.

He had a very large practice, and among his patients were Johnson and Garrick.

James Earle, his pupil and son-in-law, wrote the life of Pott. He was born December 26, 1713, in Threadneedle Street. His mother was left a widow with small means in 1717. Pott was sent to a private school, where he acquired a taste for classical learning. On August 1, 1729, he was apprenticed for seven years to Edward Nourse, of St. Bartholomew's, and he used to dissect subjects for Mr. Nourse's lectures, which were given at London House in Aldersgate Street. In 1736 Pott took a house in Fenchurch Street, where his mother and his half-sister lived with him. He was devoted to his mother, and did not marry till after her death in 1746. Then he married Miss Cruttenden, who bore him four sons and four daughters. He moved to Bow Lane, and afterwards lived for a long time in Watling Street, moving thence

in 1769 to Lincoln's Inn Fields, and in 1777 to Hanover Square, where he died.

He was elected F.R.S. in 1764. He bade good-bye to St. Bartholomew's at the annual July dinner in the Great Hall. Mr. Harley proposed his health, and thanked him for his long, able, and faithful services to the hospital. Pott rose, but his emotions prevented his reply, and, feeling what every man who has long served St. Bartholomew's well knows on such an occasion, he sat down in silence. He was a very temperate man in a not very temperate age, and in mind and body showed little effect of age at seventy-seven. He died of pneumonia on December 22, 1788, and in this illness was attended by the celebrated Heberden, by Dr. Francis Milman, and by his colleague, Dr. Austin. On the day before he died he said, "My lamp is almost extinguished. I hope it has burned for the benefit of others." He is buried in St. Mary Aldermary, near his mother, and has a long Latin inscription which would have suited a lesser man. He was a great man, and will always be esteemed one of the first of English surgeons.

STAFFORD CRANE was elected assistant surgeon February 11, 1748, having three opponents, John Reading, William Pym, and Richard Webb, who declined the ballot. He was senior assistant surgeon in 1750, and was chosen surgeon March 6, 1755. He held office till his death in midsummer 1784. He was

warden of the Surgeons' Company in 1753. His house was in Red Lion Square.

ROBERT YOUNG was elected assistant surgeon November 30, 1749, and surgeon July 2, 1761, and held office till his death in 1783. He was an apprentice of James Phillips,¹ so that he belonged to the Barber-Surgeons, but was a member of the Corporation of Surgeons when he came on to the staff of St. Bartholomew's, and became master of the corporation. He lived in Great Russell Street.

Anthony Bigg was elected assistant surgeon November 30, 1749. He received 103 votes. He died in June, 1750.

Thomas Griffiths was a candidate for an assistant surgeoncy November 30, 1749, and was elected in June, 1750.

Richard Webb was appointed assistant surgeon March 6, 1755. He received 140 votes, and his opponent 69. He never became surgeon to the hospital.

William Sharp was elected assistant surgeon March 6, 1755. He resigned on December 1, 1778, giving £50 to the hospital.

EDMUND PITTS was elected assistant surgeon December 11, 1760, and surgeon January 22, 1784. At his first election there were seven candidates. He obtained 95 votes, and the two next 85 and 32. He held office till his death, which was reported to the

¹ Young: "Annals of the Barber-Surgeons," p. 275.

governors February 10, 1791. His house was in Swithun's Lane.

SIR JAMES EARLE was elected assistant surgeon in 1770, and surgeon on May 22, 1784. He resigned in 1815. He was born in London in 1755, and long lived in Hanover Square. He was president of the recently formed College of Surgeons in 1802, and was then knighted. He married a daughter of Percivall Pott, and their third son became surgeon to St. Bartholomew's. Earle wrote biographies of his father-in-law, and of Dr. William Austin, both clear and interesting, and several surgical papers on hydrocele, stone, curved spine, burns, cataract, fractures of the legs, and hæmorrhoids, which show him to have been a careful observer. He was a good operator, and was appointed surgeon extraordinary to King George III. He died in 1817. His first house was in Watling Street, and was probably that once occupied by Percivall Pott.

SIR CHARLES BLICKE was elected assistant surgeon January 15, 1779, and surgeon July 17, 1787, and held office till his death, December 30, 1815. He edited in 1772, "An Essay on the Bilious or Yellow Fever of Jamaica," written by an unknown surgeon who served in the Carthagera expedition. He was one of the court of assistants of the Corporation of Surgeons, and in 1801 became a member of the governing body of the College of Surgeons. In 1803 he was knighted. He lived successively in Billiter Square, Old Jewry, and

St. Mildred's Court, and died December 30, 1815. His chief claim to remembrance is that Abernethy was his apprentice.

WILLIAM LONG was elected assistant surgeon January 22, 1784, and surgeon February 24, 1791. On the former occasion he had 72 votes, Ludford Harvey 61, and John Heaviside 24; Valentine Jones withdrew. On July 30, 1807, he resigned the office of surgeon, gave the hospital one hundred guineas, and was elected a governor. His house was in Chancery Lane. He died in 1829, and his pupil Vincent ended the Hunterian oration of that year by three quotations from Statius in his praise.

SIR LUDFORD HARVEY was elected assistant surgeon, without opposition, July 15, 1784, and surgeon August 13, 1807. He resigned April 28, 1824, and died October 16, 1829.

In the College of Surgeons he was a member of the Court of Examiners, and a Vice-President. He was knighted May 19, 1813.

Thomas Ramsden was elected assistant surgeon February 24, 1791. He died in February, 1813. His portrait is preserved in the hospital.

XXIV

ABERNETHY



OCASIONAL teaching in medicine had taken place at St. Bartholomew's from the seventeenth century onwards. The surgeons took pupils whom they instructed in the wards, and who dressed wounds. At a court on February 1, 1664, the almoners reported that they had been interrupted in admitting patients on Mondays in the cloisters by young men "that are apprentices to the three chirurgions." These young men show "pressing importunity and bould sawcy carridge to the allmoners to enforce such persons to be admitted as they recomend for the remedy thereof." The masters are to attend, or for them some able and grave surgeon. Three days a week at least the master surgeons themselves are to dress their patients or to stand by and direct the work. Edward Nourse, in 1729, addressed his syllabus of lectures on anatomy and surgery to the students in surgery at St. Bartholomew's Hospital. Percivall Pott, between 1750 and 1787, gave twenty-four lectures each year on surgery. Thus a

regular succession of students gradually grew up. Graduates of Oxford and of Cambridge who wished to become physicians attended the practice of the physicians, and other students followed each surgeon as his personal pupils, and paid him fees for so doing. Such were the beginnings of a medical school which had existed for a century or more within St. Bartholomew's when Abernethy appeared, and by his own ability altered the whole condition of things, and gave the school a reputation throughout England which has been the foundation of all its subsequent growth and of its improvement from a place of unsystematic instruction into a teaching institution of academic proportions and methods. On the corner stone of the handsome medical school building which ornaments the southern angle of Smithfield are carved the names of the royal president, of the treasurer, and of the almoners under whose auspices the building was erected. They deserve to be thus commemorated, as benefactors of the hospital, of the school, and of medical education in general, for their wise use of their official power in carrying out so well planned and useful a structure; but if on that stone had been cut, not the names of those to whom the particular building was due, but that of the originator of the school itself, then the corner would have been marked JOHN ABERNETHY. He has made some contributions to professional knowledge, but the greatest result of

his life has been the impetus which he gave to medical teaching at St. Bartholomew's and throughout England.

John, the son of John and Elizabeth Abernethy, was born in the parish of St. Stephen's, Coleman Street, on April 3, 1764. He was baptized in the parish church April 24, 1765, and the carving of the Last Judgment, which still adorns the churchyard gate, was perhaps the first work of art which attracted his attention. His parents were both natives of the county Antrim, and his father was a merchant in London. Abernethy received his literary education at the grammar school of Wolverhampton, and in 1779 became a pupil of Charles Blicke, assistant surgeon to St. Bartholomew's. He attended later the lectures of Sir William Blizard at the London Hospital. At a court of governors held on July 17, 1787, four candidates appeared for the assistant surgeoncy, vacant by the appointment as surgeon of Charles Blicke. The names of two were withdrawn. John Abernethy and Valentine Jones remained, and on a ballot Abernethy received 53 votes and Jones 29. Abernethy was elected surgeon July 31, 1815, and held office till his resignation in 1827. He died at Enfield, where he had a country house, April 20, 1831. His daughter married Sir George Burrows, physician to St. Bartholomew's, and their daughter married Alfred Willett, surgeon and lecturer on surgery there. Dr. John Abernethy Willett,

their son, became demonstrator of obstetrics in the medical school of St. Bartholomew's, 1909-13.

Abernethy's personal appearance is preserved in a fine picture by Sir Thomas Lawrence, now in the great hall of the hospital. It was subscribed for by his pupils. He is represented as he used to stand when lecturing on anatomy, with his hand resting on a table. His expression is grave, but with a suggestion of humour, a countenance such as would fix attention and keep it, that of a lecturer always at ease in his subject and in sympathy with his audience. Abernethy's pre-eminence as a teacher was due to the fact that he thought of anatomy and surgery not only as they affected his own mind, but as they were likely to affect other minds. He had reflected deeply upon how to teach. The details and even the general outlines of human anatomy are a most difficult material for lectures. They may be acquired by a careful dissector with a description beside him which he compares with the actual structures as his knife exposes them to view, till his verification of the statements in the description gradually turns the second-hand information of the book into the first-hand knowledge of his own eyes, and changes that of which he has only read into that which he has actually seen. Abernethy had considered that merely to rehearse these details to the students in a lecture was to supply them with information which their minds could never really assimilate.

He used to set the subject of his lecture clearly in

order, and then, beginning again, would carefully revise, amplify, and illustrate each part of it.¹ He would state that the head and neck are the most difficult parts of the body to learn, owing to the variety and complication of anatomical details to be mastered. In the neck there are more than fifty muscles; many of these are small, and several are similar in direction and form. Every student finds it difficult to get a clear idea of them. They all happen to have long names. Abernethy used to repeat their designations: omohyoid, sternohyoid, cricothyroid, thyrohyoid, and so on, and speak of them as the little muscles with the long names, and then used to say—but, after all, they are the best named muscles in the body, for their names express their attachments; and then he would dwell on the points of attachment, showing how the sterno-cleido-mastoid was so called because it was attached at one end to the breast bone and the collar bone, and the other to the process of the skull, which may be felt below the ear, and would then remind his audience how striking a feature the muscle is in statues, and so would make them feel that the image of the muscle was fixed in the mind by the recollection of the attachments. Then he would go on to point out the importance of the muscle from a surgical point of view—that it was a guide to the position of the carotid, the great artery

¹ This account of his method of lecturing is drawn from the descriptions of George MacIlwain and others of his pupils.

going to the head, and was also a protection to that artery.

Students learn anatomy for use in the practice of medicine and surgery, and it is important that this purpose should be made clear to them from the beginning. It encourages them to acquire facts against which, without this association, the memory revolts. Examiners by their methods in our time compel men to retain many anatomical details in their memories which were better relegated to that division of knowledge which consists, as Johnson well says, in knowing where information is to be found. Examinations were less elaborate in Abernethy's time, and his method of teaching was directed towards real knowledge and not towards what is well called cram. He was careful not to teach too much. He never forgot that a lecture is to be valued not by what the lecturer puts into it, but by what the hearer can carry away from it. He told nothing but what might be remembered, and he told it sufficiently slowly and sufficiently often for it to be remembered with ease. His manner was quiet, but he would sometimes use a gesture which helped to express his meaning, and he had a voice to which it was a pleasure to listen. It was never strained, and, though his large audiences could always hear him, it seldom seemed above the conversational pitch. He never pretended that difficult things were easy, but would unravel a complicated subject as if he were a student

slowly coming at it for the first time. Richard Owen, the comparative anatomist, had learned this method from him, and there can be no doubt that Owen's power as a lecturer in fixing attention and unfolding a subject, which I remember feeling deeply when, at the age of about twelve years, I heard him one evening at Lancaster, was originally derived from Abernethy. Sir Benjamin Brodie, another of his pupils, says: "Mr. Abernethy was an admirable teacher. He kept up our attention so that it never flagged, and that which he told us could not be forgotten. He did not tell us so much as other lecturers, but what he did he told us well. His lectures were full of original thought, of luminous and almost poetical illustrations; the tedious details of descriptive anatomy being occasionally relieved by appropriate and amusing anecdotes."

Dr. Peter Mere Latham, also one of his pupils, says: "You who never knew Mr. Abernethy have no conception of his powers as a lecturer. He so eloquently expounded some of the highest truths; he so nicely disentangled the perplexities of many abstruse subjects; he made that so easy which was before so difficult, that every man who heard him finds, perhaps to this day, that for some important portion of his knowledge he is indebted to Mr. Abernethy."

Abernethy knew how to make students feel the practical importance of the subject they were studying. He had in one lecture described the position and course

of the axillary artery. He went over it with the utmost clearness, and repeated every important detail till he saw that the whole class had for the time taken in the facts. Then he made them all feel that it was a thing worth remembering by an illustration of the importance of the knowledge.

“Ah,” he said, “there is no saying too much on the importance of recollecting the course of large arteries; but I will tell you a case. There was an officer in the navy, and as brave a fellow as ever stepped, who in a sea-fight received a severe wound in the shoulder which opened his axillary artery. He lost a large quantity of blood, but the wound was staunched for the moment, and he was taken below. As he was an officer, the surgeon, who saw he was wounded severely, was about to attend to him before a seaman who had just been brought down. But the officer, though evidently in great pain, said: ‘Attend that man, sir, if you please; I can wait.’ Well, his turn came, the surgeon made up his mind that a large artery had been wounded, but, as there was no bleeding, dressed the wound, and went on with his business. The officer lay very faint and exhausted for some time, and at length began to rally again, when the bleeding returned. The surgeon was immediately called, and, not knowing where to find the artery, or what else to do, told the officer he must amputate his arm at the shoulder joint. The officer at once calmly submitted to

this additional but unnecessary suffering, and as the operator proceeded asked if it would be long; the surgeon replied that it would be soon over; the officer rejoined, 'Sir, I thank God for it!'—but he never spoke more."

The horror of the blunder and of the ignorance impressed the whole class, and was expressed by their perfect stillness. Abernethy quietly ended: "I hope you will never forget the course of the axillary artery."

His lectures on surgery were admirable in the same way; an excellent choice of matter, everything well told, every point clearly put, the whole in a form which encouraged attention and excited memory. He unfolded in them the view which he has set forth in his book, "The Constitutional Origin of Local Diseases." The advance of Pathology has caused his theory to become obsolete, but he put it so well that all his hearers, says Latham, accepted it with acclamation.

Abernethy's lectures were crowded, and the governors built a new and larger theatre to meet the increase of students. It was shaped like a hen's egg, with very steep rows of seats, and was equally excellent for the purposes of hearing and of speaking. The audience seemed closer to the lecturer than in most such buildings. The further increase of the school made it necessary to pull it down in 1879.

Abernethy first lived in St. Mary Axe, then in St.

Mildred's Court in the Poultry, and, from 1799 till he gave up practice, in Bedford Row.

Many stories are told of his abrupt speeches to his private patients, but the tradition of his invariable kindness to the patients in the hospital, and the affectionate feeling which a vast number of students had for him, as shown in their writings, dedications, and many other ways, prove that consideration for others and invariable generosity were in the highest degree his personal characteristics. The people of the North of Ireland are given to the terse expression of ready wit, and do not suffer fools gladly. They at once perceive affectation, and are perhaps apt to exercise too little control in the expression of scorn. It was this national characteristic to which most of Abernethy's repartees are to be attributed. They were not more severe than the occasion deserved, and, like those of Dr. Johnson, they were not incompatible with a most tender heart.

Eager in the pursuit of knowledge, making throughout life the utmost use of rare and splendid powers of speech and exposition, Abernethy, by the impulse which he gave to the school of St. Bartholomew's, was its greatest benefactor. To him was largely due that enthusiasm for St. Bartholomew's which is to be found throughout the world wherever its students practise medicine and surgery.

XXV

THE SUCCESSORS OF ABERNETHY



BERNETHY was so brilliant a teacher that he had an effect on the work of all subsequent surgeons at St. Bartholomew's, and made every one of them desire to excel in the teaching as well as in the practice of the art of surgery. At first they followed their great master in beginning their career by teaching anatomy, and later they often began as pathologists; but whichever path they took they regarded teaching as part of their work, and directly or indirectly were followers of Abernethy and desired to attain to the same kind of fame as his. It seems right, therefore, to regard his career as an epoch and to speak of the surgeons after his time as "the successors of Abernethy."

The first vacancy for a surgeon after the appointment of Abernethy as surgeon was made by the death of Sir Charles Blicke, to whom he had been apprenticed.

JOHN PAINTER VINCENT was elected January 29, 1816, and held office till his resignation on January 21, 1847. He died July 17, 1852, aged 76. His surgical master was William Long, and Vincent was elected assistant surgeon, August 13, 1807. He received 154 votes, and his opponent, William Wadd, 56. On the formation of the College of Surgeons in 1800, Vincent became a member, and after the College had received the style of "Royal," and had instituted a fellowship, he was elected one of the first Fellows in 1843. He had then been twice President—in 1832 and in 1840. He delivered the oration in honour of John Hunter in 1829. It is not interesting, but its peroration, in which he speaks of his master, does honour to his heart. He published "An Address to the Council of the Royal College of Surgeons" in 1841, in which he expressed an opinion hostile to the formation of two orders of surgeons, quoted Bacon eleven times, and concluded with a general eulogium on the conduct of the College affairs. In 1847 he published "Observations on some of the parts of Surgical Practice," a work which contains interesting fragments of experience, though its observations are often wanting in exactitude. His pupils subscribed for his portrait, which was painted by E. U. Eddis. It hangs in the Great Hall at St. Bartholomew's. A former pupil of his, Mr. Henry Boyle Lee, praised it as a likeness, and at the same time

expressed to me his gratitude for the kindness which Vincent, whose dresser he had been, had shown to him.

SIR WILLIAM LAWRENCE became surgeon May 10, 1824, and resigned July 26, 1865. He was elected assistant surgeon March 5, 1813, and began his professional career as an apprentice of Abernethy in February 1799, so that as student and surgeon he was at work in St. Bartholomew's for sixty-six years. When Abernethy retired Lawrence became the dominating influence in the school of St. Bartholomew's. He was regarded by the students as the lord paramount of surgery there. So great a man as Henry Jackson, Regius Professor of Greek at Cambridge, told me that such was the veneration he had received for Lawrence from his father, a surgeon educated at St. Bartholomew's, that he felt proud to remember that he himself had once seen Lawrence walk across the square of the hospital. Lawrence was son of the chief surgeon at Cirencester, and was born there July 16, 1783. His own great mental powers, and Abernethy's teaching, were the foundations of the professional position to which William Lawrence attained, while his commanding presence often made men fear to oppose him. He became demonstrator of anatomy to Abernethy in 1801 and held office for twelve years, and in 1829 succeeded him as lecturer on surgery, an office which

he held for thirty-three years. Sir George Humphry, himself an accomplished teacher, praised Lawrence's lectures and his teaching in the wards. Sir James Paget, who attended his lectures, did not at the time, he says, esteem them enough, but when he came to lecture himself he followed their method and thought it the best method of scientific speaking he had ever heard; "every word had been learned by heart, and yet there was not the least sign that one word was being remembered." The compositions thus repeated "were admirable in their well-collected knowledge, and even more admirable in their order, their perfect clearness of language, and the quietly attractive manner in which they were delivered." He was elected F.R.S. in 1813. He became a member of the College of Surgeons September 6, 1805, and in 1815 was elected Professor of Anatomy and Surgery there. He was an examiner in that College for twenty-seven years, twice delivered the Hunterian oration, and was President in 1846 and 1855. Lawrence wrote more than any surgeon who had preceded him at St. Bartholomew's. In 1801 he translated from the Latin the "Description of the Arteries of the Human Body" of Professor Murray of Upsala, and in 1806 published "The Treatment of Hernia," of which five editions appeared, and to which the College of Surgeons awarded its Jacksonian prize. He translated Blumenbach's "Comparative Anatomy" in 1807, and published in

1808-9, in the *Edinburgh Surgical and Medical Journal*, papers on cancer and on stone, and "Anatomico-Chirurgical Views of the Nose, Mouth, Larynx, and Fauces." In 1816 he published his first course of lectures at the College of Surgeons as "An Introduction to Comparative Anatomy and Physiology," and later lectures in 1819 "On the Physiology, Zoology, and Natural History of Man." Lord Chancellor Eldon, when asked to grant an injunction to protect the author's rights in these lectures, refused to do so, on the ground that they contradicted the Holy Scriptures. Lawrence afterwards suppressed the book. He published speeches delivered at two meetings of members of the College of Surgeons in 1826, a "Treatise on Diseases of the Eye" in 1833, and "Lectures on Surgery" in 1863. He became President of the Medical and Chirurgical Society in 1831, and printed eighteen papers in its Transactions and had a part in two others. In the *Lancet* and the *Medical Gazette* he printed numerous observations and essays. Surgeons speak of his works on Hernia and on the Eye as those that give the best idea of his professional ability. The public recognised it and he was much consulted.

In 1857 he was appointed sergeant-surgeon to Queen Victoria, and was created a baronet April 30, 1867. He lived for some time within the buildings belonging to the College of Physicians in Warwick

Lane, and some of his prefaces are dated thence. Afterwards and for many years his house was 18 Whitehall Place, and he died there July 5, 1867, of a cerebral attack with paralysis of the right side and aphasia, which began on the 11th May preceding, as he was walking up the staircase of the Royal College of Surgeons to take part in an examination. His portrait by Pickersgill is in the Great Hall of St. Bartholomew's, and the Royal College of Surgeons has a fine marble bust of him. His only son became treasurer of the hospital many years later,¹ and he was also survived by two daughters. His children founded a scholarship and medal in his memory in 1873, and this was in 1910 increased by his daughter to the annual value of £115.

HENRY EARLE was elected assistant surgeon July 31, 1815, and surgeon August 29, 1827, and held office till his death on January 18, 1838. He was the third son of Sir James Earle, surgeon to St. Bartholomew's, and his mother was a daughter of Percivall Pott. He was born June 28, 1789, in Hanover Square, and was apprenticed to his father in 1805. In 1808 he was admitted a member of the College of Surgeons, and became house surgeon at St. Bartholomew's. Henry Earle attained considerable private practice, and was appointed surgeon-extraordinary to Queen Victoria on her accession. He lived in George Street near his

¹ Vol. ii. p. 247.

birthplace, and died there of fever. He wrote twelve papers in the Medico-Chirurgical Transactions and two in the Philosophical Transactions, all surgical, and became President of the Royal Medical and Chirurgical Society 1835-7. He had a controversy with Sir Astley Cooper on the question whether fracture of the neck of the thigh bone may unite, Cooper maintaining that it never does unite.

EDWARD STANLEY was elected assistant surgeon January 29, 1816, and surgeon February 13, 1838, and resigned in the summer of 1861. A ward is called after him, and his studies on the bones entitle him to this distinction. He was born in London July 3, 1793, was educated at Merchant Taylors' School 1802-8, and at St. Bartholomew's was first the apprentice of Ramsden and then of Abernethy. He became a member of the College of Surgeons in 1814 and obtained the Jacksonian prize in 1815. He worked hard in the dissecting-room and was demonstrator of anatomy in 1826. When Abernethy resigned he became lecturer on anatomy and physiology, and held that office till 1848. In 1830 he was elected F.R.S. He was President of the Royal College of Surgeons in 1848 and in 1857, and was appointed surgeon-extraordinary to Queen Victoria in 1858.

He lectured at 2.30 P.M. every week-day except Saturday, and Sir James Paget, who knew him well, has described his lectures:

"The physiological portion of the lectures was, even for that time, feeble; he had never studied chemistry, physics, or any adjacent part of the science, and the physiology of even that time was beyond his grasp. And the anatomy was very elementary. But he lectured so carefully and clearly, he was so deliberate and simple, so grave and earnest, and he repeated all the 'tips' so frequently, without changing one important word, that I believe there was not in London a more instructive teacher than he was."

Stanley's writings and the specimens he added to the Museum showed how extensive was his knowledge of bone disease.¹ He had prepared specimens of the form of arthritis which occurs in locomotor ataxy and has since been spoken of as "Charcot's disease." Some of his contemporaries thought little of him, but they were wrong in their estimate. He worked hard and added to knowledge. On May 24, 1862, he had an attack of apoplexy in the hospital, which was fatal in about an hour.

EUSEBIUS ARTHUR LLOYD was appointed assistant surgeon May 19, 1824. He obtained 93 votes, Samuel Cooper 82, and Skey, who was chosen seven years later, 21. Lloyd became surgeon February 10, 1847. He resigned owing to ill-health March 21, 1861, and died at Ventnor, March 4, 1862.

¹ "Illustrations of the Effects of Disease and Injury of the Bones" (London, 1849) and "A Treatise on Diseases of the Bones" (London, 1849).

Lloyd was born in 1795. He was apprenticed to Abernethy and became house surgeon at St. Bartholomew's. In 1818 he obtained the Jacksonian prize at the College of Surgeons for his essay on Scrofula. This he enlarged into a book, "A Treatise on the Nature and Treatment of Scrophula," printed for John Anderson, medical bookseller, 40 West Smithfield, in 1821. This is dedicated to Abernethy, and may be read by anyone who wishes to understand the use at that period of the now disused term scrofula. It was applied to every chronic form of tuberculosis.

FREDERICK CARPENTER SKEY was elected assistant surgeon August 29, 1827, and surgeon May 10, 1854. He retired January 18, 1864, and died August 16, 1872. He was the son of a Russia merchant and was born at Upton-on-Severn December 1, 1798. The chief influence in his school education seems to have been that of Michael Maurice, a Unitarian preacher, the father of F. D. Maurice the moralist, who may perhaps have given his pupils to drink the last drops in the glass which toasted the *contrat social*. A visit to a cousin at Plymouth who was Inspector of Hospitals, during which he saw Napoleon on the Bellerophon, was the commencement of Skey's professional education. He continued it at Edinburgh and in Paris, and from April 15, 1816, as an apprentice to Abernethy at St. Bartholomew's. He became a member of the College of Surgeons April 5, 1822, and was demonstrator of

anatomy at St. Bartholomew's 1826-31. A dispute with William Lawrence led Skey to resign and to join the private school of medicine in Aldersgate Street, where he lectured on surgery for ten years. He was elected F.R.S. in 1837. He returned to teaching at St. Bartholomew's, where in 1843 he became lecturer on anatomy and so continued till January 5, 1864. He was elected to the Council of the Royal College of Surgeons in 1848, delivered the Hunterian oration in 1850, and in 1863 became President. In 1864 he became chairman of a committee appointed by the Secretary of State for War to inquire into venereal disease, with a view to its diminution in the army and navy. The Contagious Diseases Act, which was the result of the deliberations of the committee, was ultimately an example of the fact that laws fail in their desired effect which are not supported by public opinion. Skey was made a C.B. He wrote in 1837 on the use of opium in healing wounds and ulcers, and in 1851 published "Operative Surgery," in which the use of tonics in surgery is commended. In 1840 he issued a "Treatise on the Venereal Disease," and he wrote some surgical papers. His opinions were often formed on insufficient grounds, so that the permanent results of his life, which was far from idle, are small. He lived at 13 Grosvenor Street.

THOMAS WORMALD was elected surgeon April 3, 1861, and resigned in April 1867. He had been ap-

pointed assistant surgeon February 13, 1838, and was demonstrator of anatomy from 1826 for seventeen years. He was the son of John Wormald, a banker, and was born at Pentonville in January 1802. His family belonged to Yorkshire, and he received his literary education at the grammar school of Batley in that county. His professional education was at St. Bartholomew's, where he became an apprentice of Abernethy in 1818. He became a member of the Royal College of Surgeons in 1824, and on the creation of the degree, a Fellow of that College in 1843. He was on its council 1849-67, was an examiner 1858-68, delivered the Hunterian oration in 1857, and became President in 1865. Besides his surgical work at St. Bartholomew's he was surgeon to the Foundling Hospital 1843-64. He published, besides his Hunterian oration, three surgical papers in the *London Medical Gazette* and one in the first volume of the St. Bartholomew's Hospital Reports, and jointly with A. M. M'Whinnie "Anatomical Sketches and Diagrams in 1843." He died in Yorkshire, December 28, 1873, and his tomb is in Highgate Cemetery. His genial manner, his kindly and familiar way of helping students in the dissecting-room, his occasional abruptness of expression and his goodness of heart, are described with considerable skill by Luther Holden, who had studied under him.¹ When I was a student Mark Morris the steward one day pointed out

¹ St. Bartholomew's Hospital Reports, 1874.

Wormald to me as he was walking towards the Little Britain gate, and I looked at him with interest and respect as the last member of the staff who had been an apprentice of Abernethy.

SIR JAMES PAGET was elected assistant surgeon in February 1847, and surgeon, July 24, 1861. He resigned in May 1871, and died December 30, 1899.

He was born at Great Yarmouth, January 11, 1814. His father was a shipowner and man of varied businesses. His mother, whose maiden name was Tolver, was a very accomplished person, and had been a pupil of Old Crome. She had seventeen children, and was wisely and constantly devoted to her family. James received his literary education at a school in Yarmouth kept by a Mr. Bowles, who had for some time been on the stage and had acted Macbeth, and then became a Unitarian minister, "a careful, well-mannered, and generally well-informed man," says his pupil. On March 9, 1830, Paget was apprenticed to Charles Costerton, a surgeon apothecary who had been educated at St. Bartholomew's. Under his tutelage Paget saw in Yarmouth the epidemic of Asiatic cholera in 1832, and a good deal of surgical and aromatarian practice; but the chief scientific education his mind received was due to his pursuit of botany and study of the flora of the district. His brother Charles and he published, in 1834, "The Natural History of Yarmouth and its Neighbourhood." With a mind thus awakened

to the use of its powers and already trained in methods of observation, Paget entered as a student at St. Bartholomew's in October 1834. In his first year he discovered the cysts of *Trichina spiralis* in the muscles of a subject in the dissecting-room, and read a paper upon it before the Abernethian Society on February 6, 1835. He was a very industrious student, and became a member of the Royal College of Surgeons May 13, 1836. Early in 1837 he went for three months to Paris, and on his return made an income by taking private pupils and by writing. His first office was that of curator of the museum of St. Bartholomew's, which he obtained in 1836. The duties occupied him from 9 to 4 every week-day but one. In 1839 he became demonstrator of morbid anatomy, and was allowed to give a lecture once a week during the summer. These were the first lectures he gave. A lectureship on general anatomy and physiology was founded in 1843 and he was appointed to it, while in the same year the College of St. Bartholomew's was established and Paget was made its first warden. He lived in it, first in rooms and then in the warden's house, and remained there till 1851. In 1847 he became Professor of Anatomy and Physiology at the College of Surgeons, and held the office for six years. He finished a catalogue of the hospital museum in 1846, and one of the pathological collection of the College of Surgeons in 1849. He married Lydia,

daughter of the Rev. Charles North, after an engagement of eight years, May 23, 1844, and they lived most happily together for more than fifty years. His wife always spoke with enthusiasm of her happiness in the warden's house. One morning when I lived there, on walking out of my door I saw a man getting on to the top of the hospital kitchen opposite. I asked what he was going to do, and was told that he was about to make a drawing of the warden's house for presentation to Lady Paget by her children. She told me she had never been happier than in that house, and that ferns flourished in cases there which would not live in the west end of London. Lady Paget was an accomplished musician, and while living in the warden's house composed a fugue based on the chimes of the bells of St. Sepulchre's church, some of which bells were part of the original peal of St. Bartholomew's Priory. The Pagets called their first-born son Rahere, after the founder who had given them so much happiness. In December 1843, Paget was elected one of the 300 original fellows of the Royal College of Surgeons. From that year, for nineteen years he spent a great part of his income in contributing to the payment of his father's debts. His lectures were slowly building up his professional reputation. Mr. Henry Power, the ophthalmic surgeon, describes them :¹

"I attended Sir James Paget's lectures during the

¹ Henry Power: "A Brief Sketch of My Life," p. 21. Privately printed 1912.

winters of 1844-5, 1845-6, and partly in 1846-7. The two former years by the regulations of the Hall and College, the last-named for the pleasure of hearing him lecture. He was indeed a very winning lecturer, taking him altogether the best I ever heard; perhaps Huxley equalled him in ease and familiarity and lucidity in exposition. He had not the majestic stately delivery of Lawrence, nor the colloquial style of Faraday, nor the measured diction of Savory, all of whom had like him charming voices, but it was perfectly easy and fluent, never having to pause for the choice of a word. The language he used was always appropriate and well considered."

"The mere power of speaking fluently," says Paget of himself, "was a natural possession, neither acquired nor in itself cultivated, or as far as I know improved." He adds that for any important address, "I used to learn, as nearly as possible, every word by heart, writing them carefully, and often more than once, and sometimes speaking them in portions for some days previously."

He had carefully considered speaking as an art, and says that this art had much influenced his career. His memoirs were likely to be read, he says, by many likely to "depend in some measure, for their success in life, on their fitness to be lecturers. The sum of my advice to them would be that, if they wish to speak extempore, or to appear to do so, they should practise both the reality and the appearance; and

when they have a choice, the appearance rather than the reality."

Howard Marsh, who lived in close contact with him for a long time, describes his method of preparation and learning by heart and the result: "He could step forward without a note and deliver himself with perfect self-possession, and with such propriety of emphasis, such correct modulation of the voice, and in every particular such an appearance of spontaneity, that the effect was quite perfect, and it was difficult for those who were behind the scenes to believe that art could be by art so perfectly concealed."¹

I twice heard Paget lecture on clinical surgery, and listened to his address at the International Congress of Medicine in 1881, and to one or two other important speeches. I also heard many after-dinner speeches of his. On every one of these occasions he received the close attention of his audience throughout his speech, and at its end their warmest applause. What Paget said of men after dinner was sometimes beyond their merit, but that did not interfere with the success of his speech, for "every man," as Johnson says, "willingly gives value to the praise which he receives, and considers the sentence passed in his favour as the sentence of discernment." "How noble a speaker Paget is," said a city magnate whose poems he praised. Yet Paget had to go home and meditate that Stephen Duck was as good

¹ St. Bartholomew's Hospital Reports, vol. xxxv. p. 22.

a poet as the man of commerce whose verses he had eulogised. No man with much feeling for literature could have treated it as a matter of so little importance. His recommendation that the speaker should appear to speak extempore but should have learned the whole by rote makes the speaker an actor and not an orator. It can only be justified as a method which may in some cases give relief to the hearers. When he left the warden's house he took 24 Henrietta Street, Cavendish Square, and lived there till 1858, when he moved to Harewood Place, Hanover Square. In 1851 he was elected F.R.S. Richard Owen remarked at the time that Paget then had his choice "to be the first physiologist in Europe or to have the first surgical practice in London, with a baronetcy." He chose the latter, and has reviewed his own career in his Memoirs.

"My success so far as it may be estimated by my income was gradual, but constant. Beginning at £700 it gradually, and with one trivial exception, every year increased till it exceeded £10,000; then I gave up operating, and it fell at once to about £7000, and then slowly decreased. I thus enjoyed 'complete success,' as it may be called; for probably I had for some years the most lucrative surgical practice in London, and certainly I had the best as reckoned by the number and gravity of the cases, and the proportion seen in consultation."

He received a baronetcy in August, 1871, was

appointed surgeon-extraordinary to Queen Victoria in 1858, and sergeant-surgeon-extraordinary in 1867, and sergeant-surgeon in 1877.

The profession of medicine has in it so divine a part, that no man can be blamed for yielding to its attractions and preferring its practice to the study of any branch of pure science. Paget published in two volumes his *Lectures on Surgical Pathology* in 1853, and the book went through many editions. His work at the catalogue of the museum of St. Bartholomew's¹ and at the catalogue of the pathological collection of the Royal College of Surgeons,² had prepared him to write such a treatise. He wrote many original papers, and his "Clinical Lectures and Essays," collected by Howard Marsh in 1875, are interesting reading. He was the first to describe the disease of the breast which is called after him, and was also the discoverer of the alteration in the bones to which he gave the name of *Osteitis deformans*.

Paget was elected a member of the Literary Society June 9, 1873, and attended some of its meetings most years till 1892, when he went for the last time, and, in the absence of the chairman, presided, Mr. Lecky sitting on his right and Mr. Henry James on his left. Paget said that he had no intense enjoyment of poetry, but that in early life he cared for Keble and in advanced life for Tennyson. In a letter to Lord Tennyson,

¹ Two volumes, 1847, 1852.

² Five volumes, 1846-1849.

the poet's son, Paget says, "But I cannot attain to any full appreciation of poetry: I have had to read and write too much of plain descriptions, too many catalogues." John Bright liked Watts and Milton. In such cases the admiration for the lesser poet is probably more complete than that for the great one, and is the true index of the reader's frame of mind as regards literature. It must not be harshly censured. Sir Philip Sidney remarks that Alexander took the dead Homer with him rather than the living Aristotle. Paget would have done the reverse, and there are many men of the present day who would applaud his choice. He had some real enjoyment of art, and I expect his heart leaped up, to use Wordsworth's phrase, whenever he saw an Old Crome or a Cotman. He cared for music, and to this enjoyment his wife's knowledge and taste contributed in a high degree.

Such was Sir James Paget, the chief surgeon of the Victorian age. After Abernethy he was the greatest benefactor of the school of St. Bartholomew's, and stands equal in fame to Percivall Pott among the surgeons of the hospital. His portrait by Millais is in the Great Hall, where his voice was often heard, and where he well deserves commemoration.

Andrew Melville Mc Whinnie, F.R.C.S., after a contest in which he received 136 votes and Holmes Coote 65, was elected assistant surgeon May 14, 1854. He resigned owing to ill-health June 27, 1860, and died

at his house in the Crescent, Blackfriars, February 27, 1866. He was born in London in 1807, and was sent to school at Verdun-sur-Meuse, and thus came to know French well. He became an apprentice of Edward Stanley in 1825, was admitted M.R.C.S. in 1830, and F.R.C.S. in 1843. He was house surgeon, and in 1834 became demonstrator of anatomy. On December 10, 1839, he was elected lecturer on Comparative Anatomy, and held office till September 11, 1860. He published, with Dr. Roupell, in 1833, some plates showing the effect of poisons on the viscera; in 1835 "Anatomical Description of the Parts concerned in Inguinal and Femoral Hernia," translated from the French of Jules Cloquet; and in 1843, with Wormald, a volume entitled "Anatomical Sketches and Diagrams," as well as a paper on muscular variations, and one on malformation of the bladder. He delivered at St. Bartholomew's, October 1, 1855, an introductory address to students, which was printed. Its most interesting passage is a paragraph showing his admiration for Dr. Richard Brocklesby.

HOLMES COOTE was elected assistant surgeon June 7, 1854, and surgeon January 27, 1864. He was the senior surgeon when he died in December, 1872. He was the son of a conveyancer, and was born November 10, 1817. He went to Westminster School, and on leaving, at the age of sixteen, became apprentice to Sir William Lawrence. He obtained the Jacksonian Prize at the

Royal College of Surgeons for an essay on the anatomy of the fibres of the human brain in 1845, and in 1849 published "The Homologies of the Human Skeleton," a book based on Richard Owen's theories of an archetypal skeleton. In 1854 he resigned the demonstratorship of anatomy, which he had held for some time, and later in the year obtained leave from the governors to go to the East as civil surgeon in charge of the wounded of the Crimean war in the hospital at Smyrna. He issued a report on the treatment of syphilis in 1859, and in 1867 a book on "Joint Diseases." He also published seven papers in the Hospital Reports, in one of which he attributed rickets to the dissolution of the monasteries. He was a large man, with a genial manner and much good nature.

LUTHER HOLDEN was elected assistant surgeon July, 1860, and surgeon August, 1865. He resigned in 1880, and died at Putney, February 6, 1905. His father was a clergyman, whose theological tendencies were indicated by his christening one son Luther and another Melancthon. Luther was born at Birmingham December 19, 1815, and was educated at home and at Havre, where he learned French thoroughly. Later in life he acquired German and Italian, and used to read Dante. He entered St. Bartholomew's as an apprentice of Mr. Edward Stanley, and lived in his house in Lincoln's Inn Fields. He became M.R.C.S. in 1838, and then studied one year in Berlin and another in Paris. He

became F.R.C.S. December 24, 1844, and was appointed demonstrator of anatomy at St. Bartholomew's in 1846. He worked hard in the dissecting room, dissected admirably himself, and took infinite pains to make everything clear to the student. He wrote two readable and useful books on anatomy, a "Manual of Dissection of the Human Body" in 1850, and "Human Osteology" in 1855. Thomas Godart, a working man whose talents as an artist were discovered at St. Bartholomew's, and who became its librarian, made the drawings for the osteology. These were partly diagrammatic, showing by red lines the origins of the muscles, and by blue their insertions. In June, 1859, Holden was elected one of the lecturers on anatomy. Skey was his colleague.

In 1868 he became a member of the Council of the Royal College of Surgeons, and was a member of its Court of Examiners 1873-83. He delivered the Hunterian oration in 1881, and was elected President in 1879. When he retired from St. Bartholomew's he was presented by his old pupils and friends with his portrait by Sir J. E. Millais, which hangs in the Great Hall, and represents well his pleasant face and well-proportioned form. He first lived in Old Jewry, then in Ely Place, and then in Gower Street, all regions deserted by surgeons before the end of his life. After retiring from St. Bartholomew's he lived at Pinetoft near Ipswich, and used to enjoy going abroad with his wife

in the winter. He cared much for St. Bartholomew's, and left £3000 to found a scholarship in surgery, as well as £500 to the building fund. In addition, he left a large bequest to be divided between St. Bartholomew's and the Foundling Hospital.

SIR WILLIAM SCOVELL SAVORY was elected assistant surgeon April 24, 1861, and surgeon in April 1867. He retired in 1891, and died March 4, 1895, at 66 Brook Street, Grosvenor Square, where he had long lived. He was the son of William Henry Savory, a merchant, and was born in the parish of St. Mary-at-Hill, in the City, November 30, 1826. At the age of eighteen he became a student at St. Bartholomew's, and was admitted a member of the Royal College of Surgeons in 1847, afterwards graduating M.B. at the University of London in 1848, with honours in medicine and three gold medals. In 1852 he became a Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons. He was appointed a demonstrator of anatomy at St. Bartholomew's in 1849, and held office till 1859, and from 1850 to 1859 was also tutor supervising the studies of the London University students. In 1859 he became lecturer on general anatomy and physiology, and held office till elected lecturer on surgery in 1869, an office he held for twenty years. From his offices in the school at St. Bartholomew's, including £105 from the hospital, he received in the year 1881-2 about £2000, and in other years a large income. At the Royal College of Surgeons Savory

became a member of the Council in 1877, was elected President in 1885, and held that office for the unusual term of four years. He lectured there on comparative anatomy and physiology 1859 to 1861, delivered the Bradshaw lecture on "The Pathology of Cancer" in 1884, and the Hunterian oration in 1887. He was appointed surgeon-extraordinary to Queen Victoria in 1887, and was made a baronet in 1890. He was elected F.R.S. in 1858, and contributed papers "On the Valves of the Heart" and "On the Development of Striated Muscular Fibres in Mammalia." He made many contributions on surgery to the St. Bartholomew's Hospital Reports and to the Transactions of the Royal Medical and Chirurgical Society. He sat on two Royal Commissions and on innumerable councils and committees, and wherever he appeared, exercised considerable influence. His lectures were admired by many of his auditors, but were not sufficiently natural in their form or pure in their elocution to satisfy those who had heard really great speakers. He was accustomed to dominate the meetings over which he presided, and in 1879 delivered at Cork an address on surgery, in which he attacked the methods introduced by Lister, the principles of which were even then established and have ever since prevailed. He had a fine voice and an oratorical manner, which, if not quite natural, was yet suited to his fine features and stately deportment. A position such as his, acquired and held by mental force, gave him a somewhat

stern external air which seldom relaxed, yet he was a kind and tender-hearted man as well as a very able one. He married on November 30, 1854, Louisa Frances Borradaile, and they had one son, Borradaile, who also left an only son. Savory's portrait, by Walter Oules, R.A., painted for his colleagues and friends in 1891, hangs in the Great Hall at St. Bartholomew's, but does not represent him so well as his marble bust at the College of Surgeons, which was made for thirty-five of his house surgeons by Mr. Hope Pinker.

GEORGE WILLIAM CALLENDER was elected assistant surgeon August 14, 1861, and surgeon May 25, 1871, and held office till his death, October 20, 1879. He was born at Clifton, near Bristol, in June 1830, and in 1849 entered as a student at St. Bartholomew's. He was admitted a member of the College of Surgeons in 1852, and a fellow in 1855. He became an examiner there and in the University of London. At St. Bartholomew's he was first demonstrator of anatomy, then lecturer on anatomy and on comparative anatomy, and in 1873 lecturer on surgery. He had great influence in the medical school, and was its treasurer for many years. In 1871 he was elected F.R.S., perhaps in consequence of his paper in the Philosophical Transactions "On the Formation and Growth of the Bones of the Human Face." He wrote many surgical and pathological papers, which are not for the most part of permanent value. He gave close attention to every

case in his wards, and prided himself on attaining a greatly reduced mortality. "The most constant parts of his plans of treatment," says Paget, "were torsion of arteries or carbolised catgut ligatures, good drainage, dressings with carbolic oil long retained in place, separate materials for the cleansing of each patient's wound, and washings with water containing Condyl's fluid or some other antiseptic." He took great pains, and was very dexterous. He lived in Queen Anne Street, and seemed on the way to a large private practice when a chronic nephritis gradually sapped his strength, and at length caused his death as he was returning from a visit to the United States.

SIR THOMAS SMITH was elected assistant surgeon February 24, 1864, and surgeon January 22, 1873. He resigned his office March 10, 1898, and was elected consulting surgeon to the hospital. He died October 1, 1909. He was the sixth son of Benjamin Smith, a member of the Goldsmiths' Company, and was born at Blackheath, March 23, 1833. In 1844 he went to Tonbridge School, and in 1847 was taken as an apprentice,¹ the last of the kind, by James Paget at St. Bartholomew's Hospital. He became a member of the College of Surgeons in 1854, and in that year was elected house surgeon to the Hospital for Sick Children in Great Ormond Street, but only held office for about four months owing to an attack of ill-health. When well

¹ St. Bartholomew's Hospital Journal, January, 1896.

he went to live in Bedford Row, took pupils for examinations, and assisted Sir James Paget in his practice. At Easter he used to take a class to Paris to do operative surgery, for which bodies were not then easily obtained in London. At this period of his life he recognised as something undescribed a specimen of actinomycosis, and wrote an account, with drawings, of a microscopical section of that condition, the first, as Dr. Kanthack has shown, ever demonstrated in England. In 1859 he was appointed demonstrator of anatomy, and in September 1861 assistant surgeon to the Hospital for Sick Children, where he became surgeon in 1868. He married Ann Eliza Parbury on August 27, 1862, and lived at 7 Montague Street, Russell Square, till 1868, when he moved to 5 Stratford Place, and there practised for the remainder of his life. From 1871 to 1879 he was lecturer on descriptive anatomy at St. Bartholomew's, and from 1880 to 1900 was a member of the Council of the Royal College of Surgeons. He was surgeon-extraordinary to Queen Victoria, and was created a baronet in 1897. On King Edward VII.'s accession Smith became his honorary sergeant-surgeon. He attained to a very large surgical practice, and was alike famous for his skill as an operator and for the sound common-sense which characterised every opinion which he pronounced upon a case before him. He was full of kindness, and had a ready wit. "What is your father, my boy?" he said to a patient in

his ward whose future after leaving the hospital was under discussion. "My father," answered the boy, "is a mediæval smith." "Why," said Sir Thomas, "that is exactly what I am myself." Every man who was his junior on the staff had felt his friendliness and good comradeship. Sir William Church, in an admirable account of him in the St. Bartholomew's Hospital Reports for 1910, has shown the warm feeling towards him of his own generation in the hospital. He was a good man and true all his life long. "Remember," he said in an address to students in 1868, "that the success for which we strive, and which must be our chief reward, is success in prolonging life and relieving suffering, in winning the love and earning the gratitude of our patients, and in adding to the general fund of knowledge." Smith's portrait by Collier hangs in the Great Hall, but does not do justice to the solid virtues which he possessed.

ALFRED WILLETT was elected assistant surgeon September 12, 1865, and surgeon November 26, 1879. He resigned in 1901, and died in 1913. His father was William Catt, who took the name of Willett in 1863. Alfred Willett was born at Brighton, and educated at the school of the Guild of the Body of Christ of the Skinners of London at Tonbridge, where Sir Thomas Smith was his schoolfellow. He became a student at St. Bartholomew's in 1857, where Langton, Marrant Baker, and Marsh, afterwards his colleagues

on the staff, were his contemporaries. He was house surgeon to Mr. Lloyd in 1860, and in 1865 became Warden of the College, an office he resigned on his marriage in 1867 to Rose, daughter of Sir George Burrows, Bart., and granddaughter of Abernethy. On leaving the warden's house he went to live at 36 Wimpole Street. His first office in the school was that of demonstrator of practical surgery, and in 1889 he became lecturer on surgery with Howard Marsh, but soon retired. He was a man of great influence in the school, and was its treasurer 1879-1901. Before his time the school accounts were not elaborate, and at Callender's death were found to be in a confused state. Willett, sitting night after night, unravelled every detail, and thenceforward issued a lucid and detailed balance-sheet every year, which was examined during an audit which lasted a whole evening relieved by supper. It was delightful to see the pleasure with which Willett glowed as he produced the details which the auditors sought, and answered every question which occurred to them. The sum to be dealt with in one year was over £19,000, and for many years it was over £12,000. Whenever anyone was rash enough to think Willett mistaken in some detail, Willett always proved to be precisely accurate. He had another peculiarity on committees, that of scarcely ever changing his opinion. He was a perfectly upright man, never in the slightest degree self-seeking, and though anxious

to defeat his adversaries, and never yielding to them, he was totally free from envy, hatred, or malice. Except the reading necessary in his profession he seemed careless of books, and was at his best, outside surgery, when doing accounts. As a surgeon he was first-rate, partly because he had natural operative skill and took infinite pains, and partly because he really cared for every patient he treated. He held many posts of trust outside St. Bartholomew's, and wrote some papers on orthopædics and other parts of surgery. He delivered the Bradshaw lecture at the Royal College of Surgeons in 1897. He sat on its Council 1887-1903, but declined to fill the office of President. He had in all forty-four house surgeons, and they presented him with a marble bust of himself by Mr. Hope Pinker. From the bust a silver medal annually awarded in the school for merit in the Brackenbury surgical examination was made. Both are excellent in likeness.

JOHN LANGTON was elected assistant surgeon May 30, 1867, and surgeon January 26, 1881, holding office till 1904. He was born at Denmark Hill, September 27, 1839. His father, a wholesale chemist, sent him first to a private school and then abroad to learn German. His professional studies began in 1857 as apprentice to a surgeon at Highbury, and were completed at St. Bartholomew's, where he was one of Edward Stanley's dressers. He became a member of the Royal College of Surgeons in 1861, and a fellow June 8, 1865. His first

office at St. Bartholomew's was that of house surgeon to Sir William Lawrence. In 1865 he became assistant demonstrator of anatomy, and for many years taught in the dissecting room, becoming in 1873 one of the lecturers on anatomy. He knew the details of human anatomy, and repeated them, so that his lectures might have enabled a student of sufficiently powerful memory to dispense with a text-book. Langton became Vice-President of the Royal College of Surgeons, and held various offices in the Royal Medical and Chirurgical Society, the Clinical Society, and the Medical Society. He was surgeon to the City of London Truss Society for more than forty years, and stated that he had seen a quarter of a million cases of hernia, so that he was justly regarded as an authority on the subject. Langton's teaching in the dissecting room and in the wards were of a kind useful to candidates for examinations. He edited several editions of Holden's "Manual of Dissection," and wrote various papers and articles, of which the most valuable were on hernia. He married Sophia, daughter of John Scott of Dulwich, and they had three sons and two daughters. Shortly after a paralytic stroke, he died on September 11, 1910, and was buried in East Finchley Cemetery.

WILLIAM MORRANT BAKER was elected assistant, surgeon July 4, 1871, and surgeon March 2, 1882. He resigned owing to illness May 2, 1892, and died October 3, 1896. Baker was born at Andover, where his father

was a solicitor, October 20, 1839. After education at the grammar school he was apprenticed to a local surgeon, and proceeded to St. Bartholomew's October 1, 1858. He became F.R.C.S. November, 1864. He was appointed assistant demonstrator of anatomy in 1863, demonstrator in 1865, and in 1869 lecturer on physiology, a post which he held till 1885. In 1867 he was appointed Warden of the College, and lived in the warden's house till 1873. During these years he was honorary secretary of the school, an office in which he had been preceded by Callender and Paget, and was succeeded by myself. He worked most industriously for the school, and thought over all possible means of increasing the number of students. He took infinite pains to start each student, and was invariably kind. During his tenure of office as honorary secretary the number of new students in October was one hundred for the first time in the memory of the existing staff, and a vote of congratulation to Baker was passed by the committee of Medical Officers and Lecturers. School correspondence and accounts and minutes of committees occupied much of Baker's time, yet he also worked hard at his profession, writing many papers on surgical subjects. As lecturer on physiology the editing of "Kirke's Handbook of Physiology" came to him, and from 1867 to 1892 he produced five editions himself, and four in which he was aided by his demonstrator, Dr. Vincent Dormer Harris. Alfred Willett has given a detailed account of

his surgical writings and of his practice in the wards.¹ He printed in the Hospital Reports the seventeenth-century edition of the "Orders and Ordinances of the Hospital of St. Bartholomew the Less," and in 1885 published in a small quarto "The Two Foundations of St. Bartholomew's Hospital," and he had a fine collection of engravings of the hospital and its environs. He married in 1868, and had two sons and four daughters. Baker's hair early became grey. He was always dressed with the greatest neatness, and seemed, without saying a word, to impress the impropriety of want of such care on others. Dr. Francis Harris, who sometimes wore country clothes when he came up to give a clinical lecture, told me that he had at times stepped into the porter's lodge to avoid Baker's critical eye, and warned me, when I was a candidate for the office of Warden of the College, to be careful of my attire, as Baker had criticised it. I told Mr. Whitwell Elwin, the editor of Pope, of this, who wrote to me: "The clothes question may deserve some consideration, for Baker is not the only person who judges of the inside of a man by his dress. You probably remember Prior's lines:

"My Cowley and Waller how vainly I quote,
While my negligent judge only hears with her eye,
In a long flaxen wig and embroidered new coat
Her spark saying nothing talks better than I";

¹ St. Bartholomew's Hospital Reports, vol. xxxii.

but, like Harris, the tattered example I set disqualifies me from preaching on the subject. Baker individually may be conciliated by your watching for an opportunity to remark adroitly upon the admirable make of his clothes, and asking him the name of his tailor. He will feel this to be at once the highest compliment to himself and an earnest of the improvement which may be expected in you." The difficult interview which Mr. Elwin jocosely imagined did not come off, for Baker proved favourable to my candidature, and on that occasion, as on many others, showed me very great kindness.

HOWARD MARSH was elected assistant surgeon February 27, 1873, and surgeon December 21, 1891, and retired from office in 1904. I must not attempt to write a biography of one who has died so recently, yet I cannot leave without a notice in this history a colleague from whom I received many a kind word, and for whom I felt a warm regard. He was the son of a farmer, and was born at Homersfield, in Suffolk, in 1839. He received his school education at the grammar school of Eye in that county, and I cannot help recounting the circumstance which led me to know this. One day, during my period of residence in St. Bartholomew's as Warden of the College, I was walking to attend a meeting at the College of Physicians, and, being a little early, paused to look into the shop window of a print-seller in the Strand. A man whose garb did not at

first sight seem that of extreme indigence touched my arm and asked me to give him something. I said, "You do not look very badly off, but I am going this way ; walk with me, and tell me why you ask." "I may not seem shabby," said the man, "but I have no waistcoat under my coat," and he undid a button which showed this. "What is your occupation?" I asked. "I go about getting orders for indexes," he said, "and I have been walking all day and have had no food." "I should not have guessed that," said I, "but let me feel your pulse." I did so, and added, "It is not a good one, though I should not have known you had been so long without food." "I know," he said, "I shall have to go into a workhouse, but I wished to put off going there. I have ulcerated legs, and cannot walk another day." "If you would come to St. Bartholomew's Hospital," I answered, "your legs could probably be cured. Come to-morrow, and ask for me ; here is my card, and meantime get some food with this half-crown." Next day the man came, and the state of his legs made it necessary for him to be admitted. I went to the steward's office, for I felt some curiosity to know whence he came. He had mentioned Eye as his address to the steward, and had been admitted to a surgical ward. Marsh chanced at that moment to come into the steward's office, and the steward said, "Mr. Marsh knows Eye," so I told Marsh the story. "The name," he said, "is that of the old postmaster, who also kept a tobacconist's shop ; I will

go and look at the man." So he went to the ward, and soon returning, said, "He is son of the postmaster, and was at the grammar school with me." The patient was weak and depressed, and his legs took long to heal. One day a prosperous brother of his called on me, and told me the patient's history; how he had had his share of the father's means, and had emigrated to America and done well, and then by no fault of his own had lost all, and that, having had his share, he would not ask help of his family, and that they had not heard of him for more than ten years, and that no doubt all this time he had been sinking into poverty. I took the well-to-do brother to the ward, and the two seemed glad to meet, and when the legs were healed Marsh's schoolfellow went to Eye, and was started again in life by his more fortunate brother. The incident impressed the school upon my memory. Marsh was probably the most distinguished alumnus of the grammar school of Eye.

He came to St. Bartholomew's in 1858, became M.R.C.S. in 1861, and F.R.C.S. in 1866. Besides being assistant surgeon and surgeon he became successively demonstrator of anatomy, lecturer on anatomy, and lecturer on surgery, and was also surgeon to the Hospital for Sick Children. He acted as assistant to Sir James Paget in his private practice, and attained to a large practice of his own. Thus he had already spent his best years in a full and arduous professional life when, in 1903, he was appointed professor of surgery

at Cambridge. The last appointment of the many he had filled with distinction was that of Master of Downing College, to which he was elected in 1907. He died in office in 1915. Such are the outlines of the remarkable career of Howard Marsh.

SIR HENRY TRENTHAM BUTLIN was elected assistant surgeon January 28, 1880, and surgeon June 2, 1892. He resigned in November 1902, and died in 1912. He was born in 1845 at Camborne, in Cornwall, of which parish his father was the incumbent. After literary education at home he became a student of St. Bartholomew's in June, 1864, and lived in its college. He was admitted a member of the Royal College of Surgeons in November, 1867, and a fellow in 1871, and also became a licentiate of the Royal College of Physicians. The first office (April 4, 1868) he held at St. Bartholomew's was that of house surgeon to Sir James Paget, for whose character and attainments he had throughout life the warmest admiration. Paget's success as a surgeon was largely due to his work as a pathologist, and Butlin attained eminence in the surgical world by the same course. After a short period of general practice in Kent he decided to practise surgery in London, and returned to St. Bartholomew's, where he became surgical registrar and demonstrator of practical surgery. He never taught anatomy, and his appointment on the staff was due to his admirable pathological work as registrar. He

lived at 47 Queen Anne Street, and used to have four students to live in his house, a great advantage to them, but a most serious addition to his toil while he was trying to give every moment not occupied by official duties to original work in surgery or surgical pathology. Once scarlet fever emptied the house. A kind old governor of the hospital, who used to give a New Testament to every patient, and a cake at Christmas to every sister, and many gifts to patients in need of help, sent a handsome present to Butlin because he admired his work and guessed his pecuniary difficulties. Butlin could not accept the present, but deeply felt the donor's generosity, and told me of it when we were talking after Mr. Thomas Stone's death of his numerous acts of kindness. Butlin had charge of the throat department in the hospital, and became a very skilful operator on the larynx. He attained a large private practice in diseases of the throat, and, writing a book on "Diseases of the Tongue," had also great repute in that subject. He thought and wrote much on carcinoma and sarcoma, and in the end had as much operating practice as he could do, and his capacity for work was enormous. He wrote lucidly and spoke well, his style being based upon that of Paget. He sat on the Council of the College of Surgeons, and was elected President in 1909. In 1910 he also became President of the British Medical Association. He was Dean of the Faculty of Medicine

in the University of London, and did his best to give the warmth of social life to that academic body. He was created a baronet when President of the College of Surgeons, and left a son to succeed to his well-earned honours. His holidays were often spent abroad, and his memory was stored with the architecture of France and Italy. He knew Italian perfectly, and once acted as interpreter for a medical candidate who did not know English but wanted an English qualification. Though he appreciated the beauties of architecture he had an imperfect perception of poetry, as was shown by his thinking, as he told me, that time spent in reading Dante was wasted. He was fond of driving and riding. His goodness of heart was as obvious throughout his life as his unceasing and fruitful industry. It deserves to be remembered to Paget's honour that his example produced such a surgeon as Butlin. St. Bartholomew's may well be proud of both men.

WILLIAM JOHNSON WALSHAM was elected assistant surgeon March 10, 1881, after a contest, in which he obtained 56 votes and each of his opponents, Mr. Harrison Cripps and Mr. Shuter, 53. He was elected surgeon in 1897, and held office till his death on October 5, 1903. His family came originally from South Walsham, in Norfolk, and his father had a farm in Cambridgeshire. Walsham was born in London June 27, 1847, was educated at a private school, and did not begin

medical studies till May, 1867, having first thought of being an engineer, and secondly of being an analytical chemist. He obtained many prizes during his career as a student at St. Bartholomew's, became a Licentiate of the Society of Apothecaries in 1869, a member of the Royal College of Surgeons November 17, 1871, and a fellow June 10, 1875. He was an examiner in anatomy for the Conjoint Board in England 1892-7, and a member of the Court of Examiners of the College of Surgeons 1897-1902. In an unoccupied interval of life he took in 1871 the degree of M.B. in the University of Aberdeen. At St. Bartholomew's he was a dresser for Luther Holden, house physician to Dr. Francis Harris in 1871, and house surgeon to Holmes Coote for three months in 1872. He taught anatomy as assistant demonstrator 1872-3, as demonstrator 1873-80, and as lecturer 1889-97. He was remarkable for his minute knowledge of human anatomy and for his skill in dissection. In his time most candidates for hospital surgeoncies began as teachers of anatomy and ended as teachers of surgery, and this was Walsham's course. He obtained the chief teaching post on the surgical side, becoming lecturer on surgery in 1897. Besides his public teaching, he instructed many private pupils in anatomy and in surgery. Walsham discharged all his duties in the out-patient rooms, in the special department of orthopædic surgery which was placed under his care, and in the wards and operating

theatre, with unvarying regularity and completeness. He wrote more than sixty surgical and anatomical papers in the Hospital Reports, Pathological Society's Transactions, and Clinical Society's Transactions, and in the compound treatises of Christopher Heath and Frederick Treves on Surgery, and of Henry Morris on Anatomy. His chief work was "Surgery, its Theory and Practice," which he published in 1883, and of which an eighth edition came out in the year of his death. It contained a concise statement of the whole existing knowledge of surgery, and was widely read by students. Such books are not apt to be highly spoken of in later generations, yet when they are good the labour of producing them is great indeed. This one cost Walsham enormous labour, and, added to all his other toil, perhaps his life. Walsham lived at 77 Harley Street, and had a country house at Forest Row, in Sussex. He married in 1876 Edith, daughter of Joseph Huntley Spencer of Hastings. He allowed himself but little relaxation, having always in his mind the attainment of success in his profession. This success he reached by honourable and unremitting toil. Surgery was his whole life, and all other pursuits he was inclined to regard as amiable weaknesses.

WILLIAM HARRISON CRIPPS, F.R.C.S., was elected assistant surgeon March 2, 1882, and surgeon January 2, 1902. He resigned in 1909, becoming consulting surgeon and a governor.

James Shuter was appointed assistant surgeon March 23, 1882. He received 127 votes, J. F. C. H. Macready 48, and C. B. Keetley 1. He died from an accidental overdose of morphia on November 1 in that year. His father was a member of the Common Council of the City. Shuter was born in 1846, and after education in France, at Margate, and at King's College School in London, he proceeded to Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, in 1864, and thence took his degree in the Mathematical Tripos of 1868. The degree of LL.B. was then supposed to require a very brief course of reading, and the industrious Shuter, whose contact with the London University at King's College, London, had infected him with the love of degrees usual in that university, was not deterred from taking it in 1869 because it was the common resource of indolent or ignorant undergraduates. He graduated M.A. and M.B. in 1875. He was in 1874 house surgeon to Luther Holden, and in 1875 became house physician to Dr. Patrick Black. In 1876 he was admitted a fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons, and in 1878 he became assistant demonstrator of anatomy at St. Bartholomew's, and soon after assistant surgeon to the Royal Free Hospital. He is best remembered at St. Bartholomew's as the founder of a pleasant dining club, the members of which are the Cambridge graduates of the hospital. It dines each year in the October term, and serves as a means of making known the men just come up from

Cambridge to those already at work in London. Many Cambridge men thus owe pleasant acquaintance to the simple dinner founded by Shuter of Corpus.

WILLIAM BRUCE CLARKE was elected assistant surgeon December 20, 1883, receiving 81 votes, while his opponent, J. F. C. H. Macready, son of the celebrated actor, had 49. In 1903 Bruce Clarke became surgeon, was the senior of the surgeons in 1910, and retired in 1912. I had hoped that he would read this book, but the sands of his life ran down faster than my pen moved, and he died March 28, 1914. I was intimate with him throughout his career, in which he showed that he was worthy of all the happiness life can give, and that he could endure unhappiness without complaint. He was a man of strong character, without a trace of asperity in his nature, had excellent ability, and was well read. He was son of the Rev. W. W. Clarke, and was born at his father's living of North Wootton, in Norfolk. He was sent to Harrow, and thence went to Pembroke College, Oxford, where he took a first-class in Natural Science. After study at St. Bartholomew's he took the degree of M.B. in 1877. He became M.R.C.S. in 1877, and F.R.C.S. in 1879, and took the Jacksonian Prize "On the Diagnosis and Treatment of Diseases of the Kidney amenable to Surgical Treatment." He was a member of the Council of the College of Surgeons 1907-13. He became demonstrator of anatomy at St. Bartholomew's in 1882, and

was later lecturer on anatomy, and lastly on surgery. He was twice married, and left a son by his first wife.

SIR ANTHONY ALFRED BOWLBY, F.R.C.S., was elected assistant surgeon December 21, 1891, and surgeon October 8, 1903, and has since his first election attained many honours in two wars and in the public service, so that he is now a Knight Commander of the Most Distinguished Order of St. Michael and St. George, a Knight Commander of the Royal Victorian Order, and Surgeon-General (temporary) in the Army Medical Service.

CHARLES BARRETT LOCKWOOD was appointed assistant surgeon June 30, 1892, and surgeon in 1903, and resigned in 1912. He died, November 8, 1914, at his house in Upper Berkeley Street, as a result of pricking his finger during an operation five weeks before. He was born at Stockton-on-Tees in 1858, and entered St. Bartholomew's in 1875. In 1881 he became a fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons, was Hunterian Professor in 1895, and a member of the Council in 1908. He wrote books on hernia, appendicitis, and carcinoma of the breast, and also published clinical lectures. All these works contained results of his own wide experience, were read with the attention they well deserved, and led to the increase of his operative practice. He became one of the best operators of his time.

Ten surgeons have since been elected :

D'ARCY POWER, M.B. (Oxford), F.R.C.S., assistant surgeon April 28, 1898, surgeon October 20, 1904.

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HOLBURN JOSEPH WARING, M.S. (London), F.R.C.S., assistant surgeon January 30, 1902, surgeon November 15, 1909.

WILLIAM McADAM ECCLES, M.S. (London), F.R.C.S., assistant surgeon January 22, 1903, surgeon April 25, 1912.

ROBERT COZENS BAILEY, M.S. (London), F.R.C.S., assistant surgeon November 5, 1903, surgeon January 6, 1913.

Louis Bathe Rawling, M.B. (Cambridge), F.R.C.S., surgeon with charge of out-patients November 24, 1904.

George Ernest Gask, F.R.C.S., surgeon with charge of out-patients June 27, 1907.

Charles Gordon Watson, F.R.C.S., assistant surgeon February 10, 1910.

Raymond Broadley Etherington-Smith was elected assistant surgeon May 22, 1912, and at the time of his death, on April 19, 1913, was also Warden of the College. He was second son of J. R. Etherington-Smith, Recorder of Derby, and was born in 1877. He received his school education at Repton, and thence went to Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1895. He was famous as an oar, and became captain of the University Boat Club. He was stroke of the first Trinity boat at the head of the river in June 1898, and rowed in the university boat that won the boat-race against Oxford in 1899. He came to St. Bartholomew's in 1900, and was admitted a fellow of the Royal College of

Surgeons in 1907. On January 13, 1910, he was elected surgical registrar. His fine physical form, his bright, intelligent, and kindly face, made everyone feel a regard for him at first sight which deepened as his modesty and his untiring industry became known. There was something about him which made everyone wish him success, and mourn that his honourable career was ended by a sudden attack of pneumococcal peritonitis, probably contracted from a case of gangrene of the lung on which he had operated. He was the first of the Wardens of the College to die in office. No man ever held that office who was better endowed with the qualities which excite the veneration of students. A ward for sick members of the resident staff has been built in his memory, and on its inner wall is a bronze memorial, with a portrait medallion and an inscription.

Harold William Wilson, M.S. (London), F.R.C.S., assistant surgeon February 13, 1913.

William Girling Ball, F.R.C.S., assistant surgeon May 26, 1913.

These are the ninety-eight surgeons and assistant surgeons who have held office at St. Bartholomew's between 1549 and 1916. Many of them have of course been the chief surgeons of their day, but those who had briefer careers often added something to the fame of the hospital and to the improvement of surgery.

XXVI

THE APOTHECARIES



HAKESPEARE has left to us what we may believe was his own recollection of a London apothecary and his dwelling in the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

“I do remember an apothecary,
And hereabouts he dwells which late I noted,
In tatter'd weeds, with overwhelming brows,
Culling of simples : meagre were his looks,
Sharp misery had worn him to the bones :
And in his needy shop a tortoise hung,
An alligator stuff'd, and other skins
Of ill-shaped fishes ; and about his shelves
A beggarly account of empty boxes,
Green earthen pots, bladders and musty seeds,
Remnants of pack thread, and old cakes of roses,
Were thinly scatter'd to make up a show.”

That the apothecary collected herbs and had a turn for Natural History, as well as his store of drugs in boxes and his curious pieces of earthenware, were all characteristics of the way of life and tastes of his profession. They were as apparent in those who were

well off as in those who were meagre and miserable, like the Mantuan consulted by Romeo. The prosperous and well-read apothecary inclined to become a botanist, and enjoyed both plants and books.

An apothecary appears upon the staff of St. Bartholomew's some thirty years before "Romeo and Juliet" was printed, and about fifty years before a royal charter incorporated the apothecaries as an independent guild. His payment is mentioned for some years before his name occurs.

May 12, 1567. "Paide by boke potticarye, £20.

June 13, 1567. "Paide him more by bill, £19, 10s.

April 10, 1568. "That the pottycary shall have £20 for all such drugges and medycens that he hath deliuered to this howse in the yere past, and also he shall have yerely £20 as long as he shall serve the poore with ther medycens and yf the maisters lyke his service.

November 24, 1569. "Item paid the bill of the potticary for a halfe yere's stoffe serued in for the poore ended at Michellmas Anno 1569 for quittance, £10.

"Item paid to the poticarye for stoffe received from him by the surgeons and the pision for one holle yere ended at Michellmas Anno 1570, £20."

In 1571, for the first time, an apothecary is mentioned by name: he had been in office a year.

"Paid William Weston potticarye for his fee for serving the howse of droges for the poore for one hole yere ended at Michellmas 1571, £21."

On August 9, 1572, WILLIAM WESTON, apothecary, said he could not live on his wages because the number of the poor in the house increaseth daily. The court decided he should have £26, 13s. 4d. a year while serving the house with "poticary ware," to be paid quarterly by equal parts; and in 1575 that sum was paid him "for one whole yere's wages for purgacions, lectuaries, conserves, plaisters." His stipend appears in each year's accounts after the record of the payments to the surgeons and those to the matron and sisters. On October 9, 1585, the apothecary was complained of as not attentive enough to duty, and was soon after dismissed.

JOHN NAPPER was appointed October 23, 1585, and resigned October 7, 1587. He received the same stipend. He was of the Grocers' Company, with which some apothecaries were probably mingled before their inclusion in that company by letters patent of the fourth year of James I. "for the better order, government and rule of men of the mysteries of the grocers and the apothecaries under the name of the Warden and Commonalty of the mystery of the Grocers of the City of London."

ROGER GWYN (also written Gwynn, Gwynne, Gwin, and Gwine) was elected in October, 1587, and held office till Midsummer, 1614. He was also apothecary to St. Thomas's Hospital, and the fact that he sometimes undertook the treatment of patients is shown by an entry of 15 shillings paid to him, in addition to his

stipend, "for his charge in healing one of the dropsy." On October 5, 1588, Gwyn, with the consent of Dr. Bright, asked that his stipend might be amended "and made as much as he hath in St. Thomas's Hospital," and promised to provide a purging diet in the spring of the year for three months and "for 8 or 12 in the fall of the leafe," or at any time appointed by the physicians, surgeons or governors, and to find all oils, ointments and plasters required by the physician, and further to find scurvygrass for the poor throughout the year, and to stamp and strain the same for drink. It was agreed that his salary should be raised to £40 a year, and that the surgeons should not charge him with ointments and plasters other than the governors or physician shall think necessary. He is to have the augmentation "so long as the governors shall see the poor better looked to and sooner healed."

Gwyn's life was varied by some naval service. On March 27, 1576:

"It is ordered at the contemplacon of the right honorable my L: Admyrall his letre dyrected to the Governors of the howse, for the servyce of Roger Gwyne Apothycare to be presently employed for her Maiesties Navye for the pretended viage: That the sayd Gwyne accordinge to the sayd letre shall have consent of the Gouernors of this howse to Attende her Maiesties sayd servyce: And he to have the stypend belonginge to him notwithstanding his absence duringe

the said tyme of Servyce Soe that the servauntes of the sayd Gwyne doe from tyme to tyme duringe the sayd tyme well and orderly execute and performe all such thinges belonginge to the poore as in the presence of the sayd Gwyn hath bene done."

The Lord Admiral was Charles Lord Howard of Effingham, who had defeated the Armada, and who shared the command of the expedition to Cadiz with Robert, Earl of Essex. The fleet was divided into four squadrons, of which the Lord Admiral's, in which Gwyn served, was the first, Essex led the second, Thomas Howard, afterwards Earl of Suffolk, the third, and Sir Walter Raleigh the fourth.¹ The fleet sailed from Plymouth, won a great naval victory at Cadiz, and soon returned to England. Gwyn resumed his duties at St. Bartholomew's. On June 14, 1602, "it is ordered that Mr. Gwyn shall bring his electuaryes or conserves in Gallypottes, which gallypottes are to be found at the chardges of this house.

"Item that he shall sende such quantities as are delyuered by the physicon both in playsters, syrrops, searclothes, &c.

"Item that he shall not refuse any oyntment, plaster, or searecloth ordered by the physicon.

"Item that the chirurgions shall not refuse to use oyntmentes or plasters such as the physicon shall sende to them or elles shoue reason to the contrary uppon conference."

¹ Camden: *Tomus alter Annalium*, London, 1627.

Gwyn's period of office, and probably his life, ended in the summer of 1614.

HUMPHRY CROXTON was appointed on July 28, 1614, at a salary, to begin from the previous Midsummer, of £16 a year with rooms. When an apothecaries' shop was made in 1614 in the hospital, he was paid for examining and approving the drugs.

TOBIAS WINCKS succeeded him in 1616, and resigned January 16, 1619.

JOHN EVANS was then elected, but only held office till Michaelmas in the same year.

RICHARD GLOVER was immediately appointed, and held office till Michaelmas, 1648.

In the thirteenth year of James I. the union between the Apothecaries and the Grocers, after it had lasted nine years, was abolished. The king, by the advice of his physicians, Sir Theodore Mayerne and Dr. Harry Atkins, granted a charter to the Apothecaries, who thus became an independent guild, with all the rights as regards property and government usually possessed by such guilds in the City of London, with the power of taking apprentices and preventing any one from opening a shop till he had been apprenticed for seven years: no such apprentice to be made free without the assent of the President of the College of Physicians or of some physician whom he shall depute to be present at the examination of the apprentice by the master and wardens of the apothecaries. The master and wardens

are to have power to enter shops and houses, to try medicines and burn all unwholesome ones. The society is to have power to buy and sell drugs, to purchase lands to the value of forty pounds and to sell them, and to choose and swear a clerk and a beadle. The President and College of Physicians are to have power to call the master and wardens to take part in the scrutiny of drugs.

One hundred and fourteen apothecaries formed the original incorporation, and are twice individually mentioned by name in the charter.¹ Amongst those who were probably written down in order of seniority, Wincks was the fifty-third, Evans the sixty-second, and Glover the seventy-ninth. He became upper warden² of the society in 1640, and master² in 1645.

WILLIAM GREENE was immediately appointed to succeed Glover, and held office till his death in March, 1661. On his election, it was ordered that the apothecary is henceforward to keep a day book of all drugs, and bring it to the counting house to be audited every month.

On March 24, 1651, Mr. Henry Box gave a mortar and pestle of *lignum vitæ* of great value, "which is in Mr. Apothecary's custody."

It was resolved (January 10, 1652) that William

¹ Charles Goodall, "The Royal College of Physicians of London," London, 1684, p. 122.

² C. R. B. Barrett, "The History of the Society of Apothecaries of London," 1905, pp. 58, 62.

Greene have £10 a year for making Scurvygrass Ale. This he stored in a cellar (December 19, 1653), which was part of a great vault in the matron's yard.

FRANCIS BERNARD was elected apothecary May 22, 1661. There were twenty-six able applicants for the office. He brought a letter recommendatory from the king. Bernard had been apprenticed to Mr. Lorimer (Master of the Apothecaries in 1654), and a note in the MS. Annals of the College of Physicians mentions that after examination by the Apothecaries, and with the approbation of the College, he was permitted to open a shop. He was the most remarkable man who held the office of apothecary to St. Bartholomew's, and resigned it on becoming assistant physician¹ in November, 1678.

A Pharmacopœia, a book in which the drugs to be kept in apothecaries' shops are named, and which contains rules for the composition of medicines, was first published in England by the College of Physicians on May 7, 1618. Harvey was upon the committee for considering its publication. A second edition appeared December 7 in the same year, and in 1650 a revised Pharmacopœia was issued, with only a few alterations. Some simplification of the elaborate and complex compositions of the Pharmacopœia of the College was necessary for the daily work of a large hospital, and the physicians of St. Bartholomew's composed a simplified book for the hospital, in which, besides prescriptions of

¹ Vol. ii. p. 512.

their own, they used some seventy preparations of the London Pharmacopœia. A copy of this first St. Bartholomew's pharmacopœia was made by Dr. Edward Browne¹ in 1670, and the work was probably composed while Francis Bernard was apothecary. Browne's copy is in the British Museum. There are forty-six preparations, each having a definite name by which it was prescribed, thus saving much writing. There were six pills, while two hundred years² later the physician had choice of twenty-seven. A powder for bruises contained Irish stone, myrrh, Armenian bole, mummy, spermaceti, and rhubarb, so that the opinion evidently prevailed in St. Bartholomew's that

"The sovereign'st thing on earth
Was parmaceti for an inward bruise."

A Decoctum hemidesmi compositum of the hospital pharmacopœia of 1888 was clearly a descendant of the Decoctum cephalicum of Bernard's day. Both contained sassafras, guaiacum, and liquorice, while the earlier preparation added rosemary, sage, betony, and chamomile, sarsaparilla and peony root, and the later hemidesmus root and mezereon bark. A compound powder of nutmeg was put into the original decoction. A strengthening powder was made of the root of contrayerva, which the famous Clusius, whose tomb Dr. Browne visited, had brought into use, with serpentary, angelica and crocus,

¹ Sloane MS., 1895.

² St. Bartholomew's Hospital Pharmacopœia, 1888.

and camphor for the vegetable kingdom, crabs' claws and cochineal for the animal kingdom, and antimony from among minerals. There was a fumus or vapour to be used in time of plague, which had no doubt been well tried when this hospital pharmacopœia was young. It was obtained from a powder of myrrh, angelica, frankincense, nitre, sulphur, and pitch. There were an eye water and an eye ointment, and an ointment to get rid of parasites, and a tooth powder, an astringent gargle, a plaster for the back and one to cure sciatica. There was Decoctum amarum for the treatment of ague, which, though without any quinine, must have been bitter enough, for it was made from centaury leaves, chamomile, thistle seeds, senna, mushroom, and gentian.

These examples give an idea of the first hospital pharmacopœia of St. Bartholomew's. Since the time of Francis Bernard, manuscript editions have been prepared from time to time, and copies of these were issued in print by outside persons. In 1799 an authorised edition was printed, and the next in 1820. These were in Latin, as were several subsequent editions. That of 1848 is about $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height by 3 in breadth, and is entitled "*Pharmacopœia Nosocomii Regalis Sancti Bartholomæi.*" Londini, 1848. At the end the diet scale is printed. In 1869 the pharmacopœia was first printed in English. That of 1888 is of nearly the same measurement as that of 1848, and is entitled

"Pharmacopœia of St. Bartholomew's Hospital." After the title is a list of the medical officers of the hospital, and at the end of the book a diet table. An edition appeared in 1900, and the last in 1907.

Sir William Church has given a full account of several editions of our pharmacopœia¹ and the books derived from it, in the St. Bartholomew's Hospital Reports for 1884 and 1886,² and has there printed the whole of Dr. Edward Browne's manuscript copy of the first pharmacopœia. Besides a general history of the apothecaries' shop, Sir William Church gives an interesting relation of the prevalence of particular drugs drawn up from the shop ledgers from 1836 to 1886. He states that sulphate of magnesia was in 1885 the drug of which the largest quantities were used in the hospital; about 340,480 half-ounce doses were dispensed in a year. From 1866 to 1875 the annual average consumption was $42\frac{1}{2}$ cwts., and from 1876 to 1885 $43\frac{3}{4}$ cwts. Two therapeutic agents, of which Sir William Church mentions the quantities, linseed meal and leeches, have fallen much out of use since he wrote. In 1836 $8\frac{3}{4}$ tons of linseed meal were used, while from 1876 to 1885 the annual average was $15\frac{3}{4}$ tons, but in 1911 the poultice was so nearly obsolete that 3 cwts. sufficed. In 1837, 96,300 leeches were used; in 1838, 93,500, while in 1868 the number had sunk to 2200, and from that time

¹ Of 1764, 1793, 1799, 1820, 1832, 1838, 1869, and the later ones.

² "Our Hospital Pharmacopœia and Apothecary's Shop," by W. S. Church, M.D.

to 1885 the average was 1770. It is now (1911) about 700. Quassia has increased in use, partly no doubt with an increase of out-patients, yet in a way which shows that it has been considered an effective bitter tonic. 6 lbs. was the annual quantity 1836-1845, 56 lbs. 1856-1865, and 496 lbs. 1876-1885. 347 lbs. was the annual use of bromide of potassium 1876-1885, and in the previous ten years 146 lbs. Sir William Church points out that chloroform first appears in the apothecaries' shop ledgers on November 22, 1847, just one week after the publication of Sir James Y. Simpson's brief treatise, "Chloroform as a Substitute for Sulphuric Æther in Surgery and Midwifery." A pound of pure carbolic acid was used in 1865, and in 1881-1885 the annual average was 1267 lbs., and in 1911 the quantity was 2½ tons. Salicylate of soda came into use in 1877, and 25 lbs. were used, and in the next year 46 lbs., and from 1879 to 1885 the annual average was 75½ lbs. The quantity in 1911 was 4 cwts. These quantities have not been precisely calculated out in relation to the numbers of out-patients and in-patients, yet it may be taken that they indicate the prevalent reputation of the drugs.

It is clear that Francis Bernard left the apothecaries' department in good order when he gave up pharmacology for medicine.

CHARLES FELTHAM, who was elected to succeed him November 20, 1678, brought a letter of recommendation from the king. Feltham held office till his death in

1694, when he bequeathed £76, 9s. to the hospital. He had a famous apprentice, James Petiver, who came to St. Bartholomew's from Rugby School, as did Willoughby Furner, F.R.C.S., demonstrator of anatomy, who ran, and won, a race with Robert Bridges, the poet, at about two in the morning, from Oxford Circus to Holborn Circus, and Dr. J. A. Ormerod, physician to St. Bartholomew's and Registrar of the Royal College of Physicians. Petiver nearly two centuries before these other remarkable Rugbeians worked as Feltham's apprentice, and when out of his time became apothecary to the Charterhouse. He was a botanist and naturalist, and collected an herbarium, a museum, and a library. He was elected F.R.S. in 1695, and after his death, in 1718, his collections were bought by Sir Hans Sloane, and are now part of the British Museum.

JOHN BLACKSTONE, also written Blaxton, was the next apothecary, and held office from 1695 to August 19, 1712, when he resigned. Just after his resignation he was elected Upper Warden of the Apothecaries.¹

WILLIAM CURWEN, an apprentice of Feltham, was next elected. On June 1, 1724, he had an attack of hemiplegia, which rendered him unable to do his work, and perhaps even to resign, so that he was discharged July 18, 1728.

THOMAS NORTHEY was appointed August 1, 1728, and resigned in 1747. He was often complained of, and

¹ Barrett's History.

the committee, December 6, 1743, thought him negligent. He did not regularly attend the physicians "when they sat to prescribe medicines for the poor patients." The shop was shut and unattended early in the evening. A regular charge was for the first time drawn up for the apothecary in 1743, and on January 3, 1744, Northey promised to do his duty in the future. While he was in office Sir Hans Sloane and Dr. Mead were on the Apothecaries' Shop Committee. On April 23, 1745, a committee was appointed to inquire into the state of the apothecaries' shop, and admonished Northey. Directions were to be given in writing with all medicines. No spirits of wine were to be delivered by the apothecary to the sisters without a note signed by one of the surgeons (April 30, 1745). On July 16, 1745, the committee complained that Northey was still neglectful. It seems he was much engaged in private practice, and an assistant apothecary to be paid by Northey was recommended. A laboratory was thought necessary. It was resolved on April 2, 1747, that an apothecary be chosen who will reside in the hospital, and that he do follow no other business, and on April 26th a plan for the apothecaries' house, drawn by Mr. Gibbs (the architect) was laid before the Apothecaries' Shop Committee. Northey was Master of the Apothecaries in 1751, and died a few days before the end of his term of office as Master.

ISHMAEL PARBERY, who was chosen after an ad-

vertisement inviting applications had been published in the newspapers, was appointed on trial August 4, 1747, and elected apothecary July 14, 1748. He died in 1749. He was given a house in Tart's Court, near the present Windmill Court, and was paid £100 a year, besides this house free of taxes and rates, an allowance of coal and candles, and £80 to provide journeymen in his laboratory. On September 29, 1747, all druggists were invited to send samples of rhubarb, opium, spermaceti, gum guaiacum, aloes, manna, cantharides, ammoniacum, assafoetida, jalap, senna, gum arabic, quicksilver, and some less important drugs, each with a price affixed. This method of selecting drugs for purchase has ever since been continued.

THOMAS ROBINSON was elected September 9, 1749, and also lived in Tart's Court. He died in July, 1767. In his period of office a new laboratory was finished, about 1753.

WILLIAM ROBINSON, nephew and apprentice of his predecessor, was appointed July 28, 1767, and resigned August 15, 1799. An assistant apothecary was again appointed in 1797 at a salary of £100 a year.

WILLIAM NICHOLSON, who had been assistant, was elected apothecary August 23, 1799. He died in 1806. Thomas Crump was appointed his assistant in 1804.

THOMAS WHEELER was elected December 19, 1806, he receiving 116 votes and Thomas Crump 93. Wheeler resigned July 11, 1821. His salary was £350 a year,

raised in 1813 to £400, with a house rent and tax free. On March 24, 1818, the foundation stone of a new apothecaries' shop was laid close to the south angle of the west wing by Hugh Powell, the treasurer, after an appropriate prayer by the Reverend William Wix.

Mr. Wheeler had been educated at St. Paul's School and at St. Thomas's Hospital. John Flint South, surgeon to St. Thomas's, one of his pupils in botany, has left a description of him. "He was a little, delicate, spare man; his head was small, partially bald, with loose streaming light hair; his features were small, with bright, twinkling, laughing eyes, and his general expression most benevolent and attractive.

He taught botany at the Apothecaries' Hall, and took the apprentices on field excursions. He was elected Master August 26, 1823, and was a member of the first Court of Examiners after the Act of 1815. He was a man of active mind and varied learning, and at seventy-five took up the study of Hebrew. He died August 10, 1847, at the age of ninety-three.

CHARLES WEST WHEELER, second son of Thomas, was elected apothecary to St. Bartholomew's July 11, 1821, and resigned in 1835. At his request, steam power was first used in the apothecaries' shop. When he resigned, the duties of the apothecary were revised at a General Court on March 25, 1836. Boards for each patient were directed to be used in medical as well as

¹ "Memorials of John Flint South," by C. L. Feltoe, London, 1884, p. 65.

surgical wards. Up to this date books, of which the earliest existing examples are those of Dr. Francis Bernard in the British Museum, had been used in the medical wards. The physicians and surgeons were to visit the laboratory once a month. The apothecary was to keep stores locked. Phials and gallipots marked St. Bartholomew's Hospital were to be used in the wards. A resident medical officer is to be appointed to see patients in the absence of the physicians, and to attend urgent casualty cases, such as those of poisoning. No such officer was at once appointed.

PHILIP JOHNSON HURLOCK was elected apothecary November 10, 1835, and died in 1847. On March 3, 1847, the apothecary's duties were revised. He was to hold the qualifications of M.R.C.S. and L.S.A., to see the store stocked, to keep account of drugs, to preserve order in the whole department, and attend a board once a week, to attend the physicians on their rounds if required, to go round the wards morning and night visiting all patients in the physicians' wards, to dispense and label medicines carefully, to provide a properly qualified assistant, to inquire into the nature of casualties, and to distribute out-patient letters. He was to live in the residence provided, and never to take more than three apprentices. He was to practise economy, and to have no private patients.

FREDERICK WOOD was elected March 23, 1847. He received 115 votes and J. R. Wheeler 100. His work was

that of fourteen men of the times after his, that is, of ten house physicians, two casualty physicians, and two junior assistant physicians. He also acted as a kind of secretary to the physicians, receiving the fees for medical practice then paid to them. Every applicant for treatment was at that period admitted to the casualty department up to 9 A.M. or a little later. From one hundred to three hundred and fifty used to appear. All these patients were seen and treated or admitted by the apothecary, and Mr. Wood, after twenty years' service, used to take a justifiable pride in the belief that he had never overlooked a case of hernia or one of intestinal obstruction. His decisions belonged rather to prognosis than to diagnosis. His acute observation enabled him rapidly to arrive at a determination of the degree of a patient's illness rather than of its nature. He knew who ought to be admitted to the wards at once, and as for the remaining patients, if he had not time to be elaborate, he had great skill in the use of what Johnson calls

“The power of art without the show.”

He went round all the medical wards every day. The physicians of his time used to mention useful fragments of medical knowledge which they had learnt from the large experience of Mr. Wood. He had the taste for botany proper to apothecaries from the time of formation of their guild, and grew *vallisneria* with a

success uncommon in his time. He became M.R.C.S. in 1841, and was admitted F.R.C.S. in 1860, and was of course a licentiate of the Society of Apothecaries. In 1868 house physicians were created, and the last apothecary to St. Bartholomew's retired on a pension. He died at Brighton, February 8, 1906.

XXVII

OTHER MEMBERS OF THE STAFF



ARTICULAR parts of medical or surgical work have long been carried on in the hospital by special officers, and many subjects of study and of practice have in recent times been thus established as parts of the hospital work.

Of these departments on the medical side the most important is that of *Midwifery*. It owed its foundation to the necessity of its being taught to the students of the school, and a steadily improving medical education has been the chief influence in the development of the department. Midwifery has been established by an Act of Parliament of 1886 as one of the three final subjects necessary for every qualification to practise. No one can be placed on the Medical Register who has not satisfied examiners that he is competent to practise Medicine, Surgery, and Midwifery.

The establishment of a lectureship in Midwifery was the first step towards the systematic practice and study of the subject at St. Bartholomew's, although the occasional care of mothers and support of children mentioned

in the Close Rolls¹ of Edward III. show that this branch of medicine had very early been thought a suitable part of the hospital work.

John Freke had devoted considerable attention to midwifery, and improved the structure of the forceps,² but the first lecturer on the subject at St. Bartholomew's was ANDREW THYNNE, a doctor of medicine of Rheims and a licentiate of the College of Physicians (April 2, 1787). He died in office in 1814.

ROBERT GOOCH, who had for a time assisted Thynne in his lectures, was appointed lecturer in 1814, and held office till 1825. He was born at Yarmouth in 1784. His great-grandfather was Sir Thomas Gooch, Baronet, Bishop of Ely, but none of that bishop's wealth descended to Robert Gooch, the physician's father, who was a captain in the merchant service. Gooch obtained a considerable literary education, chiefly through association and conversation with well-read men. He was a surgeon's apprentice at Yarmouth, and in the hospital there saw Nelson, and heard him speak to the wounded of Copenhagen. Nelson went straight to the hospital. "I went round the wards with him, and was much interested in observing his demeanour to the sailors. He stopped at every bed, and to every man he had something kind and cheering to say. At length he stopped opposite a bed on which a sailor was lying, who had lost his right arm close to the shoulder-joint, and the

¹ Vol. i. p. 578.

² Vol. ii. p. 634.

following short dialogue passed between them. Nelson : ' Well, Jack, what's the matter with you?' Sailor : ' Lost my right arm, your honour.' Nelson paused, looked down at his own empty sleeve, then at the sailor, and said, playfully, ' Well, Jack, then you and I are spoiled for fishermen ; cheer up, my brave fellow!' And he passed briskly on to the next bed ; but these few words had a magical effect upon the poor fellow, for I saw his eyes sparkle with delight as Nelson turned away and pursued his course through the wards."¹ Gooch graduated M.D. at Edinburgh, June, 1807, maintaining a thesis on Rickets. He practised for a time at Croydon, and in 1812 was admitted a licentiate of the College of Physicians, and came to live in London, first in Aldermanbury and in 1816 in Berners Street. His practice in midwifery and the allied branches became large, and his lectures were excellent. His literary tastes continued throughout life. He wrote in the *Quarterly Review* on Plague (1825) and on the Anatomy Act (1830), and was made librarian to the king in April, 1826. His "Account of some of the most Important Diseases peculiar to Women," a treatise of merit, was published in 1829. A new edition of it, to which various papers of his are appended, appeared in 1859. His death, February 16, 1830, was due to a tuberculosis which had progressed for many years, and in spite of which he manfully worked to the very end of his life.

¹ Letter of Gooch quoted in Dr. H. H. Southey's Life of Gooch in "British Physicians," 1830.

JOHN TRICKER CONQUEST, a licentiate of the College of Physicians of London and M.D. of Edinburgh, was appointed lecturer in 1825, and held office till his resignation September 18, 1834. His "Outlines of Midwifery," published in 1820, and his "Letters to a Mother on the Management of Herself and her Children in Health and Disease" (1848), suggest that his lectures must have been poor productions, but he showed his anxiety to improve his department by presenting to the Museum a fine collection of preparations which he had made. DR. JOHN ASHBURNER, who had the same qualifications, was appointed joint-lecturer with Dr. Conquest April 8, 1834, and succeeded that autumn to the lectureship. The students did not like him, and there were disorders at lecture, which led to his resignation February 10, 1835. His subsequent works on mesmerism, spirit rapping, and clairvoyance show that the students had formed a sound judgment as to his powers. DR. HUGH LEY, of the same qualifications, who was lecturer on Midwifery at the Middlesex Hospital, was invited by the staff and appointed by the house committee April 20, 1835. He died in office January 24, 1837. All the regular lectures had hitherto been in the winter, but he gave his first and subsequent courses in the summer, the period thereafter used for Midwifery lectures till the enlargement of the subject required lectures in the winter also. He published in 1836 "An Essay on Laryngismus stridulus," a laborious but inconclusive

work, in which he tries to show that the pressure of enlarged lymphatics on the recurrent laryngeal nerve is the cause of the spasm of the larynx. It was in his time, in the year 1836, that the establishment of a Midwifery department was decided on.

DR. EDWARD RIGBY was elected March 14, 1837, and resigned June 12, 1849. His father, also Edward, was a surgeon in Norwich, and the son was educated at the grammar school of that city and at Edinburgh, where he graduated M.D. He continued his studies at Dublin, Berlin, and Heidelberg, and before coming to St. Bartholomew's had been lecturer on Midwifery at St. Thomas's. "A System of Midwifery" (1841), treatises "On Dysmenorrhœa" (1844), and "On the Constitutional Treatment of Female Diseases" (1857), a translation from the German of Naegle "On the Mechanism of Parturition," and an edition of William Hunter's work "On the Human Gravid Uterus," were his principal works. Rigby was elected a fellow of the College of Physicians in 1843, and his reputation did much to raise the standing of the lectureship on Midwifery. He was the first President of the Obstetrical Society of London (1859). He lived at 35 Berkeley Square, and there died December 27, 1860.

DR. CHARLES WEST was appointed joint-lecturer with Dr. Rigby in 1848, and on July 25, 1849, lecturer on Midwifery. He resigned August 6, 1861. He had entered St. Bartholomew's as a student in 1833, and

afterwards studied at Bonn, Paris, and Berlin, taking his M.D. degree in the last in September, 1837. He took to practice in midwifery and diseases of children, and in 1845 was made lecturer at the Middlesex Hospital. In 1848 he published "Lectures on Diseases of Infancy and Childhood," which at once brought him into fame. The book had seven English and several foreign editions. In elaboration it surpassed the three interesting volumes of Michael Underwood, up to that time the best English book on the subject. West's book was founded upon the excellent French treatise of Barthez and Rilliet. His "Lectures on Diseases of Women" were published in 1856, and added to his reputation. The subject under his charge was certainly as well taught as any in the hospital, and he was the first accoucheur who had been a fellow of the College of Physicians at the time of his election to the Midwifery Lectureship. He did more than teach in St. Bartholomew's, for it was in great part due to his exertions that the Hospital for Sick Children in Great Ormond Street was founded, a valuable addition to the opportunities of study in that subject. He delivered the Harveian oration in 1874, and gave both the Croonian and Lumleian lectures at the College of Physicians. He was naturally dissatisfied with his position in St. Bartholomew's, where he was informally allowed a ward of thirteen beds, and was called

¹ A complete list of his writings is to be found in the catalogue of the Surgeon-General's Library at Washington.

Honorary Physician Accoucheur, receiving no pay, while his name was not printed in the list of medical officers of the hospital. He pointed out to the governors, October 13, 1855, that he saw out-patients every Saturday, took care of a ward, had charge of the Lying-in Department, and gave a clinical lecture once a week, in addition to his course of lectures on Midwifery, and that nevertheless he lay under the disadvantages which have been mentioned, and was, moreover, never summoned to the annual view, and had assigned to him no seat at the hospital festivals. The surgeons were unfavourably inclined to him, perhaps because he had often expressed the opinion that, except Mr. Paget, they were none of them competent to perform the operations required in his ward. His petition, which had so many just complaints in it, was rejected, and a gratuity of £75 voted to him. Thus at last he parted in anger from St. Bartholomew's, where a little more patience and humility would have in time helped him to the honourable consideration which he expected, and in great measure deserved. He died in Paris March 19, 1898.

ROBERT GREENHALGH, M.D. of St. Andrews, was elected October 8, 1861, and held office till September 11, 1877. He was given all that West had asked. Martha Ward was made definitely his, he was paid £100 a year, and his name was allowed to be printed in a definite place after the names of the medical and surgical staff, and in 1869 the physician accoucheur was admitted to

the medical council of the hospital. Dr. Greenhalgh's lectures, however, failed to augment the reputation of his department.

DR. JAMES MATTHEWS DUNCAN was elected physician accoucheur and lecturer on Midwifery September 20, 1877, and held office till his death September 1, 1890. Aberdeen was his birthplace and Marischal College his Alma Mater, and there he graduated M.A. at seventeen, and M.D. before he was twenty-one. Robertson Smith, the Arabic scholar, migrating in mature life from Scotland to Cambridge, rapidly became as thoroughly Cantabrigian as if he had received his education on the Cam, and Matthews Duncan showed an equal power of becoming a member of a new circle in a new nation, and was soon as devoted to St. Bartholomew's as if his whole previous medical life had been spent there. He was an authority of wide-spread fame on Obstetrics when he came to London, and his "Fecundity, Fertility, and Sterility" (1866) had a precise and judicial air previously little known in that branch of medicine. His subsequent writings, "Researches in Obstetrics" (1868), "Treatise on Parametritis and Perimetritis" (1869), and "The Mortality of Child-bed and Maternity Hospitals" (1870), were of the same serious character, and added to his reputation. His course at St. Bartholomew's, in which he greatly increased the number of lectures, satisfied all his hearers, and made his subject respected. He published several

of his clinical lectures (1879-1889), and "Sterility in Women" (1884), besides many papers in the Transactions or Proceedings of Medical Societies. He was elected a fellow of the College of Physicians in 1886, and in the same year became F.R.S., was placed by the Crown on the General Medical Council, and delivered the Gulstonian lectures. A large practice came to him, and he was universally and justly regarded as a man of sound opinions, firm decision, and inflexible honesty. He had gone abroad for his health, and died, after several cardiac attacks, at Baden-Baden, in his sixty-fifth year. He presented his valuable series of specimens and a collection of obstetric instruments to the hospital museum in June, 1879.

SIR FRANCIS CHAMPNEYS, of Brazenose College, Oxford, F.R.C.P., created a baronet in 1910, was elected physician accoucheur and lecturer on Midwifery January 8, 1891, and held office till 1912.

DR. WALTER SPENCER ANDERSON GRIFFITH, of Downing College, Cambridge, F.R.C.P., was then appointed, and now holds office with DR. HERBERT WILLIAMSON of Trinity College, Cambridge, F.R.C.P., called physician accoucheur with charge of out-patients, as his junior, Dr. Griffith undertaking the operative part of the work, and having Martha Ward, and Dr. Williamson having particular charge of the Midwifery and of Elizabeth, the Lying-in Ward.

Dr. John Davis Barris (Cambridge), F.R.C.S., is

assistant physician accoucheur. Martha Ward had been formally placed under the charge of the physician accoucheur in 1861. Elizabeth Ward was in part assigned to maternity cases in July, 1910, and afterwards wholly given up to them. This alteration was due to the requirements instituted with regard to instruction in midwifery. In 1861 each surgeon in rotation was to do the abdominal operations required in Martha for three months, and some years later, as this plan did not work perfectly, two surgeons, Mr. Harrison Cripps and Mr. Bruce Clarke, were specially appointed to the duty. Mr. and Mrs. Harrison Cripps rebuilt the operating theatre, which they panelled with close-fitting slabs of alabaster, and made as perfect as it could be made.

Dermatology

The curing of eczema of the scalp and other conditions included under the term "scald heads" was entrusted in the sixteenth century to a special officer. Women were employed, at first occasionally. Thus in 1554 Elizabeth Hall was paid 3s. for curing the scald head of John Turner, and a poor woman was paid 4s. for healing a boy's head. On January 26, 1622, Fraunces Holcombe was appointed to the cure of scald heads by the governors, and was to receive 20s. for each case cured. She seems to have worked hard and with success, for in 1623 she received £27, in 1624 £34, 5s.,

and in 1625 £40, and under the married name of Frances Worth, in 1635 £125. Katherine Elsum held office in 1682, and in that year received £20 "for curing scald heads and lepersies," and in 1642 £126. Anne Harris was appointed in 1708. The special department at last became included in the general service of the hospital till a medical officer in charge of diseases of the skin was appointed.

Departments set apart for particular species of disease, in addition to those anciently called Foul Wards, were at first conducted by demonstrators, who were always assistant physicians or assistant surgeons of the staff. The first list of these demonstrators appeared in the Hospital Reports for 1867-8. Diseases of the skin were undertaken by DR. ANDREW and DR. SOUTHEY, then assistant physicians. They were succeeded in 1869 by DR. GEE, who once made the remark, "There is a name that I hate, yea there are two names that my soul abhorreth, the name of a specialist and the name of a consultant." He thought that both were pretentious terms addressed chiefly to the public, and therefore unworthy to be used by physicians. After a little more than a year DR. DUCKWORTH succeeded, who was followed in 1875 by a surgeon, WILLIAM MORRANT BAKER, to whom in 1882 DR. WICKHAM LEGG succeeded. Another surgeon, HARRISON CRIPPS, took the department in 1885, and he was followed by DR. S. WEST, 1894-8, and by DR. ORMEROD, January 5, 1899-

1908. It was at last decided that Dermatology should be placed in charge of a permanent physician, who should have no other work.

HORATIO GEORGE ADAMSON, M.D. (London), was appointed October 5, 1908. In 1909 the department was attended by 3321 patients.

Diseases of Children

An out-patient department for the medical diseases of children was begun June 9, 1904, and was placed under the charge of DR. A. E. GARROD, F.R.S., and DR. HERBERT MORLEY FLETCHER. In 1910 Dr. Garrod resigned this office, and Dr. Morley Fletcher was appointed to the sole charge of the department, to which DR. HUGH THURSFIELD has since been added. In 1911, 739 children were treated, and in 1912, 726.

Bone-setting

At the present day the public every now and then express their opinion in letters to the newspapers that bone-setters are better curers of fractures and sprains than surgeons. Bone-setters were given a trial at St. Bartholomew's from the reign of Queen Elizabeth to that of Charles I.

JOHN IZARD, a member of the Barber-Surgeons' Company, was paid 20s. for healing a broken leg in 1585, and in 1591 was paid 50s. for a similar case. On February 23, 1593, it is recorded in the Journals, "Isarde

the chirurgion to have recompense for curing of two personnes of their fractures." He was never surgeon to the hospital, but in 1596 was regularly appointed bone-setter at a salary of £8, with extras. This pay was increased by 40s. in 1612, and an assistant bone-setter, ANDREW MATTHEWES, was appointed in 1619, who, having been promised the reversion, succeeded in 1625. He ceased to hold office in 1628.

It ought to be noticed that the St. Bartholomew's bone-setters were duly qualified surgeons who took to a particular department of practice, so that if the *Orthopædic* department of to-day seeks for an ancestor, it need feel no shame in accepting Mr. John Izard of Queen Elizabeth's time as the first representative of its studies at St. Bartholomew's. ALFRED WILLETT was in 1867 the first demonstrator of orthopædic surgery, and was succeeded by HOWARD MARSH, WILLIAM JOHNSON WALSHAM, W. BRUCE CLARKE, and W. McADAM ECCLES. The first surgeon entirely given up to the subject is REGINALD CHEYNE ELMSLIE, M.S. (London), F.R.C.S. The department dealt with 655 deformities in 1911, and 711 in 1912.

Cutting of Wens and Ruptures

On November 8, 1589, CHRISTOPHER FREDERICK was appointed to cure and cut all ruptures and wens at a yearly stipend of £4. During the previous year he had performed some operations of this kind. He was an alien, but became sergeant-surgeon to King James I.,

and was Master of the Barber-Surgeons in 1609 and 1616. His son, Sir John, was elected Lord Mayor in 1661, and Frederick's Place in the City marks the site of his house.

JAMES MULLINS in 1623 was appointed, with some additional work, to the same duties as Frederick, and after his time the surgeons to the hospital appear to have undertaken all the wens.

Lithotomy

Operations for stone were long a separate branch of practice, and the last appointed lithotomists were still flourishing as surgeons when I came to St. Bartholomew's as a student in 1869. A passage in the Hippocratic oath led men to be unwilling to perform the operation, and to leave it in the hands of heterodox practitioners. Οὐ τεμέω δὲ οὐδὲ μὴν λιθιῶντας, "I will not practise the operation for the stone," says Hippocrates; ἐκχωρήσω δὲ ἐργάτησιν ἀνδράσι πρῆξις τῆσδε, "I will leave it to the people who do it." So the highest authority was believed to have forbidden it. Statistics, as far as they existed, were not favourable. Surgeons in general declined to do lithotomy, but there were men who attained skill therein, and were employed outside the hospital. So the governors thought it right to appoint lithotomists to operate, believing that it was their duty not to leave the poor without a chance of relief in a condition of extreme pain and impending death.

In 1612 ROBERT MURREY was appointed lithotomist,

and held office till 1622, receiving a salary of £6, 13s. 4d. a year. JAMES MULLINS succeeded January 20, 1623. He was a barber-surgeon, and also held office at St. Thomas's Hospital. EDWARD MULLINS came next, and died in October 1663, when THOMAS HOLLYER, a barber-surgeon, was appointed at a salary of £15. In 1666 JAMES MULLINS, junior, was associated with him. Hollyer became Master of the Barber-Surgeons in 1673, and when he died in 1680, THOMAS HOBBS became junior lithotomist to Mullins. Both were in office in 1683, and at the same time Olive Adams was Sister of "the Cutting ward," reserved for lithotomy cases. In 1689 Hobbs alone remained. He resigned June 15, 1693, and was elected a governor. CHARLES BERNARD and ROBERT STEVENS, two of the surgeons, then undertook the office of lithotomist. After Stevens died JOHN SALTER took his place. Bernard did not operate after Michaelmas, 1705, and in February, 1710, Salter took all the duty. Bernard had repaid his salary to the renter. Salter did the work till his death early in 1721, when on March 8 JOHN BAMBER and JOHN DOBYNS were elected lithotomists, each to have £15 a year. Dobyns was assistant surgeon to St. Bartholomew's and Bamber a barber-surgeon, who was the first to perform lateral lithotomy in England. He resigned February 11, 1731. Dobyns had died, and it was then decided that the office of lithotomist should be given to such of the surgeons or assistant surgeons as wished for it.

The sight of calculi seems to have interested the public. In the pathological museum of Cambridge is a very large one, which was sent to Newmarket with other curiosities to entertain Charles II. It has a great crack in it, said to be due to Nell Gwyn having dropped it with a scream when the king put it into her hands: such at least was the story related in my hearing by Dr. Bond, the Regius Professor of Physic. At St. Bartholomew's the calculi were exhibited in the counting-house of the hospital.

In January, 1868, each surgeon still received payment as a lithotomist. His payments were: salary as surgeon £40, annual gratuity £30, payment for operations £8, salary as lithotomist £7, 10s., in all £85, 10s. These payments were then abolished, the office of lithotomist came to an end, and each surgeon was paid £105, the same sum that had been paid to the physicians from March, 1812. It may be added that during the treasurer-ship of Sir Trevor Lawrence, when the annual payment to the physicians was halved for those subsequently elected, the payment of the surgeons was similarly reduced.

Ophthalmic Surgery

JOHN FREKE¹ was appointed in 1727 to take care of patients with diseases of the eyes and to operate on them when necessary, and from 1867 Mr. Callender, Mr. Langton, and Mr. Vernon were successively demon-

¹ Vol. ii., p. 633.

strators of diseases of the eye, but there were no separate wards for such cases till 1870.

HENRY POWER was appointed ophthalmic surgeon to the hospital July 27, 1870, and held office till 1896. In that year two ophthalmic wards were opened by the Prince and Princess of Wales, and were called after them Albert Edward and Alexandra. Henry, the only son of Captain John Francis Power, of the Royal Sussex Regiment, who served at Coruña and at Waterloo, was born at Nantes, September 3, 1829. He attended nine several schools, and was apprenticed in 1844 to Thomas Lowe Wheeler, an apothecary in Gracechurch Street, from whose house he went to lectures at St. Bartholomew's. From his apprenticeship, he says in an interesting autobiography written when he was seventy-four, he learned little, but he was afterwards clinical clerk to Burrows, and on Savory's advice proceeded to the M.B. degree in the London University in 1855. In the previous year he had been admitted F.R.C.S., and had married his cousin, Miss Ann Simpson of Whitby. He earned a living by taking pupils, and was on the teaching staff of the Westminster Hospital 1851-61. He was appointed assistant surgeon there in 1857. In 1855 he was elected on to the staff of the Westminster Ophthalmic Hospital, and from 1867 to 1870 was ophthalmic surgeon to St. George's Hospital. In the College of Surgeons he was Arris and Gale Lecturer (1882), Hunterian Professor of Surgery and Pathology

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(1886), Bradshaw Lecturer (1886), and gave the Hunterian oration in 1889. He examined at Oxford, Cambridge, Durham, and London, and published many papers in transactions and translations, leading a life of continued toil, and in his family circle of the greatest happiness. He celebrated his golden wedding in 1904, and his son became surgeon to St. Bartholomew's in the same year. Henry Power died at Whitby January 18, 1911.

BOWATER JOHN VERNON was appointed junior ophthalmic surgeon in July, 1870, in 1896 became senior, and held office till his death on January 28, 1901. His father was vicar of Westfield, in Sussex, and there Vernon was born October 23, 1837. He went to Marlborough School in 1847, and stayed till 1856. His medical education began at the Brighton Hospital, whence he proceeded to St. Bartholomew's, and became M.R.C.S. in 1862 and F.R.C.S. in 1864. In 1862 he was house surgeon to Wormald, and in 1863 to Paget, and in 1864 was elected demonstrator of anatomy. He had a taste for ophthalmic surgery, and worked at the Royal London Ophthalmic Hospital in Moorfields. He was appointed demonstrator of eye diseases at St. Bartholomew's in 1867. He was a skilful operator, and a painstaking teacher. He wrote eight papers on ophthalmic subjects in the Hospital Reports. He suffered from gout, yet lived abstemiously. He is buried in the churchyard of Westfield, near the west door of its very solid ancient

church. The church stands on high ground, but a few miles from the sea, and a colleague, who wrote an exact and kindly life of him in the Hospital Reports, mentions that as his burial proceeded the guns of the Fleet were heard, which fired for the funeral of Queen Victoria.

These were succeeded by the present ophthalmic surgeons: WALTER HAMILTON HYLTON JESSOP, M.B. (Cambridge), F.R.C.S., and WILLIAM THOMAS HOLMES SPIGIER, M.B. (Cambridge), F.R.C.S.

Dentistry

Patients arriving with toothache used to have their teeth drawn by the apothecary, or by a house surgeon or by students, and sometimes by one of the surgery porters. At a meeting of the House Committee on November 8, 1836, it was resolved, "That it appears desirable to this Committee that the Dentist Department of this Hospital should be placed upon a more efficient Plan and Footing than it is at present, and for the purpose of enabling the Governors to determine thereon, the Medical Officers of the Hospital be requested to take the same into consideration and to report to this Committee their opinion as to the best mode of effecting this object and the Plan they think most desirable to adopt." The medical officers replied December 1, 1836: "We have deliberated upon the subject, and bearing in mind that the mode of growth of the Teeth and the principles of their development form part of the

General Education, we submit as our opinion that all that is required of the Dentist at this Hospital is to draw teeth, and we submit as the best means of relieving the wants of the public in this respect that the House Surgeons, who are always on the spot, should be instructed to consider this as part of their Duty." The letter is signed by three physicians, Drs. Hue, P. M. Latham, and Roupell, and by three surgeons, Vincent, Lawrence, and Henry Earle. The House Committee was not satisfied, and on December 3 asked for the nomination of a dentist, and on December 13 Mr. Rogers, a former pupil of the hospital, was nominated. He was to attend once a week at a stated hour and on other occasions when summoned, and was also to see patients at his own house. He was to give instruction, and was not to curtail or infringe the existing privileges of house surgeons or students.

ARNOLD ROGERS, M.R.C.S. (1830), was appointed April 11, 1837. He became F.R.C.S. in 1853, and on his retirement was elected consulting surgeon dentist to the hospital. SAMUEL JOHN TRACY, M.R.C.S., succeeded, and held office till 1897. A lectureship on Dental Surgery was instituted, to which, June 20, 1866, ALFRED COLEMAN, L.R.C.P. and M.R.C.S., was appointed, and he became dental surgeon to the hospital February 12, 1867, and held office till 1884. F. EWBank and WILLIAM BROMFIELD PATERSON, F.R.C.S., succeeded him, with *J. Ackery* and *A. S. Mackrell* as assistants. Mr. Ewbank

retired in 1888 and Mr. Paterson in 1912. The subsequent dental surgeons have been A. S. MACKRELL (died 1891), J. ACKERY (1891), with R. D. ACKLAND and DR. HAROLD AUSTEN, the present surgeons (1916). *Mr. H. G. Read* died as assistant dental surgeon in 1902, and the present assistants are *Mr. F. Coleman* and *Mr. J. A. Fairbank*.

Aural Surgery

Thomas Smith in 1867 and John Langton in 1873 were demonstrators of diseases of the ear, but the first aural surgeon to the hospital was ALFONSO ELKIN CUMBERBATCH, who was appointed March 9, 1882, and held office till August 6, 1908. On November 26, 1908, he was succeeded by CHARLES ERNEST WEST, M.B. (Oxford), F.R.C.S., and *Sydney Richard Scott*, M.S. (London), F.R.C.S., was elected assistant aural surgeon.

Diseases of the Larynx

had somewhat later, special days, and were under the charge of a demonstrator, of whom one of the earliest was H. T. Butlin. He was appointed in 1882, and was succeeded by A. A. Bowlby. On December 13, 1906, a special throat and nose department was formed, the surgeon in charge undertaking to practise this part of surgery exclusively. WILLIAM DOUGLAS HARMER, M.C. (Cambridge), F.R.C.S., was appointed surgeon, and *Frank Atcherly Rose*, M.B. (Cambridge), F.R.C.S., assistant surgeon.

Electricity

John Freke probably tried the use of electricity upon some of his patients in St. Bartholomew's, and his writings in 1748 and 1752 undoubtedly drew attention to the possibility of using it as a therapeutic agent. In 1777 the governors purchased an electrical machine, and the use of such apparatus seems to have been continued, for in 1819 the electrical machine is directed to be repaired. It was resolved June 21, 1878, that an electrician should be appointed to have charge of electrical apparatus, to administer electricity, and to use the electric cautery for operations. The old admission room, opposite the west door of the church, was to be used for the electrical department.

The development of the use of electricity in the hospital, for diagnostic and for therapeutic purposes, to the degree of completeness and elaboration which exists at present, has in the main been due to two remarkable Cambridge men, Dr. W. E. Steavenson of Downing and Dr. Henry Lewis Jones of Caius, chiefly to the latter.

DR. WILLIAM EDWARD STEAVENSON was appointed electrician October 17, 1882, and held office till his death in 1891. His father was a clergyman and magistrate at Newmarket, whose popularity in his own district was greatly increased, as Steavenson told me, by his resolute action in refusing to commit Tom Sayers, and thus to prevent the last great prize fight which

took place in England, that between Sayers and Heenan. William Edward Steavenson was born at Hartest in 1850, and died in 1891. He was at Ipswich grammar school, and entered as a student at St. Bartholomew's in 1869. After being house surgeon to Luther Holden in 1873 he entered at Downing College, Cambridge, and there took the degrees of M.B. in 1879 and M.D. in 1884. His thesis was on "Spasmodic Asthma," from which he suffered throughout life, and so, like Sir John Floyer, Dr. Henry Hyde Salter, and other asthmatics, was prompted to write on the disease. In spite of frequent attacks of asthma and of very well-marked emphysema of his lungs, Steavenson worked laboriously and continuously. He was house physician to Dr. Patrick Black, house surgeon and then house physician to the Hospital for Sick Children, and in 1883 casualty physician to St. Bartholomew's. He wrote several papers in the St. Bartholomew's Hospital Reports, and laboured at the improvement of the electrical department for nine years. Most sufferers from asthma die of some pulmonary disease, and in Steavenson's case this was double pneumonia. He was a man universally trusted, and set a fine example of the power of character in overcoming physical weakness.

HENRY LEWIS JONES was elected in 1891, and resigned in 1912. "When he took command of the department," says Dr. Hugh Walsham,¹ "the apparatus consisted of

¹ St. Bartholomew's Hospital Reports, 1914. Memoir by Hugh Walsham, to which I am indebted for some of the dates and several of the events of Dr. Jones's life.

three element boards connected with sixty Leclanché's cells in the basement, an electrical bath, a Carres' static machine, and an operating table for electrolysis, and that was all." He left a splendid and completely fitted electrical and X-ray department, occupying a well-arranged series of rooms, the former under the charge of Dr. CUMBERBATCH, the latter under that of Dr. HUGH WALSHAM. Every known therapeutic and investigatory electrical process is there carried out and recorded, to the advantage of a long series of out-patients as well as of patients in the wards. Dr. Walsham enumerates eight important investigations or methods of procedure introduced or first practised in England by Jones. He freely placed his experience at the service of hospitals in the United Kingdom which were instituting electrical departments, wrote a standard work, "Medical Electricity," and many papers on his subject, and toiled unceasingly in attendance on the patients of his department and on the instruction of students attending there, and he had a considerable private practice. Thus were his working days spent for twenty-one years. His holidays were well used. He knew botany and delighted in gardening, and long had a garden within the precincts of the Priory, which William of Edindon, Bishop of Winchester, founded in the place whence, as the charter says, "*idem pater traxit originem.*"¹ Lewis Jones's flowers set off the beautiful arches of the Bon-

¹ Dugdale, vi. 536.

hommes, and on a neighbouring down he could see a ruder monument of earlier times still, a white horse said to commemorate the final surrounding and destruction of a force of invading Danes by the Saxons. Jones cared for all these things, and once gave me a life of Giraldus Cambrensis. He did not forget his own Welsh origin, and, like Giraldus, knew some Welsh, but not enough to lecture in it. His father was a naval chaplain, and Jones enjoyed the beauties of the sea as well as those of the land. He was familiar with the Essex coast and the estuary of the Thames, and sailed into all their nooks and round their islands with his colleague Lockwood in the *Teal*, a yacht of $3\frac{1}{2}$ tons. Their voyages are related in "Swin, Swale, and Swatchway,"¹ an original and delightful book, full of information, and with many very picturesque passages, such as that on a summer night in Leigh Ray, and that on the Medway and its barges.

A very sound education had prepared Jones for life. He was born at Sheerness in 1857, and sent to Shrewsbury School, and thence to Caius College, where he had a Tancred Studentship, and took his degree with a first-class in the Natural Science tripos of 1879. In the same year he obtained an open scholarship in science at St. Bartholomew's, and in 1883 took his M.B. degree and was house physician to Dr. Gee. He then became house surgeon to the hospital of St. Bartho-

¹ By H. Lewis Jones, M.A., assisted by C. B. Lockwood, London, 1892.

lomew founded in the reign of William Rufus at Rochester, but returned to our somewhat later St. Bartholomew's in 1886 as assistant demonstrator of physiology, and in 1887 became casualty physician, and took his M.D. degree at Cambridge. Three years later he became assistant medical tutor, and in 1891 began his work in the electrical department, and gave up all other work for it. He was elected a fellow of the Royal College of Physicians in 1894. Jones married a Danish lady, and they had one son, who entered the Navy as a midshipman, went to sea in H.M.S. *Hawke*, and lost his life in the defence of England when that ship was torpedoed in 1914. Lewis Jones had already a fatal illness, to which the deepest grief was thus added. He died on Easter Sunday, April 4, 1915. Let us hope that the brightness of that day outshone the darkness he had passed through.

Anæsthetics

The discovery of the use of chloroform made it necessary to appoint an officer to administer it. What place the new procedure would take in medical work was uncertain, and at St. Bartholomew's it fell in the first instance to physicians. DR. PATRICK BLACK was appointed administrator of chloroform April 27, 1852, being then in residence within the hospital as Warden of the College, and he was succeeded in 1856 by DR. ROBERT MARTIN, after whom, in 1859, R. W. BATTEN,

M.D. (London), a candidate who never came on to the staff, but left London and became the chief physician of the district about Gloucester. The surgeons next took up the office ; first JOHN LANGTON, who resigned in 1868, and then HOWARD MARSH ; but the administrator seems to have had an indefinite status, and is not mentioned in the list of the staff in the Reports till 1875, when JOSEPH MILLS, the first man in St. Bartholomew's who made the administration of anæsthetics his sole profession, was appointed. He considered every part of the work, and made some original improvements in its methods, of which the chief were the reduction in size of the piece of lint from which the chloroform evaporates, the practice of gradually increasing the quantity of chloroform from a minimum to a maximum, and that of watching closely the patient's condition throughout.¹ He deservedly attained a high reputation, was called administrator of anæsthetics, and held office till shortly before his death from phthisis in 1893, when he was succeeded by his senior assistant, RICHARD GILL, M.B., B.C. (London), F.R.C.S., who was the senior of the department till 1916. EDGAR WILLETT, M.D. (Oxford), F.R.C.S., was his colleague from 1897 to 1905, to whom WILLIAM FOSTER CROSS, L.R.C.P. and M.R.C.S., succeeded, who now occupies the chief post. There are two assistant administrators, *Henry Edmund Gaskin Boyle*, L.R.C.P. and M.R.C.S., and *Harry William Trewby*,

¹ Information kindly given by Mr. R. Gill, who adds that Mills was the original inventor of the apparatus for giving chloroform in cases of throat, nose, and mouth affections.

L.R.C.P. and M.R.C.S. The anæsthetist is a man apart. He has to undertake the same trust as the surgeon ; the patient's life is in his hands. The ease and perfection of an operation largely depend upon his skill in giving the anæsthetic. He acts without speaking, and his demonstration of his art is mute. The patient, whose pain he prevents, has only time to say " Good morning " before becoming unconscious of the benefits he receives, and ere consciousness has completely returned the benefactor has departed. The anæsthetist appears as a sort of prologue to the operation, and then becomes an influence pervading the whole action, having an important but silent part in it, and at the end vanishing strangely.

Pathologists

When I came from Cambridge to St. Bartholomew's as a student it seemed to me that the best physicians were all morbid anatomists, who regarded the post-mortem room as the place from which, after the wards, a physician should fill his mind, and where he should acquire a familiarity with the interpretation of symptoms and the course of diseases. Those physicians whose early years had been spent in the post-mortem room seemed to talk a more lucid language than any others, and always understood one another. The surgeons were nearly all anatomists, and though less attentive to morbid anatomy than the physicians I have mentioned

above, were driven by their study of tumours in the operating theatre to have general theories of disease. A great part of the physicians' knowledge was attained by examining the body after death, *αὐτόψια*, *non mentis agitatio*, as the most famous man on their side had said. The surgeons went less often to the post-mortem room and when there were less inclined to look through the whole body than the physicians, but in the operating theatre they had a vast source of precise knowledge unapproached by the physicians. Thus both sides of the hospital, impressed by their several opportunities of observation, tended to pathology, the explanation and study of morbid processes. There were also physicians who thought that the interpretation of disease was best attained by performing operations and attending post-mortems on frogs and rabbits. These spoke a different language, but they, with the microscopists, began to show what an essential place the laboratory as well as the post-mortem room and the wards had in pathology, that is, in medicine and surgery.

Some men of course gave more time to pathology than others. Many passages in his writings show that Harvey was an eager morbid anatomist as well as a student of human and of comparative anatomy. Baly, Andrew, and Gee were especially addicted to the post-mortem room. The great books bound in green vellum, and entitled "Register of Complete Cases," were begun by Church in October, 1867. Each day the autopsies

recorded in them showed the difficulties, the errors, and the acumen of the physicians under whose care the patients had been during life, while the books remain for future times a storehouse of morbid anatomy surpassing the volumes of Morgagni or Bonetus.

On the surgical side Freke and Pott pursued morbid anatomy, and so most assiduously did Stanley. James Paget and Butlin threw all the light upon surgical cases which could be obtained from the work of the post-mortem room and by the use of the microscope, and they were more deeply read in the pathological books, British and foreign, of their time than any of their surgical predecessors.

The pathological museum is a demonstration of the attention paid to pathology by the staff. Its catalogue was first printed under the editorship of Edward Stanley in 1831, in a single thin quarto volume. In 1846 James Paget edited a fresh edition, with descriptions of 1035 more specimens, and an appendix was added by Savory in 1862. In 1882 and 1884 a third edition was edited by Frederic Eve and Anthony Alfred Bowlby. Further additions have been described on printed slips, which are inserted in conveniently bound volumes placed on the shelves in each section of the museum. The present museum was opened by the Prince of Wales (afterwards King Edward VII.) in 1879. More than a century before Freke had been appointed the first curator, yet Paget, though, to the great advantage of the museum, he took

the post, did so with fear that it might interrupt his career.

The governors of the hospital encouraged pathology by printing the catalogue of the museum, and in 1879 by building the present spacious museum of the hospital. In June, 1848, they decided to appoint a registrar to make post-mortems on the medical cases and to preserve and index records of complete medical and surgical cases. Dr. E. L. Ormerod was appointed registrar July 11, 1848, but owing to ill-health resigned November 14, and was succeeded by Kirkes. In 1899 two medical and two surgical registrars were appointed. A demonstrator of morbid anatomy, who made all the medical post-mortems, had been appointed somewhat earlier. The curator of the museum became more and more a member of this pathological corps, to which a lecturer on pathology was added, who gave lectures in the summer session. Gee was the first, then Wickham Legg and then Norman Moore, all of whom had been demonstrators of morbid anatomy. The last established a demonstration on the post-mortems of each week, which was attended by as many students as the post-mortem room would hold. At the same time weekly microscopic demonstrations were given conjointly by the demonstrator of morbid anatomy and the curator of the museum. Thus pathology was in an active state when, in 1893, ALFREDO ANTUNES KANTHACK, M.D. (London), was appointed

lecturer, and such was the stimulus which he gave to the study in every part of it, that, though he only held office for four years, he has had a permanent effect upon this part of the hospital work. He made plain the necessity for numerous kinds of pathological work in relation to the living as well as the dead, and the importance of the daily use of the laboratory in medicine and surgery. He left the hospital for Cambridge in 1897, and was there nominated Professor of Pathology, but death cut short his most promising career on December 21, 1898, at the age of thirty-five.

Nine years later, December 5, 1907, the foundation stone¹ of a block of building to be devoted to pathology was laid by Lady Ludlow, wife of the treasurer, and on May 7, 1909, the building was opened by Sir George Wyatt Truscott, the Lord Mayor. The ground floor contains a common room for the medical officers and lecturers, and offices for their secretary the dean, and for his clerks. The basement contains a mortuary chapel. All the rest of the building is devoted to pathology, with laboratories, and a library, and at the top a spacious post-mortem room, in which, at the request of Dr. Andrewes, I made the first post-mortem examination.

¹ On it is the inscription written by the author of this book :

This stone | which stands on the site of the house of | Dame Joanna Astley, Nurse of King Henry VI, | was laid by | The Lady Ludlow | wife of | The Right Honourable Lord Ludlow, | Treasurer of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, | as the foundation of a building | devoted to | the elucidation of problems | in the | nature and treatment of the diseases | of those | who have sought relief from suffering | in the hospital 5th December, 1907.

The head of the whole is Dr. F. W. Andrewes, F.R.S., pathologist to the hospital and Professor of Pathology in the University of London, and his staff consists of an assistant pathologist to the hospital, a lecturer on chemical pathology, two demonstrators of pathology, four junior demonstrators of pathology, and a demonstrator of chemical pathology. Thus ten pathologists, in addition to demonstrators of morbid anatomy, are concerned in the daily work of the hospital, and have the spacious laboratories and the library necessary for their investigations. This development shows the living vigour which St. Bartholomew's possesses in the eighth century of its existence.

XXVIII

THE MATRON, SISTERS AND NURSES



OUR sisters who attended the inmates of the hospital formed part of the original body corporate. Edeua, daughter of Wakerilda of Writele,¹ became a sister in the reign of King John; Isabella of Bray,² in the reign of Henry III.; and Joan of Pertenhale,³ in the reign of Edward III. Now and then, but not very often, the sisters in general are mentioned with the master and brethren in charters.⁴ This more often occurs in grants to the hospital than in documents issued by it. These sisters wore the habit of the Augustinian order, and were to be seen in the hospital for some four hundred years. There is no evidence to show that they took part in the elections of the masters, nor are they mentioned with the minority of brethren who acknowledged the Royal Supremacy, and none received pensions after the old order was abolished. It

¹ Vol. i. pp. 137-9.

² Vol. i. pp. 381-5.

³ Vol. i. p. 471.

⁴ As in that of June 19, 1275, which begins: "Universis Christi fidelibus hoc presens scriptum visuris uel audituris Johannes de Walthona Magister Hospitalis Sancti Bartholomei Londoniarum et eiusdem loci fratres et sorores salutem in Domino sempiternam. Nouerit Vniversitas vestra quod Nos Vnanimi assensu et concensu totius capituli nostri dedimus, &c.;" vol. i. p. 508, and another, p. 509.

was from them that the chief female attendants of the patients were called sisters in Tudor times, and have so been designated for some 370 years. One sister was called the Matron, was the responsible officer over the other eleven, and had certain special duties assigned to her. The first matron was Rose Fysshier, who is mentioned by name February 14, 1551, but had probably been in office from 1549. Her dress was of russet frieze at first, but four years later she wore watchett or light blue, as did all the sisters. This colour, with variations in the depth of the blue, has continued the sisters' uniform to the present day, though at times they were negligent about wearing it. Thus on March 15, 1680, there is an entry in the Journal to the effect that the ancient custom of the house was for sisters to wear livery of such coloured cloth or stuff as the governors did appoint. It had not been observed of late years, though the sisters were paid 22s. 6d. a year to buy a livery. All sisters are to wear a livery of such coloured cloth as the governors think meet, and any refusing are to be dismissed.

The first complete list of sisters is of March 18, 1553. It is contained in a book bound in stamped leather of that period, and containing minutes of meetings from March 28, 1552, chiefly relating to payments, leases, and legacies. This meeting was attended by Mr. Whyte, Mr. Tuske, Mr. Wythers, Aldermen, Mr. Grafton,

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Mr. Harper, and Maister Vicary. Grafton was the chronicler elected M.P. for the City in 1553. The list is drawn up in relation to the provision of liveries.

THE MATRONE

Elizabeth Clark	Sybyll Jelly
Jone Goodyere	Marget Edyman
Alys Wright	Jone Cantrell
Elizabeth Trewillian	Eve Williams
Kateryn Marshall	Johan Lamporte
Alys Yonglive	The foole

THE HOSPYTLERE

A similar list, drawn up for the same purpose, April 1, 1555, shows seven new sisters.

Sister Fysshier

Elizabeth Clerke	<i>Marget Saunders</i>
Alys Wryght	<i>Elizabet Crosby</i>
<i>Isobell Postell</i>	Maget Dene
<i>Elinor Gresby</i>	<i>Alyce Jervys</i>
Marget Edyman	<i>Alys Jons</i>
<i>Jane Lamas</i>	The innocent

The matron received 4 yards of cloth, and each sister $2\frac{1}{2}$ yards. The innocent, or fool, was allowed $2\frac{1}{2}$ yards. She perhaps amused the sisters, like the fools long kept in great houses, of whom the last is believed to have been the Earl of Suffolk's, buried in Berkeley Churchyard in the reign of George II.

Alys Wryght, one of these sisters, signs with her

mark in the Journal on July 5, 1555. She was sister of the ward by the sweating ward, sometime the gallery.

As the hospital was not to have more than 100 patients at a time, each sister had only to look after nine or ten, but she had the sole charge of a ward, for there were at first no other nurses. The cheerful whirr of the spinning-wheel was to be heard in all the wards, and there were also looms in the hospital. On May 31, 1550, twenty-one pairs of sheets were delivered to the matron cut out of cloth woven and spun by the sisters, and on July 4, 1556, eleven pairs of woollen sheets and seven of flaxen were delivered to her. She was responsible for all the linen and woollen. On September 18, 1557, she brought 57½ lbs. of flaxen yarn and 49 of woollen into Mr. Vicary's house. She seems to have had charge of the small quantity of stimulant then used. From 1585 to Lady Day, 1587, she had paid £3, 10s. for aqua vitæ, and was allowed £2, 10s. for it. The sisters fetched the bread and drink for their wards from the buttery bar.¹ The matron sold ale in her house, till the practice was forbidden January 22, 1559. It does not seem to have been suppressed, for on June 3, 1643, the Court had to order that there be no tippling in the matron's cellar, and that no beer be kept there.

The matron was allowed 3s. 4d. for her wagose or wake goose, a sort of harvest home gratuity (September 25, 1557), but twelve years later received 6s. 8d.² The

¹ August 30, 1550.

² December 17, 1569; October 3, 1573; October 24, 1574.

first mention of soap in the Journals is that she is to be allowed it for her washing of clothes (April 30, 1558). The sisters had to be satisfied with wood ashes. But as time went on, by reason of the burning of sea coals instead of wood, they were put to great charge in buying ashes for their bucke or general washing, and showed the matron a bill of 20s. 8d. laid out for ashes, and mentioned that before sea coal was burnt they were allowed 8d. a week towards every bucke. The matron reported this to the almoners on February 20, 1586. The sisters were walking about their wards or sitting at the spinning-wheel in them by day, and at night slept together in a common chamber.¹ The matron always appears as the sisters' advocate, and upon September 17, 1580, "This daye at the specyall request & sute of the Matrone belonginge to this house, for the better relefe of the Poore Systers belonginge to this house which haue very lytle wages to sustane them being alredye but sixteen pence a weke and a gowne yerelye for a lyuery. Order is therfore taken that euerye one of the said Systers shall from hensforth have two pence more wekely now, toward theyr better releff." The 18d. a week was for board wages and was afterwards raised to 20d. a week, and on February 1, 1614, to 2s. a week. The sisters were vigorous women, and two of them beat some sheriff's officers who came to arrest Martin Llewellyn, the steward, for debt. Besides their weekly

¹ Journal, March 16, 1571.

board wages they received in the reign of James I., and perhaps earlier, a yearly stipend of 40s., which on November 17, 1621, was raised to 50s. At the same date the matron's stipend of £3, 6s. 8d. was increased to £6, 13s. 4d., and she was required to give up certain profits on the burials of patients. The sisters sometimes took to other work. Thus on September 17, 1586, the cook being complained of for not making good and wholesome pottage for the poor, and ill dressing their meat, Katherine Collinson, one of the sisters, was appointed to dress the meat and make the pottage, and on October 15 she was confirmed in the office of cook, and a fortnight later her yearly stipend was fixed at 40s., with an additional £4 for her diet, and with livery as the sisters. Thus, like many ladies in the war which has raged while these last chapters are being written, and like some of the knights hospitallers who appear as witnesses in ancient charters, this useful sister took the work for which she was most wanted at the time and became the ruler of the hospital kitchen. On October 7, 1664, Susan Coake, a sister, was elected cook to the hospital. The first regular pension to a sister was of 6s. 8d. a month for life, granted March 16, 1589, to Agnes Yates, "so that she departe this house before our Ladie day next coming and allwaies to give good wordes to the gouerners."

The number of wards and of patients increased, and

on July 14, 1645, there were fifteen sisters. This was just a month after the battle of Naseby, and the hospital contained more soldiers than at any time in its history except those in which I write this page, so that it seems natural that 10s. each were paid to the sisters as a gratuity for attending sick soldiers. On February 25, 1649, "it is granted upon the petition of the fifteen sisters of this Hospital that, in regard of their extraordinary pains about soldiers several years past and the dearness of these times, for their future encouragement in their businesses that their board wages of three shillings per week be increased to three shillings and six pence a week and to begin upon Monday next."¹ The sisters had to make the beds in their own wards. Complaints were made against sisters which were investigated. Thus on July 26, 1647, the sister of Diet ward was complained of: that she does not come to her ward before 9 A.M. and scolds the patients. On March 26, 1648, Jane Baker, sister in Mary's ward, was dismissed for abusing the patients under her charge and exacting for washing a penny in every shift. It is perhaps worth noting that among London-bred patients to this day the name of a ward is usually given in the possessive case, Mary's ward and not Mary ward, which is the form always used by the physicians and surgeons. On September 4, 1648, complaint was made by three patients against a sister,

¹ Journal, November 22, 1662.

that she kept 4s. and a blue coat without rendering an account to the matron, from a patient who died in her ward. She was dismissed, but restored the following Saturday into the youngest sister's place in Naples ward, "and to beat the Buck as a young sister," from which we learn that the younger sisters had to take a larger share in this laborious work. On January 2, 1650, Elizabeth Whitty, a sister, entertained men all night and let them play cards in her ward. She was rebuked, and in case of "the like bouldness" is to be dismissed. On January 30, 1654: this day all the sisters of this house being called and appearing in court had their charges and several orders touching their places read openly to them. Pleasance Markland, a sister, was rebuked in court for negligence in performing her duty, and Sister Gardendortor was also "chidd." On July 27, 1656, three sisters who disturbed patients by fighting were dismissed; and on March 14, 1657, the sister of King's ward was reported as having been absent without leave, and that she "did give abusive language to a gentleman of good quality." Another sister charged patients for chairs and stools, and was dismissed January 17, 1659. The Restoration did not lead to an immediate refinement of manners, for on May 2, 1664, Sister Soldier complained that the sister of Charity ward abused the steward and called him knave. On June 5, 1665, Sister Long-ward was complained of. She demonstrated her innocence, and

showed that "she was wronged, and that spleene more than true deserts was the rise and cause of the said complaints." Notwithstanding these examples of the roughness of the times,¹ which also illustrate the vigilance of the governors in the protection of the patients, it is probable that the patients were well cared for, since the matron, who was the head of the sisters, set an example which was conspicuous in the Plague year, but had no doubt had its effect throughout her thirty years of office. On December 23, 1665, the governors passed a resolution commending her conduct and care of the patients during the Plague,² and giving her a reward in recognition of it.

Women were employed to help the sisters and to take some night duty. They are the origin of the nurses, and Margaret Whitaker is the first nurse whose name occurs. She had on February 16, 1652, been "a nurse and a helper in this howse for five yeeres past," and was to have the next vacancy for a sister. On May 1, 1665, the sisters and nurses are mentioned together in the modern way: Sisters and nurses are to have

¹ Ill-conducted nurses were severely dealt with: by the statute of the second year of George I. of the Irish Parliament which began November 12, 1715, before Charles, Duke of Grafton and Henry, Earl of Galway, Lords Justices General and General Governors of Ireland, such nurses were to be committed to a house of correction, there to be kept three months to hard labour and whipt publicly on some market day between the hours of 11 and 12 in the morning through the streets of the town where the house of correction stands. (Acts and Statutes, Dublin, 1716.) This statute appears to be the first rude attempt at the State Regulation of Nurses made in the British Islands.

² Vol. ii. p. 327.

2d. a week from the governors for washing linen of every soldier and seaman, English or Dutch. After this the admission of helpers is generally recorded, and there seems to have been one in every ward. On February 18, 1678, Sarah Barnes is appointed a helper in Martha's ward; and on March 4, 1678, Ellinor Kitchen is admitted a helper in Curtaine ward; and on May 13, 1678, Sarah Cooleing is admitted a helper in Mary's ward. It was ordered on January 21, 1678, that the helper shall on the vacancy of a sister's place be preferred if thought fit, all promises of reversions notwithstanding.

The daily life of the sisters and nurses is shown by short entries in the Journals. In January, 1684, the sisters are to be allowed 3d. per pair for washing the patients' sheets during the continuance of the present hard frost. On March 27, 1686, sisters are directed always to wear their blue cloth liveries. Hannah Todd, late helper in Curtaine ward, was appointed a sister May 23, 1687, and October 28, 1688, Mary Bromby and Katharine Lindsey were admitted to be nurses in room of two nurses lately deceased. The feeling in London at the time of the siege of Londonderry is shown in a note of September 9, 1689: "Lettice Pyne widdow being a person that hath lived well and Irish Protestant, is elected one of the sisters of this Hospitall, and appointed to be in Dyett ward." It is clear that the places were sought after, for on February 4, 1710,

there were three candidates for a sister's place, and eight candidates for one place of helper. In 1690 Mary Libanus, the matron, who was elected in 1674, began to show signs of age, and on May 12, 1694, was allowed the then uncommon privilege of going into the country for a week, and on May 18, 1695, Mary Sanders was appointed assistant or deputy matron. Firm control was necessary; the sister of Cloister ward had a little before¹ been reprimanded for scolding and beating of Sister New, who was also reprimanded. Sister Dyett had pawned eight pair of sheets. Sister Katherine was complained of for not keeping her ward sweet and clean, and for refusing to obey the deputy matron. The several sisters were ordered to obey the deputy matron and to own her as their governess. At last, on August 12, 1697, Mary Libanus was found unfit for duty owing to age, and Mary Sanders was appointed matron. Mary Libanus was granted a pension of £30 and her house. With the change various new regulations were drawn up. The new matron was to enjoy the profits of the cellar, which seems still to have lingered on as a place in which to drink as well as to obtain liquor, but this only went on for ten years,² when it was resolved that the matron was to sell no more beer. Yet on July 25, 1717, Elizabeth Barker, the matron, said that in addition to £40 salary, her predecessors had the liberty of retailing beer and ale

¹ June 25, 1692.² March 20, 1707.

worth £40. It was agreed that on the death of a sister the eldest sister might have choice of the vacant ward if she desired.¹ Sisters were admonished not to suffer any tobacco to be smoked in the wards. They were to see all patients in bed before they left their wards, and were to give an account of all patients that slept out without leave. They were to render an account of the money and clothes of patients that died immediately after the death.² The matron was to go into every ward every day. Sisters and nurses were not to drink with patients, nor to give them drink, nor to entice them to go to public-houses with them. The nurses were not to carry medicine, even if the same, for several patients in one bottle. The sisters are to attend the patients with care and tenderness, and if the patients find this is not so, they are to complain to the counting house or to their physician or surgeon. The treasurer will ask patients as they go out how the sisters and nurses have treated them. No money is to be paid to sisters or nurses by patients.³ This regulation, however, did not include a small payment for earthenware, which led to difficulties as to what should be paid, and on March 26, 1715, the sister was allowed to charge each patient in her ward 1s., and each nurse was allowed to charge 6d., and they were to be dismissed if they took more. The sisters did not live in perfect comfort, for on May 9, 1719, their common chamber or ward was

¹ January 20, 1704.

² May 12, 1705.

³ August 3, 1711.

ordered to be cleared from bugs. They had to keep strict care of the linen, and in 1739 had to pay 40s. for sheets lost by them. This the treasurer put into the poor's box. The sister of Fluxing ward received 6s. 6d. from every patient salivated, for which she had to provide flannel. In July, 1753, Ann Hyde, the matron who had been appointed in 1728, was too old for work, and was given £40 a year, coal, candles, and small-beer, and leave to inhabit an apartment. Her successor was to have a house in Tart's Court. On December 18, 1753, the ancient term for wash is still in use, and the sisters were allowed 10s. extra for the Buck. Sisters and nurses performed personally the whole duty and business of their wards except the watching and sitting up in the night, appointed (February 21, 1755) to be done by the nurses called watchers. These watchers lived outside the hospital. On Sundays the sisters assembled in the admitting room and walked in a body to church. Their numbers, with those of the patients, increased, and on June 27, 1771, there were upwards of 100 women employed under the matron; sisters, nurses, watchers, and helpers. Most of the rest of the matron's time was taken up with the superintendence of linen. She served out:

5000 yards of tape,
 4000 yards of Russia cloth for towels,
 5000 yards of Irish cloth for sheets,
 100 yards of Dowlas for shirts and shifts,

780 yards of stripped barrass for bedticks,
 140 yards of cheque for fracture pillows,
 50 yards of flannel,
 4000 skeins of thread,
 50 skeins of silk,

and also made shirts, took inventories, and bought bedticks. For all this she received only £40 and a gratuity of £20, with a house, coals, small-beer, and 6 dozen pounds of candles. It was resolved that her salary should be increased to £80, and that the gratuity of £20 should be continued. On July 12, 1782, the wages of the other women employed were raised, and became: Settled sisters, 5s. a week; settled nurses, 3s. a week; unsettled sisters, 4s. a week; unsettled nurses, 1s. 6d.; watchers, 6d. per night instead of 4d.

It was resolved (October 17, 1787) that sisters' rooms should be partitioned off the wards, so that the custom of sisters' chamber came to an end, but all the sisters were not lodged in the wards so late as 1804. The improvement in remuneration probably caused better and better women to take to nursing, but the habits of the men of the time still appeared occasionally in the women; for example, on March 9, 1791, the sister, nurse, and watcher, that is, the whole female staff of Luke ward, were discharged for drunkenness. On May 7, 1801, it was ordered that a register should be kept of the sisters and nurses, with the dates of their appointment. The

total staff on July 21, 1802, consisted of 31 sisters, 31 nurses, and 33 night nurses. Each ordinary sister received annually £32, 6s. 10d., each sister in an operation ward £37, 16s. 10d., and the sister of the men's foul wards £52, 16s. 7d. There were 33 wards, and the annual average of patients was 3696. Of the nurses, 24 received 4s. a week, with 6d. a night extra for night duty, an admission fee of 6d. a patient, and allowances at Christmas and at Easter, in all £17, 16s. 10d. The two nurses in the operation wards, where there were about 72 operations a year, received £19, 2s. 10d. ; two in the men's foul wards £24, 16s. 9d., and had no night duty ; three in the women's foul wards £17, 4s. 3d., and no night duty.

When Mary Foote was elected matron (June 1, 1803) she was given £200 a year and a house. The physicians and surgeons (July 11, 1818) wrote saying that one sister and two nurses were not enough for a double ward (such as the wards are now), and it was agreed that each ward should have three nurses. A further increase of payment was made in 1821, when the sisters in double wards were paid £46, 16s., and in 10 single wards £36, 8s. a year. Increased payment for the foul wards was maintained. No fee of any kind was to be paid by the patients. A nurse asked for a pension, and was told that they were never granted to nurses. This was on July 3, 1821, but a sense of justice prevailed, and on September 25 Eliza Stock, a nurse, was allowed a

pension of 1s. a week. At the same time it is mentioned that a cloak called a night rail has always been provided for sisters, and this is ordered to be continued. A sister who died was buried in her night rail. Dr. Patrick Black told me that he remembered seeing the sisters going to church in their white night rails. These were abolished May 9, 1843. On December 21, 1821, it was resolved that the sisters' dresses should be blue (as always before) and the nurses brown. These were the colours when I came to the hospital as a student in 1869. The blue still continues, but the nurses wear light grey when probationers, striped material when they have passed their first examination, and the same material with a blue belt when they have completed their examinations, in all ranks reminding one of the lines of Gresset:

"Ainsi qu'il est pour le monde et les cours
Un art, un goût de modes et d'atours,
Il est aussi des modes pour le voile ;
Il est un art de donner d'heureux tours
A l'étamine, à la plus simple toile."

After January 8, 1839, nurses who had before been given dinner on Sunday only were given dinner every day. Better payment and pension gradually came in. The matron in 1838 received £200 a year, and a Sister Mark (Mary Ann Evans), who had held office under Dr. Hue for thirty-seven years, was allowed a pension of one guinea a week (June 12, 1860). In 1863 the sisters'

wages were at first 18s. a week, and after fifteen years one guinea a week, but on April 14, in that year, were made one guinea a week, and after ten years' service 25s. a week, and in 1870 all the sisters were paid 1s. 6d. a week more, certain quantities of meat, bread, and potato, which they used to receive, being abolished. In December, 1881, on the election of a new matron, she was given £250 a year, to be increased by £25 for the two succeeding years, and had, in addition, a pleasant little house by the Little Britain gate, the back window of which looked over ground which long before had been part of Sir Ralph Winwood's garden.

There have been twenty-eight matrons from the reign of King Edward VI. to that of King George V., of whom seven died in office. The office, whether vacated by resignation or by death, was almost immediately filled, so that it is sufficient to give the date of appointment of each.

MATRONS

1552 (elected before), Rose Fyssher.

1559, March 4, Ellen Smythe.

1584, June 16, Ellen Jennings.

1593, June 30, Mary Willyamson; married Peter Pryce 1594; died in office 1597.

1597, June 25, Elizabeth Collston.

1623, May 28, Judith Taylor, wife of Robert; died in office.

1623, September 6, Jane Andrewes, widow; died in office.

1640, February 28, Mary Lyatt, widow.

1643, June 2, Margaret Blague.

- 1674, February 20, Mary Libanus.
- 1697, August 12, Mary Sanders.
- 1714, July 7, Elizabeth Barber; died in office.
- 1728, March 8, Elizabeth Paris; died in office.
- 1728, August 15, Anne Hyde.
- 1753, July 17, Elizabeth Browning.
- 1767, November 26, Susannah Robinson.
- 1775, December 7, Martha Sandiford; died in office.
- 1781, January 15, Ann Ernst.
- 1803, June 1, Mary Foote.
- 1816, February 12, Elizabeth Tompkins.
- 1819, September 15, Mary Elizabeth Williams.
- 1837, January 25, Henrietta Elizabeth Baker.
- 1845, April 17, Charlotte Baker.
- 1865, July 26, Frances Drake.

MATRONS AND SUPERINTENDENTS OF NURSING

- 1878, December 12, Maria Machin.
- 1881, December 8, Ethel Gordon Manson.
- 1887, October 20, Isla Stewart; died in office.
- 1910, May 26, Annie MacIntosh.

The education as well as the remuneration of the nursing staff gradually improved. The first record bearing on the attainments of the sister is on February 26, 1653; a regulation that no one in future is to be a sister without previous trial "of their fitness in washing the Buckes and other occasions proper to their place." At the present day sisters are chosen from the nurses who have done best in their examinations or have otherwise distinguished themselves. Every nurse

has three years' training in the wards. Before admission she has to pass an examination in general education and to be found physically fit. At the end of a year, during which she has attended lectures, she has to pass an examination in elementary nursing and such parts of anatomy and physiology as a nurse should know, and at the end of a further period an examination in all parts of nursing and such bacteriology and hygiene as a nurse ought to understand. Preceding this final examination she has attended further lectures by members of the staff of the hospital, and has also received instruction from the matron and from sisters. At the end of four years she may remain as a staff nurse, or take any post she wishes elsewhere, or become a private nurse. Sisters and nurses after long service are granted pensions on a regular scale. The sisters and nurses of to-day in St. Bartholomew's are very highly trained or in course of training, and so become as perfect nurses as can be met with, while those of the first half of the nineteenth century and of earlier times were often but imperfectly instructed, yet it must not be assumed that the art of nursing and the high moral attributes of a good nurse are things of yesterday. Their gradual development may be traced in history. In 1885, Sir James Paget in an address to the Abernethian Society at St. Bartholomew's speaks of the improvement in nursing he had witnessed in his time.

"It is true," he says, "that even fifty years ago there were some excellent nurses, especially among the sisters in the medical wards, where everything was more gentle and orderly than in the surgical. They had none of the modern art ; they could not have kept a chart or skilfully taken a temperature, but they had an admirable sagacity and a sort of rough practical knowledge which were nearly as good as any acquired skill. An old Sister Rahere was the chief among them, stout, ruddy, positive, very watchful. She once taught an erring house surgeon where and how to compress a posterior tibial artery ; she could always report correctly the progress of a case ; and from her wages she saved all she could and left it in legacy to the hospital."

Some sixty years further back another description of a nurse was written. "She was in black down to her toes, with her hair concealed under a cambric border, laid close to her forehead : she was one of those kind of nuns, an please your Honor, of which your Honor knows there are a good many in Flanders which they let go loose.—By thy description, Trim, said my Uncle Toby, I dare say she was a young Beguine, of which there are none to be found anywhere but in the Spanish Netherlands—except at Amsterdam ; they differ from nuns in this, that they can quit their cloister if they choose to marry ; they visit and take care of the sick by profession."—"The young Beguine," continued the Corporal, "had scarce given herself time to tell me,

'she would be my nurse,' when she hastily turned about to begin the office of one, and prepare something for me ; and in a short time, though I thought it a long one, she came back with flannels, &c. &c., and having fomented my knee soundly for a couple of hours &c., and made me a bason of thin gruel for my supper, she wished me rest, and promised to be with me early in the morning."

An aged gentleman who read me this passage in my boyhood also told me that his father had danced with the daughter of its author at the York ball, which seems to bring it near our time, but it was at Landen that Corporal Trim was wounded, so that Sterne's story, which no doubt he received from an old soldier of his father's regiment, takes back the history of nursing to the year 1693. Place this nurse beside Sergeant-surgeon Ranby or Sergeant-surgeon Charles Bernard, and she seems as good in her department of the care of the wounded as they were in theirs.

Earlier still, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, St. Vincent of Paul had founded his famous order the Sisters of Charity, whose services as nurses were used in the hospitals of France, and in other countries similar orders came to be founded. Such nurses were of a high value, and when they went out to the Crimean war were a most valuable addition to the means for dealing with the sick and wounded, and their services were appreciated by their patients. "The

behaviour of sisters and nurses perfect, and especially the Catholic sisters, and the patients behaved very well to them,"¹ writes Mr. Bracebridge to Sidney Herbert on November 8, 1854. This group of nurses, with Miss Florence Nightingale, their leader and commander, were probably less well-informed than the most experienced sisters of their time in the wards of St. Bartholomew's, but were examples of the average nursing knowledge and ability of their time. Yet they, and those who followed in their wake, besides doing much for the sick and wounded, drew public attention to the necessity of such services as theirs, and so to the desirability of a systematic training for all nurses. Miss Nightingale expresses gratitude to God in her private meditations: "How inefficient I was in the Crimea! Yet He has raised up Trained Nursing from it."² Both sentences are true. She had not had sufficient time of study or experience to know much of medicine and of surgery; yet undoubtedly her force of character, her confidence that what she was doing was right, and her willingness to use such knowledge as she had, without hesitating for want of more, and the fact that the circumstances of the time brought the whole subject before the public, may justly be regarded as having established that it was essential for the practice of medicine and surgery,

¹ Lord Stanmore, "Sidney Herbert: Lord Herbert of Lea, a Memoir," London, 1906, vol. i. p. 344.

² Sir Edward Cook, "The Life of Florence Nightingale," London, 1913, vol. ii. p. 410.

whether in hospitals or in private houses, to have thoroughly trained nurses. The foundation of the Nightingale School for Nurses at St. Thomas's Hospital, June 24, 1860, showed how an efficient training school for nurses could be established in a great general hospital with a medical school.

The systematic instruction of all nurses began at St. Bartholomew's in May 1877, and was under the direct control of the executive body of the hospital. The matron was its active director. A physician, Dr. Dyce Duckworth,¹ and a surgeon, Mr. Alfred Willett, were appointed instructors, gave weekly lectures to the nurses, examined them at each period of their career, and when their training was complete and examinations passed, signed the certificates which had been attested by the treasurer of the hospital and the matron.

At its beginning the organisation of the instruction in nursing owed much to the energy of Miss Ethel Gordon Manson, and the arrangements were improved in many ways by her successor as matron, Miss Isla Stewart, a woman of remarkable ability.

Such has been the growth of nursing at St. Bartholomew's from the matron and eleven sisters of the reign of King Edward VI. to the matron, assistant matron, thirty-eight sisters, and 268 nurses who form the highly trained nursing staff of the present day.

¹ His inaugural lecture, "Sick Nursing a Woman's Mission," 1877, was printed by order of the treasurer and almoners, and has been reprinted in the collected essays of Sir Dyce Duckworth, Bt.

XXIX

THE OFFICIALS



HERE were till 1912 seven officials whose offices had existed from the establishment of the New Order in Tudor times: the Hospitaler, the Clerk, the Renter, the Steward, the Porter, and the two Beadles. Of these the Renter's office has lately been consolidated with that of the Clerk.

The office of HOSPITALER has long been associated with that of vicar of the parish of St. Bartholomew the Less, though the appointment to it and its tenure are distinct from those of the vicarage. In the order of 1552, and also in that of 1652, various duties connected with food, with certificates, and with the property of the patients were assigned to him, which have since for the most part come into the charge of the steward. *John Kyngston* in February, 1584, is the first hospitaler named. His wife and children overcharge the house, and he is to leave at Ladyday. On March 9 *Edward Porter* was elected, who, however, asked on March 22

to be released owing to his age. *Christopher Blithman* was appointed May 23, 1584, but July 5, 1588, *Francis Hollgrave* (also spelt Howegrave) was "hospitler." His wife was not to live in the house. He tried to earn a little by amateur surgery. On November 6, 1591, he was awarded 40s. for cures he had done in the past year in setting joints and bones. On December 2, 1592, he wanted something for his "charges and paynes" in setting the bones and joints of twelve of the poor of this house. It was ordered that his bill be examined and reported on, and on December 16 he was awarded 30s., and he is to tell the porter at the time what cures he does in future. He died in March, 1592, and on March 17 *Thomas Butt* was appointed to execute the office till Midsummer. *Thomas Butt* seems then to have been elected, and to have held office till July 16, 1597, when *Samuel Hill* was elected. He was directed to give up certain "extraordinary avayles" which the hospitaler had received, and "in consideracon of a newe reformacon," was given "one legge of mutton euery Satterday, one stone of beiffe euery twesday, and allsoe one kilderkin of beare euery monthe, And one peny of breade dayly if it shall be thought meate by the worshipfulle at the next Courte." On March 17, 1612, the hospitaler asked that his stipend of £10 might be increased, and he was granted £5 a year more. On December 12, 1629, the office was vacant, and *William Freke* was a candidate. *George Sleigh* followed on June 2,

1643. His successor was *Samuel Broadstreate*, to whom, on December 21, 1648, the governors made an advance on the "security of his wages." He asked for help owing to the dearness of victuals, and received an annual addition of £5. He died in November, 1666, and was succeeded by *Mr. Goodman*, a fit person "to pray, console and reade to the poore and attend and exhorte such as are sicke in theire wards." In January, 1680, *William Orme*, being both vicar and hospitaler, asked for increased remuneration. After him the office of hospitaler was generally held by the successive vicars of St. Bartholomew the Less.¹ *John Benson*, the hospitaler in 1747, was rebuked for not saying prayers. There was usually an assistant hospitaler. Among these assistants *Walter Mitchell* was a man of considerable attainments, who became vicar in 1861, and lectured in the medical school on natural philosophy. *John George Wood*, appointed assistant hospitaler April 15, 1856, had rooms in the college of St. Bartholomew's, where the hooks on which his bird-cages hung long remained in evidence of his tastes. His "Common Objects of the Country," published in 1858, is an interesting natural history book, such as the observing walker in Mrs. Barbauld's "Eyes and No Eyes" might have been expected to write. The list of the fifty-eight other books which he wrote, and the seven he edited, would lead anyone to think that he was a mere bookseller's

¹ Vol. ii. p. 161.

hack, but had it been his only work, the "Common Objects of the Country" would have preserved for him a place among English popular writers on natural history. He resigned his office in 1862.

It is difficult not to feel some surprise that the wonderful examples of fortitude and of resignation which were to be seen among the patients whom they visited did not rouse any amongst the hospitalers to hand down to future times some of the important encouragements to faith and lessons in piety to be observed at every period in the wards.

The CLERK was also renter or receiver of rents in former times, and so appears in the orders of 1552 and of 1652, and has been so since 1912, but the offices were long separated. He is now the chief of the staff of non-medical officials by whom, under the treasurer, all the business affairs of the hospital are carried on. The fine eighteenth-century house at the south corner of the administrative wing was built by Gibbs as a residence for the clerk, and is occupied by the present holder of the office. When the treasurer's house in Well Yard was pulled down, he and his successors for several years lived in the clerk's house, and the clerk's home was one of the adjoining brick houses.

The clerks have been concerned in all important transactions of the governors, and the most interesting

passages in their official duties have already been mentioned in the chapter on the Journals, all the volumes of which were in early times written by them and preserve their handwriting, and in later days have been written under their supervision.

Thomas Hone, who was directed to bring in the accounts on January 18, 1556, is the first clerk mentioned, but may have had only a temporary engagement, as on June 13, 1557, the formal appointment of *Roger Trygge* is recorded. *William Squyer* was clerk in 1584, and was paid £10 a year, with 6s. 8d. for every day on which he rode out on hospital business. He was succeeded May 18, 1590, by his son, *Thomas Squyer*, who resigned March 19, 1641. *Bonnomy Blague*, who had been his assistant for twenty-two years, was then appointed, but died in October, 1643, when *Edward Cawthorne* was elected, who held office till 1661. His brother, *William Cawthorne*, succeeded him October 5, 1661, and retired December 15, 1675. *Benjamin Edwards* was elected January 26, 1676, and held office till his death in 1715, when, on October 27, *William Tims* was elected by a majority of 39 out of 183 governors voting. *John Tims*, son of William, was appointed March 24, 1743. It was in his time, April 29, 1752, that the governors took into consideration a sermon of the Bishop of Worcester before the governors of the Smallpox Hospital, in which he had stated that the poor were forcibly expelled from all other hospitals but that one, when found

to have smallpox. This was untrue as regards St. Bartholomew's, so the governors decided to take notice of the statement. Soon after the Bishop called upon Mr. Tims, and said he had not meant to reflect upon St. Bartholomew's, and expressed his concern and his readiness to alter the passage in the next edition of his sermon, and added that in the meantime he would insert an advertisement in the News Papers. This, Mr. Tims reported to the court, had been done, duly setting forth that such patients are continued under the care of St. Bartholomew's Hospital. Perhaps the governors were specially indignant because they knew that the Bishop, Isaac Maddox, had been born close to the hospital in the parish of St. Botolph's, Aldersgate, was apprenticed and sent to school in the city, and had held the rectory of St. Vedast, Foster Lane. They rightly accepted his apology for his ill-considered remark, for he was a man genuinely anxious to reform the times, and in the previous year had preached a sermon against the excessive use of spirituous liquors. Tims the second died early in 1763, and left £100 "to the poor of this hospital." *Charles Browne*, who wrote an excellent hand, was appointed April 22, 1763, and died in 1772. It was decided that the new clerk should not take the fee of 6d. hitherto paid on petitions for admission. On May 22, 1772, *Thomas Wall*, attorney, was elected clerk. He resigned January 11, 1799, and gave the hospital £100. *John Wood*, a governor, resigned his staff, and

was elected clerk February 1, 1799, and held office till his resignation November 25, 1840. On December 22, 1840, *William Wix*, who had been steward from 1828, was elected clerk, and was granted a salary of £500 a year, with a house. On October 12, 1841, he presented to the governors a list of the documents in the muniment room of the hospital. He resigned March 25, 1862. *William Wilby* was elected April 23, 1862, and held office till 1866. *William Henry Cross*, a clerk in the counting-house of Christ's Hospital, who was subsequently called to the bar, was the only candidate, and was elected November 28, 1866. He resigned in full vigour at the age of sixty-eight. Like Mr. Wix he took an interest in the records, and carefully placed in envelopes the original charters, each envelope marked with the grantor, the effect and the date (where ascertained) of the contained document. *Thomas Hayes*, the present clerk, was elected February 23, 1905, and it is a pleasure to conclude this list of the holders of the office with my warmest thanks to him for his courtesy to me on innumerable occasions during my historical researches.

The RENTER in the year 1911 was to be found in the outer part of what used to be called the counting-house. He received and recorded the rents, and offered a small oaken box to tenants that they might contribute to the charity when they were granted leases or other privileges. *Henry Richardson*, in 1554, is the first renter

named. Several of his successors combined the duties of renter and clerk, until gradually a separate renter was always appointed. He rode out to receive some country rents, and needed pistols to keep off highwaymen. In 1747 a committee was appointed to inquire into the duties and conduct and receipts from patients of all persons employed by the hospital. The report as to this official is brief, "Renter does well, no fees," and the Journals show that a similar report might have justly been made at any other period. Now and then the good feeling or the industry of the renter shines out from the pages of the records among which it is hidden but preserved. *Robert Pycroft*, having resigned his staff as a governor, was elected renter April 5, 1758, on the death of *Thomas Nicoll*. He became blind, and in consideration of the benefactions the hospital had received both from him and his father, and his great attention and humanity to the patients, he was allowed to remain in his house, to have £40 a year, with coals, candles, and small-beer. *Thomas Pitts* succeeded him April 27, 1762. A silver cup for the use of the renter was given by Mr. Robert Taylor April 2, 1765. Was this for him to drink to and be pledged by the tenants when they brought their rents? Pitts on December 17, 1765, completed two books, one an account of all houses belonging to St. Bartholomew's Hospital, and the other of all its lands, with an index of annuities and quitrents. He had also placed all charters

in drawers, and had pasted the plans in a book. He was given twenty guineas in recognition of all this work.

The last renter was *Valentine Cluse*. He was appointed renter in 1901, and retired in 1912, after being 38½ years in the service of the hospital. The General Court returned to the condition of the order of 1552, when the clerk of the hospital was wholly responsible for the duties afterwards discharged by a separate renter.

The STEWARD, to whose office were at times added the duties of Butler, has an official place of business to the right of the archway as the hospital square is approached from the Smithfield gate.¹ His duties are to supervise the victuals, and the admission and discharge of patients, with a variety of duties connected with these chief ones. The steward's office has a fine open fireplace, in which throughout the winter season a cheerful fire is burning. "Let me introduce you," said the old steward to me, "to Mr. George Cruikshank." That distinguished, and then aged, artist had been making some inquiry of the steward, who seemed to know him well. I shook hands with the illustrator of Dickens, who immediately uttered a bad pun: "Ah! I could draw once, but never as well as that fire." Above the fireplace now hangs the portrait of that steward, *Mark Morris*, by W. W. Ouless, R.A.² He is wearing a rather large beaver hat, and looking from under its brim

¹ Vol. ii. p. 267.

² Presented to the hospital July 11, 1889.

with the kindly expression we all knew so well, and which I am sure encouraged every patient who came to have his name entered in the steward's book on admission to the wards, and made all men and women feel that they were being welcomed to St. Bartholomew's, and might be sure of kindness there. Once on going into the office I saw a woman crying bitterly as she sat in a chair. I went to the place where, within a little railing, the steward sat, and asked him if nothing could be done to comfort the woman. "Nothing whatever," said he. Such was his universal and invariable humanity that I looked surprised. He added, "She is crying because her husband is alive." A few days before two men, Wilkins and Wilkinson, were admitted to the same ward, one being given a bed in the front ward, the other in the back. Each had been knocked down by an omnibus at a slightly different time of day on the Holborn viaduct. Wilkins, in the front ward, had died just before Wilkinson's wife came to the ward to inquire for Wilkinson. "I am sorry to say," said the nurse, who received her at the door and misheard the name, "that he has just died." Mrs. Wilkinson looked at the dead Wilkins, and, confused by grief, recognised his body as that of her husband and went home. The next day she had returned in mourning dress to the hospital to complete arrangements as to his funeral, and walking into the square towards the ward where he had been, met Mr. Wilkin-

son, partly recovered and taking a little exercise. He seems to have been a man whose resentment was easily excited, as it was when seeing his wife attired as a widow, and he threatened, when well enough, to return home and beat her for her mistake in thinking that a dead unknown Wilkins was her husband, a living irritable Wilkinson. "Nothing whatever can be done for her," repeated the steward, but I have no doubt that when she left he visited the ward and soothed the offended pride of Wilkinson.

Mark Morris had a keen eye for illustrations of human nature, and would laugh at its curious turns and inconsistencies without being in the least a cynic. He remembered several cases, from among the hospital patients, of wives who had been sold in Smithfield. A rope was loosely thrown round them, and as the seller handed the end of the rope to the buyer, the buyer gave him a shilling. The new marriage was regarded by the social circle of the parties as in every way reputable and complete. The sale was usually followed by a drink in one of the once numerous public-houses of Smithfield and its environs. One of these, close to the main hospital gate, was called the St. Bartholomew, and inside it was a small parlour partitioned off, on which was painted its designation "The Friendly Ward." To this, in the times before Father Mathew and other temperance advocates had made so fortunate an effect on the public, patients just discharged, and friends who

had been to view the bodies of relatives in the dead-house, and jurors who had attended crowner's quests, and witnesses of accidents, and of the injuries produced by personal conflicts, all used to resort.

Had the judicial combats once encouraged by our law been fought out in Smithfield in modern times, they would no doubt have been followed by similar libations. "This trial," says Sir William Blackstone, "was only used in three cases: one military, one criminal, the third civil. The first in the court martial or court of chivalry and honour, the second in appeals of felony, and the third upon issue joined in a writ of right, the last and most solemn decision of real property." This last conflict I chanced to mention in a paper¹ on the Roman tombs found in Smithfield, and in the subsequent discussion one of my hearers mentioned that he had been present when the last wager of battle had been offered in court. It was just one year after the birth of Mark Morris, who was born at Stoke Damerne in August, 1818. He went to school in Devonport, and then was for a short time a student of medicine. In 1840 he became sub-curator of the museum, in June, 1850, curator of the surgery, and on July, 1859, steward. He died in office November, 1895, at Plymouth, having been in the service of the hospital full fifty-five years. He loved Devonshire, but St. Bartholomew's still more, and was

¹ Read before the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society, February 11, 1878.

scarcely ever absent from his office. Patients, nurses, house surgeons, house physicians, assistant surgeons, assistant physicians, surgeons and physicians, all were attached to Mark Morris. They subscribed for a Royal Academician—it would have been Sir Joshua Reynolds as a Devonshire man had he been living—but Oules has painted a good portrait, and from the wall of the steward's office Mark Morris overlooks all that goes on in his old place of work. It is pleasant to know that this admirable old steward would have thoroughly approved Mr. Watkins, who was elected to succeed him in December, 1895, and exactly resembles him in the qualities of invariable beneficence and of untiring attention to every detail of his work.

*Hugh Cooke*¹ is the first steward named, and up to the present day he has had twenty-six successors. Of these *Martin Llewellyn* may be remembered as the father of Dr. Martin Llewellyn, who was born in St. Bartholomew's December 12, 1616, and baptized in the church of St.

¹ His successors were :

Richard Hayward	1592	John Sayer	1767
William Fullwood	1595	Thomas Cole	1768
Martin Llewellyn	1599	Richard Gomm	1784
Robert Pretty	1634	Henry Nettleship	1795
Humphry Fox	1643	Gillingham Eyre	1796
Thomas Poulteney	1663	Richard Austen Gilbert	1810
Daniel Fowle	1683	Walter William Wilby	1815
Benjamin Tooke	1713	William Wix	1828
Sir Robert Dunckley	1716	John Thomas Weston	1841
Robert Brisco	1726	Robert Harry Sparks	1847
Nathaniel Wolfry	1730	John Ralph Westray	1853
Richard Long	1750	Mark Morris	1859
Charles Blandy	1751	Arthur Watkins	1895
Christopher Taylor	1761		

Bartholomew the Less December 22. He was educated at Westminster and at Christ Church, and became a fellow of the College of Physicians in 1659. He wrote a long prefatory poem to the English translation of Harvey's "De generatione animalium":

"There thou didst trace the Blood and first behold
What Dreams mistaken Sages coined of old,
For till thy Pegasus the fountain brake,
The crimson blood was but a crimson lake,
Which first from thee did tyde and motion gain,
And veins became its channel, not its chaine,
With Drake and Candish hence thy bays is curld,
Fam'd Circulator of the Lesser World."

None of Llewellyn's ninety lines are very good, but the whole poem shows that no quarrel remained in his family on account of the debt his father was rightly compelled to pay to Harvey's brother.¹ Martin Llewellyn, the steward, seems to have been often in debt. On March 25, 1611, he was arrested by the sheriff's officers, but was rescued by patients and sisters of the hospital. The governors agreed he should compound for the debt. He continued in debt to the end of his life, and the governors forgave him what he owed them, and at the request of Sir Paul Pinder and of Mr. Ingram, the Warden of the Flete, gave £80 to Sara Llewellyn, his widow, in 1634, the year of his death.

Thomas Poulteneys's service in the siege of Basing House² has already been mentioned. Where *Sir Robert Duncley* won his spurs I have not discovered.

¹ Vol. ii, p. 461.

² Vol. ii, p. 319.

The PORTER appears at the door of the staircase of the Great Hall at every Court of Governors in a black gown with tufts on its sleeves, and holding a staff surmounted by a silver globe, on which stands a figure of St. Bartholomew. He precedes the treasurer and almoners as they enter the Court, and also walks before the treasurer and governors when they visit the wards on View Day. He and the beadles seem symbolic of the physical force needed to carry the weak into the hospital and to remove the dead.

On November 30, 1739, *Mr. Thomas Parry*, a governor, resigned his staff, and was elected porter.

The BEADLES wear peaked caps, and each has on his coat an oval silver scutcheon of the hospital arms. There used to be four, but are now only two. In Tudor times¹ they had to go out into the city, to stop unworthy beggars from asking alms, and to report any cases of sickness they saw to the almoners. They now perform a variety of functions, chiefly under the direction of the steward. There are several other men who, as gatekeepers, box carriers,² and stretcher bearers are also employed in the work of the hospital, yet since the bedellus of the ward was often the last witness of an early London charter, so these ancient officials, who bear the same title, may appropriately end this chapter.

¹ Vol. ii. pp. 176, 186, 283, 332, 382.

² Vol. ii. p. 362.

XXX

THE ADMINISTRATORS



THE general government of the hospital, the management of its estate, the appointment of the members of its staff and of all other persons employed in its work, are in the hands of the governors, of whom the chief in dignity is the President. The Treasurer is the first executive officer, and is assisted in his administration by the almoners and by the several committees of governors. He presides at the General Court unless the President is there.

The Presidents¹ up to 1867, when the Prince of Wales, afterwards King Edward VII., was elected, were always great men of the city of London. Traces of them are to be found in its churches and in the halls of the Companies. The names of some are preserved by the great families they founded, and of some in passages of English history.

THOMAS WHYTE is the earliest. He was President in 1551, and two years later was Lord Mayor, and was

¹ At first the Presidents were chosen annually, but from 1620 without limit of time. Before 1553 they were generally called Provosts.

knighted. He was the founder of the pleasant college of St. John the Baptist at Oxford, and the connexion between his company, that of the Merchant Taylors' and its school in London, and that college, remains close to the present day.

In the stately procession of Lord Mayors, aldermen and knights which follows in the series of Presidents no more splendid figure appears than than of SIR JOHN SPENCER, President from 1604 to 1610. His alabaster tomb, with recumbent effigies of himself and his wife and a kneeling figure of their daughter, remains in St. Helen's, Bishopsgate, while his great fortune helps to endow a marquissate to the present day. His six years of Presidency at St. Bartholomew's show that besides endowing his descendants he did some work for the poor.

SIR NICHOLAS RAINTON, President 1634-46, gave an example of manly resistance to the encroachments of the Crown in an endeavour to levy illegal taxation.¹ His figure may be seen upon his tomb at Enfield, and his portrait is in the committee room.

SIR ABRAHAM REYNARDSON had taken the opposite view to Rainton, and supported the King's demand for a loan in 1640. He was Lord Mayor in 1648-9, and was elected President November 23, 1648, and resigned September 17, 1649.

¹ Vol. ii. p. 473.

Three passages were to be particularly observed in his life, says George Smalwood, rector of St. Margaret's, New Fish Street, who preached his funeral sermon¹ October 17, 1661.

I. A treaty had been attempted between King Charles I. and the Parliament then sitting, and an engagement was subscribed by most of the Common Council for carrying on this treaty. The treaty was ineffectual, and inquiry was made after the subscribers. The book, with names pro and con covering two reams of paper, was brought to Sir Abraham Reynardson, and he burnt it, thus protecting the subscribers.

II. He opposed in the Common Council the petition to bring the King to trial, and sat amid abuse from 8 A.M. to 8 P.M., and then took up the sword and departed.

III. The Proclamation to abolish the King and the House of Lords was sent to him. He delayed it for eight days, was then voted out of office, fined £2000, sent a prisoner to the Tower, and his goods sold because he would not pay the fine.

He was knighted by Charles II. at the Guildhall July 5, 1660, and died at Tottenham October 4, 1661.

His funeral sermon, which is entitled

“ The wicked man's sad disappointment
and

The righteous man's sure recompence ”

is dedicated to Lady Reynardson, November 15, 1661.

¹ Kindly lent to me by Colonel Birch Reynardson of Holywell, Lincolnshire.

It contains much Greek and Latin and some Hebrew, the three languages taught in the school of the Merchant Taylors', to which company Reynardson belonged. The preacher knew him, and mentions that he had family prayers and went regularly to church, that he was a man of few words, brought up his family well, and was bountiful in looking after and starting poor children in life.

SIR WILLIAM PRITCHARD, knighted in 1672, and Lord Mayor in 1682, President 1688 to 1705, was a supporter of the aggressive policy in the city of the royal party in the reigns of Charles II. and James II., and refused to admit two Whig sheriffs to office on the ground that "the never to be forgotten Sir John Moore" had disallowed their election. Pritchard was arrested by Papillon the sheriff, against whom he brought an action and obtained a verdict for £10,000 damages. Papillon left England, but on August 7, 1688, Sir William Pritchard formally released him from payment at Garraway's coffee-house and drank his health. Pritchard became member for the City August 18, 1702. He died at his house in the Minories February 20, 1705, and was buried at Great Lynford, Bucks, where his epitaph records that he built at St. Bartholomew's "a convenient apartment for cutting the stone." His full-length portrait by Kneller is in the Great Hall, and is one of the fine examples of the work of that artist,

which remind us of the praise given to him by Sir Joshua Reynolds.

The Honourable THOMAS HARLEY was President from January 25, 1770, to December 1, 1804. He was son of the third Earl of Oxford of the second creation, and was born August 24, 1730. He was elected member of Parliament for the City and an Alderman in 1761. The first great ceremonial which he attended as an alderman was the reception of the young King and Queen in the city. The vast crowds which line the streets when the head of the English state visits the city of London are of themselves a stirring sight, and their cheers, first heard from far and coming nearer and nearer, affect even the coldest spectator. On Lord Mayor's Day, 1761, the cheers which greeted the splendid royal equipage were equalled by those which burst out on the appearance of an unattended, almost shabby, private carriage. The Great Commoner had been driven from office a month before,¹ and he chose this way of reminding himself that he was still the foremost man in England. Great as he really was and admirable in ability, he yet scorned no art

“The applause of listening senates to command,”
and basked in the sunshine of favour and applause with a delight usually associated with lesser powers than his. There were times when he pleased the people with

¹ John Adolphus, “History of England, 1760-1783,” London, 1817 (ed. iv.), i. 127.

his rich liveries and numerous servants, but he knew the English populace, and that it would arouse all their enthusiasm to see the man whose rule had made England victorious all over the world, unadorned, humble, unimportant in the midst of royal and civic pomp. However far on in the procession the aldermen may have been, they soon guessed who the cheers were for.

Mr. Alderman Harley had heard the roar of popular opinion. It soon fell to his lot to have to resist it. In 1763, as sheriff, he was ordered to burn the notorious No. 45.¹ A great mob at the Royal Exchange pelted him and his officers. "Wilkes and Liberty" was shouted on every side. The fire in which the "North Briton" was to be solemnly burned was scattered, and one piece of glowing wood, flung at the sheriff's chariot, broke the glass. The constables were knocked about and their staves broken, and though the executioner had thrown the paper into the fire, the mob rescued some fragments, and bore them off in triumph. Harley could do nothing but retire to the Mansion House and inform the Lord Mayor of what he already knew, that the streets were in the hands of the Wilkesites. Alderman Harley, with his brother sheriff, was thanked by the Houses of Parliament, but not by the City. In 1767 he was Lord Mayor, and he sat in Parliament for thirty-nine years. He was interested in more than one hospital,

¹ William Massey, "A History of England during the Reign of George III.," London, 1855.

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and did what he could to interest others in the charities he patronised. A ward in St. Bartholomew's named after him commemorates his attention to the affairs of the hospital during thirty-four years.

A full-length seated portrait by Wilkie in the Great Hall preserves the memory of MATTHEW PRIME LUCAS, President 1831-1848; and a full-length standing portrait of less artistic merit and a bust commemorate SIR GEORGE CARROLL, President 1854-1861.

WILLIAM CUBITT was elected President January 8, 1861, resigned, and was re-elected December 31, 1862, and held office till his death October 28, 1863. He was elected Lord Mayor 1860, was a builder by business, and Prime Warden of the Fishmongers. He was himself munificent, and encouraged the same liberality in others. The fund by which £500,000 was raised to relieve the Lancashire distress due to the American Civil War was begun by his collection of £57,000. With the progress of wealth vaster sums have been collected, yet few that have had more effect than this.

After Cubitt's death the Presidency was vacant, 1863-7, owing to a dispute with the Corporation of the City as to the limit of choice to a member of the Court of Aldermen. On May 20, 1866, judgment given in the Court of Queen's Bench decided that there was no such limitation.

On March 20, 1867, H.R.H. ALBERT EDWARD PRINCE OF WALES was elected, and in 1901, having become King Edward VII., he was succeeded as President by H.R.H. GEORGE DUKE OF CORNWALL AND YORK. Since the coronation of his Royal Highness as King George V. he has become Patron of the Hospital, and the office of President has remained vacant.

The names and years of appointment of the forty-one Presidents follow :

PRESIDENTS

1551. Thomas Whyte	1681. Sir James Edwards
1552. Sir John Ayliffe	1688. Sir William Pritchard
1553. Thomas Curtes	1705. Sir John Fleet
1556. Lawrence Wythers	1712. Sir William Stewart
1557. Sir John Lyon	1723. Sir Richard Brocas
1559. Sir William Garrarde	1737. John Barber
1572. Sir Rowland Heywarde	1741. Sir Robert Godschall
1593. Sir John Harte	1742. Robert Westley
1604. Sir John Spencer	1745. Sir Henry Marshall
1610. Sir Thomas Love	1754. John Blackford
1623. Sir Thomas Bennett	1759. Francis Cockayne
1627. Sir Allen Cotton	1767. Sir Thomas Rawlinson
1629. Robert Ducie	1770. Hon. Thomas Harley
1634. Sir Nicholas Rainton	1804. Peter Pritchard
1646. Sir George Clarke	1806. Sir James Shaw
1649. Sir Abraham Reynardson	1831. Matthew Prime Lucas
1649. Thomas Foot	1848. John Kinnersley Hooper
1661. Sir Richard Chiverton	1854. Sir George Carroll
1676. Sir Richard Ford	1861. William Cubitt
1678. Sir Joseph Sheldon	1863. Re-elected

1867. H.R.H. ALBERT EDWARD PRINCE OF WALES

1901. H.R.H. GEORGE DUKE OF CORNWALL AND YORK

The treasurers, sixty-four in number, have been named in the chapter on the Ledgers. The almoners who have sat with the treasurer every week for the better part of four centuries have always been governors specially interested in the administrative work of the hospital, attached to its welfare in every way, often helping its patients, and not infrequently becoming testamentary benefactors of the foundation. The governors at large have generally taken a warm interest in St. Bartholomew's, and in the General Court have by their criticism or approval formed an important security to the public that the hospital shall always be well administered.

It is impossible to overestimate the debt which the hospital owes to four centuries of civic dignitaries and to the many men severally skilled in the different parts of its business who have freely given their best time and thought to the discharge of the duties of governors.

The Royal princes who have in later years filled the office of President, besides the influence of their great position and their well-known care for the inmates of all hospitals, have appropriately added the splendour of their names and rank to one which has been of service to so many of their subjects in their own times and during the reigns of thirty-two of their predecessors on the throne of England.

XXXI

THE MEDICAL SCHOOL



THE English Universities had in early times some lecturers on medicine such as Nicholas Tyngewich,¹ and as long as medical study chiefly consisted in reading books, were places where it might be pursued and the degree of doctor attained as in the faculties of theology and of law; but after the revival of Greek learning every Bachelor or Doctor of Physic saw that to know medicine, more was necessary than could be acquired from books alone. The physician at the outset of his studies strove to acquire practical acquaintance with anatomy and wished for opportunities of observing and discussing all the problems of medicine and surgery. He desired to know modern anatomy as set forth by Vesalius, and materia medica from its beginning in botany to its end in therapeutics, as found in Dioscorides and Paulus Ægineta. He must be prepared to interpret the aphorisms of Hippocrates and must have read Galen. He wished at least to see, and if possible to make, some human and some animal dissections. He had duly

¹ Vol. i. p. 609.

collected herbs, some by the light of the rising moon and others at noonday. He sought to lay up a store of experience drawn from seeing patients and from attending post-mortems. These studies he often went to Italy to pursue.

At Oxford Dr. Thomas Molyneux in 1683 found Dr. Luff, the Regius Professor of Physic, lecturing on the first aphorism of Hippocrates; and about two centuries later, lectures on medicine had almost ceased in the university, though it still produced learned doctors of physic.

At Cambridge, perhaps owing to the impetus early given to it by Glisson, the faculty of medicine was less quiescent, and in the nineteenth century it developed into a complete modern activity under Sir George Edward Paget and Sir George Murray Humphry, both of whom had been trained at St. Bartholomew's. Both universities had from the Renaissance period the important effect of helping to keep the study of medicine in touch with other branches of learning.

In the eighteenth century Radcliffe at Oxford and John Addenbroke at Cambridge founded hospitals, yet the practical parts of medicine and surgery did not receive much help at the universities. Hence Oxford and Cambridge men naturally came to seek such knowledge in London. Men who had not been to the university but had begun their studies as apprentices to some surgeon or apothecary, also went to increase their

knowledge in London ; and London itself supplied a large body of similar students. One effect of the formation of this population of students was the maintenance of a high standard of efficiency among the physicians and surgeons of the great hospitals, whose work was done under constant observation by the critical eyes of students. At first the attendance of students was only regulated by the fact that some of them were pupils of particular men ; but gradually medical schools were formed, and these carried on an admirable and constantly improving system of medical education. This organisation owed nothing to the state. It was built up by individuals, and improved by competition between separate associations of teachers attached to the chief hospitals. There were also schools, in some of which good teaching was done, and of which the success depended on the power of one or more men of great knowledge and ability ; but these had never the advantages of the schools attached to hospitals, and after a time died out.

St. Bartholomew's had long been frequented by students of three kinds. First there were physicians in actual practice, who accompanied the hospital physicians into the wards and attended the autopsies. A second group were graduates of Oxford and Cambridge who had just proceeded, or were intending to proceed, to medical degrees, and who regularly frequented the hospital.

The third and most numerous group consisted of the apprentices or pupils of the surgeons, of the apprentices of the apothecary, and of some apprentices from outside the hospital who obtained permission to come and follow its practice. Sir Robert Christison,¹ who became a student in 1820, states that when he entered at the hospital there were only three physicians' pupils, all graduates in medicine. There were at the same time several hundred surgical students. These never entered a medical ward, but the physicians' pupils were allowed to frequent both medical and surgical wards.

The students who had taken their degrees and begun to practise increased their experience, and some of them made valuable observations. James Douglas, a student of this kind, was allowed to attend both in the wards and the post-mortem room, and his paper in the *Philosophical Transactions* for 1715 is the earliest complete record of the clinical notes and post-mortem examination of a patient in a medical ward at St. Bartholomew's. The man had a murmur so loud that it could be heard at a distance from his bedside. Post-mortem Douglas found the left ventricle hypertrophied and the aortic valves thickened. The account shows that Douglas went very near discovering the interpretation of cardiac sounds.²

Students who were intending or actual bachelors or

¹ "The Life of Sir R. Christison, Bt.," edited by his sons. Edinburgh, 1885.

² Norman Moore, "Cardiac Murmurs audible without touching the Chest:" *St. Bartholomew's Hospital Reports*, vol. xxvi.

doctors of universities, if they proposed to practise in London, offered themselves, after graduation, for examination as candidates at the College of Physicians. If they wished to practise in provincial towns they settled in the place of their choice when they had learned enough to enable them to take their degrees.

The third group of students supplied the surgical staff of the hospital as vacancies arose, and for the rest became surgeons, or surgeon-apothecaries, or apothecaries only, or (up to 1815) practised in the country without other documentary evidence of their competence than their completed indentures or the general goodwill of the other practitioners in their neighbourhood. Some went to sea in the merchant service or were employed by the East India Company. Others served in the Royal Navy or the army. All knew that when they came up from the country, or from the sea, or from India, to St. Bartholomew's, they were sure of a cordial salutation, or of good advice if they sought it, and of a kindly inquiry as to their progress in their profession.

The general powers of the hospital authorities, particularly of the treasurer and almoners, and such discipline as the surgeons maintained among their apprentices and pupils, were the only provisions for the government of this heterogeneous body of students. The regular direction of the school as well as the foundation of a council capable of advising the hospital authorities

on medical affairs gradually took form to meet the needs of the situation. The latter is called the Medical Council of the Hospital. It was founded in July 1843, and at first consisted of the senior members of the staff, but now includes all members of the permanent staff of the hospital. Its function is to advise the treasurer and almoners upon all matters submitted to it. It is consulted on every medical subject which arises in the administration of the hospital. Certain members of this council attend the meetings of the treasurer and almoners without taking part in them. The council also nominates certain members of the staff, who are placed upon the house committee and take part in its deliberations and votes. Other of its members nominated by the council sit upon the election committee, which nominates all members of the permanent staff of the hospital to the Court of Governors, a nomination which is always followed by appointment. Finally, certain members of the Medical Council are nominated by it to attend the Court of Governors without taking part in the deliberations or votes. Thus is the staff made fully acquainted with all the business of the hospital, and enabled to exercise a due influence therein so far as medical affairs are concerned.

The school, though belonging to the hospital, is almost independent of the governors in all that relates to its administration.

On September 17, 1834, a "meeting of medical officers and lecturers" was held in the Anatomical Museum. The senior physician, Dr. Hue, was requested to take the chair, and the junior physician, Dr. Roupell, to act as secretary. Occasional informal conferences of physicians and surgeons may have taken place earlier, but this was the first formal meeting for the discussion of school affairs. The custom of holding this meeting with the same form—"a meeting of medical officers and lecturers"¹—has continued to the present time. At the first meeting ten medical officers and lecturers attended: Dr. Hue, Dr. Roupell, Mr. Lawrence, Mr. Stanley, Dr. Frederick Farre, Dr. Burrows, Dr. Ashburner, Mr. Wormald, Mr. Earle, Mr. Owen. Of these all but the last have already been mentioned as members of the staff. Mr. Owen, who had been a pupil of Abernethy in 1825, was the first lecturer on Comparative Anatomy, long known throughout England as Professor Owen, and who ended his days as Sir Richard Owen, dwelling in a pleasant house granted to him by the Crown in Richmond Park. He held the office of lecturer on Comparative Anatomy from 1829 to June 6, 1835.² He was a man of extraordinary powers of work, of exposition, and of conversation. His first great work was his "Memoir on the Pearly Nautilus," published in 1833.

¹ It is generally given the short title of "Medical School Committee."

² Lectures seem to have been delivered at the request of the staff at first and to bring this into due order by approval of the governors, Owen was nominated October 14, 1834.

This was the greatest monograph on an animal which had appeared in England since Dr. Edward Tyson's "*Orang outang sive Homo sylvestris*" in 1699. It at once placed Owen in the front rank of his department of science. He went to Paris, he told me, before he had quite finished the dissection, and there attended a meeting of the Academy of Sciences, where by a curious chance a discussion took place between Cuvier and Geoffroy St. Hilaire on the Pearly Nautilus and the Cephalopoda. Cuvier expressed the view that the Cephalopoda were a molluscan group standing by themselves, while St. Hilaire thought they approached the Vertebrata. Owen thought within himself, "My Memoir will settle this." When he came home he could not find the dissection. He had carefully hidden the specimen and could not remember where. The suspicion crossed his mind that someone had abstracted the Nautilus and would publish the monograph. At last he found his dissection under a small staircase where he had himself hidden it, finished the Memoir, and sent it to Cuvier; but when it reached Paris the great comparative anatomist was dead. Owen, when I was elected lecturer on Comparative Anatomy, most kindly wrote and invited me to visit him any Sunday I liked. One Sunday I found him, obviously depressed, in his garden in Richmond Park, and ventured to try and cheer him. "How would you like," he said, "to be called a *Struldbrug*?" Huxley, it seems, had applied to him the name of those

horrible people in Laputa who could not die, and lived on, more hated every year. I replied that I should not care in the least. He soon recovered his equanimity, and talked cheerfully on the anatomy of the sunfish. His old age was embittered by controversies the origin of which was generally his desire for too large a share of fame, sometimes, indeed, for fame which justly belonged to others. But for this defect, as Huxley's generous summary of his work and Flower's admirable biography¹ of him show, Owen would have been treated during life as the venerable chief of his branch of science in England, and would have ever after been mentioned with honour for the great additions which he made to knowledge, for the ingenuity of many of his hypotheses, and for his power of interesting the public of his time in his subject. He was certainly the most remarkable of the ten men who sat round the table at the first meeting of the medical officers and lecturers of St. Bartholomew's.² This meeting has continued to the present day, and is the executive body of the school. Three was fixed as the quorum, but the meetings have always been well attended. The minutes³ have been preserved, duly signed by the chairman (the senior person present) as the first proceeding of each meeting.

¹ Dictionary of National Biography.

² Owen's successors as lecturers on Comparative Anatomy were: 1835, Dr. Arthur Farre; 1839, A. M. McWhinnie; 1860, Holmes Coote; 1862, G. W. Callender; 1865, Dr. W. S. Church; 1874, Dr. Norman Moore; 1886, Dr. T. W. Shore.

³ Volume I. extends from September 17, 1834, to August 8, 1843. Meetings at this period were already held not less often than once a month. A resolution of 1857

There are no allusions to the revenue or to the expenses of the school during the nine years of the first minute-book and very few to any pecuniary transactions, the only important one being that on July 11, 1843, it was resolved that students should be admitted to all the lectures of the school on paying 50 guineas.¹ The earliest school balance-sheet which I have seen occurs in a later volume of minutes.² It was presented to the meeting of medical officers and lecturers by James Paget, and is written with his usual precision and neatness. The total sum received in the year was £5707, 14s. 7½d., and the more important items show its general distribution. The physicians received through the apothecary for medical practice £699, and the surgeons through their senior £1407. Paget as lecturer on Physiology received £685, and the lecturer on Anatomy £579. Two lecturers on Chemistry and Natural Philosophy together received £405, and the Lecturer on Materia Medica £262.

The other important payments were: the lecturer on Surgery £396, on Medicine £407, on Midwifery £275, on Botany £151, on Medical Jurisprudence

provided that they should be held at least on the second Saturday of October, December, March, May, and July. The habit of going out of town on Saturday was not then as well established as later. It ultimately led to the alteration of the meeting day to Wednesday.

¹ 165 guineas are now paid in lieu of all fees.

² April 8, 1850, to May 14, 1869. I have never seen the intervening volume 1843-1850. When I was honorary secretary of the school I inquired about it, and Sir Thomas Smith told me that he had reason to believe that it was mislaid by Mr. Luther Holden, who was honorary secretary in 1859-1860.

£154, and on Comparative Anatomy £15. The school paid no demonstrators or tutors, the former being paid small sums by the lecturers, who also contributed to the account for care of the theatres. Other school expenses were less than £250. The surgeons, besides their practice fees, also received directly considerable sums as fees from their dressers. The assistant physicians and surgeons received nothing. The principle then and long after laid down was that the juniors must work in their youth and would receive payment later in life. It made their career a hard one, one of continuing uncertainty, such as is described by Spenser in his *Prosopopoeia* :

“To have thy asking, yet waite manie yeeres ;
To fret thy soul with crosses and with cares ;
To eat thy heart through comfortless dispaies.”

At length, perhaps after ten years, as tutor, demonstrator, or lecturer, the gold had been enough tried in the fire. The competitor won his race and was appointed assistant physician or assistant surgeon. He came home and said to his wife, “Now shall we live happy ever after,” and so took up the continuation of his career and generally attained the success he deserved as a physician or a surgeon. From the school, however, he received no large emolument unless he held one of the important lectureships, till he became physician or surgeon. In 1850 the income of the school

was about £5700, in 1860 it was over £7000, and in 1872 over £8700. Between 1880 and 1885 it once nearly reached £20,000. The total number of students at work in the school in 1851 was 230, and in 1870, 229. The average in the twenty years from 1851 was 217. In 1871 the average rose to 353, and for the next three years it was 447. During the succeeding eight years the number was twice (in 1881 and 1882) 560, with an average of 539. From that period till 1913 the average was 477; but an examination of the number of students who took their whole period of study at St. Bartholomew's shows that the number was greater between 1880 and 1890 than at any other recorded time. In 1880 the number of such students was 143, and in 1881 171. In the latter year in addition 20 students entered for particular courses. During the last twenty years the number of full students has grown less, a change due to the organisation of medical study and particularly of the preliminary and intermediate studies at Cambridge and the similar growth in the modern universities of England. These changes can never permanently affect St. Bartholomew's or London as places in which medicine and surgery in all their branches will be pursued.

On the death of Mr. Callender in 1879 the arrangements as to the division of fees were altered, and some remuneration was given to the assistant physicians and surgeons for their teaching in the out-patient rooms and at the same time a considerable increase was made

in the expenditure upon the school. The whole sum received was divided into shares, of which definite numbers were allotted to each physiciancy, surgeoncy, or lectureship. In 1881 the value of a share was £145. The museum, the library, and other buildings were rebuilt, and it was agreed to pay a definite sum of £750 every year to the governors in consideration of this reconstruction and for the use of the building, and it was also agreed that an addition to this sum should be made for any further structural improvements. Following the example of Cambridge, the school has lately accepted a grant from the Board of Education. Apart from this, which had not then been granted, its income, derived from students' fees, was £10,099, 3s. 6d. in the year ending September 30, 1914, up to which the income of the school had been entirely due to the exertions of its teachers.¹

In 1828 the lectureships were five in number: Anatomy and Physiology, Theory and Practice of Medicine, Theory and Practice of Surgery, Chemistry and Materia Medica, Midwifery.²

In 1834, besides the physicians and surgeons to the hospital who taught in the wards, and amongst whom were undertaken the lectureships on Medicine, Clinical Medicine, Materia Medica,³ Surgery, Clinical

¹ Reports for the year 1913-14 from those Universities and University Colleges in Great Britain which are in receipt of grants from the Board of Education.

² The series of lecturers in Midwifery is given in chapter xxvii.

³ Dr. Hue resigned April 8, 1834, and Dr. Roupell was elected. He was succeeded

Surgery, Anatomy, Forensic Medicine,¹ Midwifery, Botany² and Chemistry, there were two other lecturers, one on Comparative Anatomy and one on Physics. Dr. Thomas Griffiths was the lecturer on Physics.³ Dr. Hue resigned the lectureship on Chemistry, August 19, 1836. The lecturers on Chemistry had up to this date been physicians, but from this time chemists were elected, men whose names were famous in their branch of science, Brand, Stenhouse, Frankland, Abel. Then Dr. Odling, who had taken a medical degree but was altogether devoted to chemistry, was elected. He became Professor at Oxford, where he still survives, being also the senior fellow but one of the Royal College of Physicians.

In 1868 Augustus Matthiessen became Odling's assistant lecturer, and in 1870 his successor. In the summer of the Franco-German war he had two private pupils. One had worked at chemistry in Strasburg

by Dr. F. J. Farre in 1844, who lectured till 1876. Dr. Lauder Brunton was coadjutor of Dr. Farre, and succeeded him and became to *Materia Medica* at St. Bartholomew's what Vesalius was to Anatomy at the revival of learning.

¹ Dr. George Burrows (vol. ii. p. 558) was the first lecturer, and was succeeded by Dr. Arthur Farre in 1838, Dr. Baly (1841), Dr. Black (1855), Dr. Martin (1861), Dr. Edwards (1863), Dr. Southey (1868), Dr. Hensley (1883), Dr. Herringham (1904), Dr. R. A. Lyster (1912).

² The lectureship in Botany was founded in 1831-32. Dr. F. J. Farre was the first lecturer. He resigned November 9, 1854, and was then succeeded by Dr. Kirkes, and he by Dr. Francis Harris, who held the office till 1866, when he was succeeded by the Rev. George Henslow, son of the famous Professor Henslow, who lectured till Botany ceased to be part of the medical curriculum in London.

³ Among his successors were Dr. Robert Martin (vol. ii. p. 568), Mr. Mitchell a mathematical vicar, Dr. P. J. Hensley a high wrangler (vol. ii. p. 583), William Graham, M.A. (Trinity College, Dublin) the moral philosopher, author of "Idealism" and "The Creed of Science," and, to the period of this book, Frederick Womack, M.B., B.Sc. (London).

till a shell passed through a house in which he was lodging, and I was the other. Matthiessen had carried out not long before an investigation of the alkaloids contained in opium, and talked of their curious properties. He seemed always to have something fresh on hand, one day experiments for standardising the elasticity of indiarubber, on another methods for estimating the sweetness of sugar. A year before he had received a royal medal from the Royal Society "for his researches on the electric and chemical properties of metals and their alloys." A partly paralysed right hand did not prevent him from the most exact weighing and measuring. He talked now and then of growing rich by chemistry, and for the rest impressed us as great in chemistry and the parts of physics allied to it. One morning the laboratory attendant found him dead in his arm-chair; on the table beside him an empty bottle of seltzer-water and a partly emptied test tube of prussic acid. Dr. Gee examined his body and found a quantity of morphia as well as some prussic acid in his stomach. He often stayed late in the laboratory, and had ended his days by one last contribution to knowledge: that even after so large a dose of prussic acid a man had time to put down the glass on the table beside him. Why he killed himself is unknown. He may not have known that the infantile paralysis which had crippled his hand was no indication of any future liability to paralysis, and may have been seized with the appren-

sion of some such attack. I have seen men who required a good deal of careful explanation before they could be convinced out of such a frame of mind.

Dr. W. J. Russell, elected F.R.S. in 1872, was the next lecturer, and held office till 1897. A biography by Dr. Samuel West in the St. Bartholomew's Hospital Reports for 1910 gives the details of Russell's numerous and important chemical investigations and publications. Throughout his quarter of a century of work in the school he was deservedly popular. He died November 12, 1910. Dr. Chattaway succeeded him in 1897, and was followed in 1906 by the present lecturer, Dr. W. H. Hurlley.

In the year 1911-12 the number of lecturers had increased to nearly forty, with about the same number of demonstrators. In 1913-14 there were 71 teachers, 44 of whom were on the governing body of the school.¹

The establishment of house physicians in 1868 was a most important step in the training of both physicians and of general practitioners, and a further measure which chiefly affected the training of physicians was the institution of Casualty Physicians. These officers were from the first required to be Members of the Royal College of Physicians, a proof that they intended to practise as physicians and had continued their studies to the age of twenty-five. The first four were appointed

¹ The names of lecturers and other teachers are printed in the Annual Calendar.

without limit of time, the subsequent appointments were for two years only. All had of course taken university degrees.¹

The lecturers on Medicine have all been physicians or assistant physicians to the hospital, and till it was agreed that all the physicians should take part in the duties of the lectureship it was usual to have two

¹ The following shows the date of appointment and university of each Casualty Physician. If he was subsequently knighted he is described by his later title.

1870-74	Dr. W. A. Hollis : Cantab.	1891	Dr. Bedford Pierce : Lond.
1870-78	Dr. Wickham Legg : Lond.	1892-93	Dr. E. Cautley : Cantab.
1870-71	Sir Richard Thorne Thorne : Lond.	1892	Dr. Gow : Lond.
1871-74	Sir Thomas Lauder Brunton, Bt. : Edin.	1893-94	Dr. H. M. Bowman : Lond.
1875-76	Dr. F. De Haviland Hall : Lond.	"	Dr. H. Morley Fletcher : Cantab.
"	Dr. Norman Moore : Cantab.	1894-95	Dr. C. H. Roberts : Lond.
1877-78	Dr. Robert Bridges : Oxon.	1895-96	Dr. J. H. Drysdale : Cantab.
"	Sir Francis Champneys, Bt. : Oxon.	"	Dr. P. Horton Smith Hartley : Cantab.
1879-80	Dr. Vincent Dormer Harris : Lond.	1897-98	Dr. F. Batten : Cantab.
"	Dr. J. A. Ormerod : Oxon.	"	Dr. J. A. Hayward : Lond.
"	Dr. S. West : Oxon.	1898-99	Dr. Jobson Horne : Cantab.
1881-82	Dr. Percy Kidd : Oxon.	1899-1900	Dr. T. J. Horder : Lond.
"	Dr. S. Nall : Cantab.	1900-01	Dr. Langdon Brown : Cantab.
"	Dr. H. H. Tooth : Cantab.	1901-02	Dr. J. H. Thursfield : Oxon.
1883 (died)	Dr. D. A. King : Lond.	1902-03	Dr. Rivière : Lond.
1883-84	Sir W. P. Herringham : Oxon.	1903-04	Dr. Bainbridge : Cantab.
"	Dr. W. E. Steavenson : Cantab.	1904 (died)	Dr. Talbot : Cantab.
1885	Dr. Haig : Oxon.	1905-06	Dr. W. P. S. Branson : Cantab.
1885-86	Dr. A. Davies : Cantab.	1906	Dr. Hinds Howell : Oxon.
"	Dr. J. B. Nias : Oxon.	1907-08	Dr. B. Hudson : Cantab.
1886-87	Dr. Oswald Browne : Cantab.	"	Dr. Pritchard : Lond.
1887-88	Dr. A. E. Garrod : Oxon.	1909-10	Dr. Haldin Davis : Oxon.
"	Dr. H. L. Jones : Cantab.	"	Dr. Woodwark : Lond.
1888-89	Dr. S. H. Habershon : Cantab.	1911	Dr. Cockayne : Oxon.
1889-90	Dr. Calvert : Lond.	1911-12	Dr. A. E. Gow : Lond.
"	Dr. Tylden : Oxon.	1912-13	Dr. Stansfeld : Cantab.
1890-91	Dr. Hamer : Cantab.	1913-14	Dr. Hamill : Cantab.
1891-92	Dr. F. W. Andrewes : Oxon.	1914-15	Dr. Graham : Cantab.
		1915-16	Dr. Feiling : Cantab.
		1916	Dr. Trevan : Lond.

lecturers, each lecturing for three months, who divided the subject between them.¹

All the surgeons now take part in the lectures on Surgery, but before this division was instituted there had been fourteen lecturers,² if Percivall Pott may be counted the first. Abernethy, Lawrence, and Savory lectured for many years without colleagues, the rest all had colleagues throughout their period of lecturing.

The lectureship on Descriptive and Surgical Anatomy was from the time of Abernethy held by a surgeon or assistant surgeon till Christopher Addison, M.D., F.R.C.S., a pure anatomist, was appointed in 1907. It seemed possible that he might raise a school of anatomists, but a different career opened to him. He entered Parliament as member for Hoxton, and has rapidly become a member of the Government and a privy councillor.

¹ Dr. Hue (vol. ii. p. 552) seems to have been the first regularly appointed lecturer on Medicine. Dr. P. M. Latham (vol. ii. p. 553) succeeded him and was followed by George Burrows (1836-60). In 1855 Dr. William Baly was associated in the lectureship, and in 1860 Dr. Kirkes, with whom in 1861 Dr. P. Black lectured and continued for seventeen years. Dr. Andrew was appointed in 1864 on the death of Kirkes. Duckworth was the next lecturer; then Gee, 1878-93. Gonville and Caius College in 1893 celebrated the tercentenary of the entrance of Harvey there. I was invited as a successor of Harvey, and Sir Thomas Smith as representing the surgeons of St. Bartholomew's, and just before we went in to dinner he told me that I had been nominated to succeed Dr. Gee as lecturer on Medicine. The occasion and the kind words in which the announcement was made both gave me great pleasure. When Sir Dyce Duckworth retired Dr. S. West became my colleague.

² 1761-87	Percivall Pott	1889-95	Alfred Willett
1787-1829	John Abernethy	1889-1902	Howard Marsh
1829-62	William Lawrence	1895-97	Henry Trentham Butlin
1862-72	Holmes Coote	1897-1903	William Johnson Walsham
1865-69	James Paget	1902-06	Anthony Alfred Bowlby
1869-89	William Scovell Savory	1903-12	William Bruce Clarke
1872-79	George William Callender	1906	D'Arcy Power

An assistant demonstrator of anatomy in 1884, Sir William Job Collins, after a distinguished career in the London University, became chairman of the London County Council and sat in Parliament for West St. Pancras. These two very able teachers of anatomy are the only members of Parliament which the school of St. Bartholomew's has produced. The dissecting-room over which the lecturers on anatomy presided was for a long time the training ground for those students who proposed to become hospital surgeons. Such men first passed the difficult anatomical and surgical examinations necessary for admission as Fellows of the Royal College of Surgeons of England, and then showed their capacity for teaching as demonstrators or assistant demonstrators of anatomy. The development of pathology has led intending surgeons to make that subject the work of their earlier years, and to spend much less time in the dissecting-room than their predecessors.

The education of students at St. Bartholomew's in the time of Abernethy was altogether in the hands of the staff of the hospital, and surgeons took a larger part in it than physicians, probably because their apprentices formed a constant nucleus in the school, and because anatomy, the preparatory subject to which the student gave most time, came naturally into the work of the surgeons. Anatomy and Physiology were at first included in one lectureship, and when they became separated each lectureship retained the word Anatomy in

its title, one being called "Descriptive and Surgical Anatomy" and the other "General Anatomy and Physiology," and both courses of instruction were given by surgeons.

The long title of "General Anatomy and Physiology" was given to the lectureship in Physiology. It was retained by the surgical side of the school. Paget and Savory held it in succession, and their carefully prepared lectures secured the attention of students; though neither lecturer, nor any of their predecessors, were in the modern sense physiologists or wished to be thought anything but surgeons. Marrant Baker followed their example, but with him was associated Dr. Emanuel Klein, an admirable teacher of histology who communicated to his pupils a sound method of microscopic observation, the art of describing precisely what they saw in the section before them. A physiological laboratory was then founded, with demonstrators and assistant demonstrators. At the next vacancy a pure physiologist was appointed lecturer, Dr. J. S. Edkins, who has been succeeded by another physiologist, Dr. Francis Arthur Bainbridge.

Chemistry had been encouraged as a part of study in the university at Trinity College, Cambridge, by the illustrious Bentley, while Boerhaave at Leyden had established it as a part of the medical curriculum, and through his teaching it had come to flourish in Scotland. Both Cullen and Black had been professors of medicine

and chemistry. Priestley, Cavendish, and Sir Humphry Davy in England had made their science famous, while its relation to the arts rapidly made men perceive what a vast and important subject it was. It became clear that a chemical lecturer must be wholly devoted to his subject, and from 1836, as has already been mentioned, a chemist with proper laboratory and appliances was appointed to teach at St. Bartholomew's.

Anatomy and Physiology have now for their chief exponents an anatomist and a physiologist who intend always to be engaged in those branches of knowledge.

A physicist is chosen to teach Physics, and a biologist teaches in its modern form the subject called by Cuvier, Comparative Anatomy.

The former teacher of these subjects wished to be a first-rate surgeon or was filling up his time till he should be called on to teach medicine. He thought of these subjects in their relation to his true profession, and so taught them to students who had a similar object to his own in pursuing them. It was not the highest order of special teaching, but it was useful. If the pure anatomist and pure physiologist study not merely their own subjects but the art of teaching them to medical students, then the new lecturers will be better than the old.

From the beginning of the school, as has been shown in relation to Midwifery, there has been a

continuous creation of lectureships or of other methods of instruction in fresh subjects as these have arisen. Thus lectureships on Chemical Pathology,¹ Ophthalmic Surgery, Mental Diseases,² and Public Health³ have been established.

The more the history of the school is investigated the more clear does the constant growth of a wise and liberal desire to improve it appear. Lectureships and demonstratorships have been freely established, laboratories and all methods of study constantly improved.

One effort for the improvement of the school in another direction deserves to be recorded.

In July 1843 the houses standing between the east wing and the street then known as Duke Street, earlier as Duck or Doke Lane, and now included in Little Britain, were converted into a college of over twenty sets of rooms in which students might reside. A college hall was constructed and a house arranged for the residence of the warden. James Paget was appointed to this office. The hall was hung with pictures of some of the great men of St. Bartholomew's. One side of the college looks into a street associated with great names in English literature—Dryden and Swift, Addison and Garth. As you walk southwards in the street you see the magnificent dome of the cathedral built by Wren on the site of that of St. Eadconwald, bishop of the East Saxons. As you walk northwards you come to the west

¹ Dr. Garrod.

² Dr. Claye Shaw, Dr. Robert Armstrong Jones.

³ Sir R. Thorne Thorne, Dr. Hamer, Sir George Newman.

door of St. Bartholomew's the Great, the oldest ecclesiastical edifice now standing in the city of London. On the other side are the buildings and quadrangle of the hospital.

The situation is worthy of a college, and if there have been some students who were unaffected by such surroundings, they yet saw the advantages of living in such close proximity to their hospital work. At that period, and for about forty years later, most students attended as many operations as they could, and those in college had a special advantage, as a box carrier or porter used to shout "operation" up every staircase when such an event took place at night. Perhaps some benefactor may yet appear who will cause a handsome building to rise where the present college stands, and will thus increase the love of the place and the important educational effects which students have upon one another. Everything of which it may be said

Emollit mores, nec sinit esse feros

is of course of importance to students, and of not less importance to the patients with whom the students come in contact.

When Paget resigned the wardenship¹ he wrote: "I

¹ The succession of Wardens is:

1843 James Paget, F.R.C.S.	1891 Thomas William Shore, M.D. Lond.
1851 Patrick Black, M.D. Oxon.	1898 James Calvert, M.D. Lond.
1856 Robert Martin, M.D. Cantab.	1903 William Douglas Harmer, M.C.
1861 James Andrew, M.D. Oxon.	Cantab.
1865 Alfred Willett, F.R.C.S.	1906 George Ernest Gask, F.R.C.S.
1867 William Marrant Baker, F.R.C.S.	1911 R.B. Etherington Smith, M.B. Cantab.
1874 Norman Moore, M.D. Cantab.	1913 William Girling Ball, F.R.C.S.

II.

5 M

hoped that I might be permitted to spend my life in it." There is a charm about the college in spite of its unadorned exterior which other Wardens and many students have felt, a feeling which ought to be strengthened and encouraged by all that architecture can do. The foundation of the college is one of the many examples of the thoughtfulness of the governors of the hospital in relation to the great trust of which they have charge.

The chief authority as regards the college is a Collegiate Committee, originally consisting of Governors, the Vicar of the parish, and the Warden, which meets once a year and to which the Warden reports. Thus the college has an existence separate from the school. A very much needed restaurant for students has in recent years been established with great advantage, and this has done away with the dining in the college hall and so may have to some extent weakened the social influence of the college. On the other hand, the organisation of the Students Athletic Clubs with their fine Union Recreation Ground at Winchmore Hill has done a good deal to make up for this.

The Abernethian Society is the most ancient of the students' societies. It was founded in 1795 as "The Medical and Philosophical Society of St. Bartholomew's Hospital," and its first president was John Abernethy. Its first minute-book has been lost, and the first meeting of which the minutes are extant is that of April 30,

1799, when James Macartney¹ the anatomist, then a teacher in the school, was in the chair. On October 1, 1799, Abernethy presided, and talked as he often did of Percivall Pott for whom he had a warm admiration, and related cases. On November 25, 1800, Abernethy read a paper on the heart, which shows that he had observed the hypertrophy of the left ventricle with which we are now familiar in certain forms of chronic renal disease. Macartney discussed the production of light by insects, December 16, 1800. William Lawrence read a paper on hydatids of the liver, December 1, 1801, and on October 4, 1803, on varieties of the human species. The president at this time used to sit in "Mr. Pott's old chair." There was a discussion on hydrophobia in 1808, and the comparative rarity of the disease at that time is shown by the fact that only one member had ever seen a case. Abernethy's ill-health seems to have interrupted the regular meeting of the society. After his death it was resolved, November 23, 1832, "that a society of the medical pupils of this hospital be founded, to be called the Abernethian Society, and that the gentlemen present be enrolled as the founders of the same." The records of the former meetings were given to the reconstituted society, which has met regularly ever since. Arthur Farre, George Paget, James Paget,

¹ He was Abernethy's demonstrator of Anatomy in 1798, and gave lectures in the school between 1800 and 1811. A good account of his original work in Comparative Anatomy and Pathology is given in a Memoir of James Macartney by Professor Alexander Macalister of Cambridge. London, 1900.

Charles West, William Senhouse Kirkes, Luther Holden, Savory, and many other past and present members of the staff, have taken part as students, and in their early professional life, in the discussions of this society.

On October 30, 1845, James Paget delivered an address on the fiftieth anniversary of the formation of the society. At the end of that address he said that "he should rejoice if this society in its fiftieth year should begin with renewed vigour, and still more if all present should meet this time fifty years to celebrate the full centenary." The centenary was celebrated May 1, 1895, when I delivered an address which was attended by two men who had been at the fiftieth anniversary, Sir James Paget and Mr. John Abernethy Kingdon. At this centenary meeting the chair was occupied by the president of the society, Mr. Ernest William Cross, who was born within the hospital enclosure and has just (July 1916) been appointed senior administrator of anæsthetics to the hospital.

Another influence which, in addition to the Abernethian Society and the Students' Union clubs, tends to keep up and increase the strong corporate feeling at St. Bartholomew's, is the "St. Bartholomew's Hospital Journal," which is the property of the Union. It began in October 1893, and is a monthly periodical which in the variety and excellence of its contents is highly creditable to the Union.

Before this Journal, which contains both original

papers and hospital news, was established, the only corporate publications of the school were the annual volumes entitled "St. Bartholomew's Hospital Reports," edited by members of the staff, a physician and a surgeon, and containing original papers, pathological, clinical, and historical. The earlier existence of the admirable Guy's Hospital Reports was the cause of the publication of these volumes, which began in 1865, underwent a slight change of form and binding in 1874, and a second change in 1914.

These periodical publications, with the calendar which appears annually, the Pharmacopœia which is issued every few years, and the Treasurer's Annual Report and the Statistical Tables printed each year in the Hospital Reports, form an almost complete contemporary chronicle of the Medical School and the Hospital.

Every ancient foundation in England has appointed feasts which help to keep its members in touch with one another, and St. Bartholomew's is not defective in this respect. In December of every year a dinner of the medical officers and lecturers has long been held. The Warden of the college arranges the dinner, which is held at a tavern or other public dining place. The chair is taken by a member of the staff nominated by the meeting of medical officers and lecturers. Abernethy's cup goes round. The king's health is drunk. The chairman proposes the toast of the school. One other toast is always received with enthusiasm—that

of the men chosen to an office for the first time in the past year. Each rises in turn and makes a reply, and thus often shows what manner of man he is to his colleagues. The health of the Warden and his reply conclude the speeches,¹ and then cards were played. Thirty years ago leave had to be obtained from the police to play till 2 A.M., but later times are more decorous and the meeting now dissolves at or before midnight.

A school dinner of another kind is held in the Great Hall on or near October the first. To it all former students are invited and some member of the staff or alumnus who has become famous is in the chair. Till recent times a View day dinner and a July dinner also took place in the Great Hall. At the former the Treasurer and Governors were the hosts, and at the latter twelve stewards chosen from among the Governors gave the Buck feast as it was called.

Many other passages in the history of the school have been related in the chapters on the physicians and surgeons to the hospital. It would be easy to write a volume more on the deeds of its students. Thomas Young was advised as to his literary studies by Burke, and received counsel as to his scientific and medical studies from his relative, Dr. Richard Brocklesby. He came to St. Bartholomew's and did credit to both

¹ In more recent years an annual statement of the progress of the school by the Dean has been intercalated.

advisers. He originated the undulatory theory of light and interpreted the hieroglyphics of Égypt, and his medical writings though of a less high flight were worthy of his time. John Hunter, great, stern, untiring discoverer, studied at St. Bartholomew's.

Bridges has been distinguished in his own language as Poet Laureate. Edward Granville Browne has become professor of Arabic at Cambridge, while George Ranking teaches Persian at Oxford, and these were here too. Four heads of houses from St. Bartholomew's have flourished by the Cam—Anderson, Master of Gonville and Caius, Shipley of Christ's, Hill of Downing, and Marsh of Downing. The restorers of medicine at Cambridge, Sir George Edward Paget and Sir George Murray Humphry, were both thought remarkable at St. Bartholomew's.

Sir Thomas Watson, the chief physician of his time, wrote the first good text book of medicine in English, excellent in its style and the better as an introduction to the subject because it made no attempt to describe everything. He was a student at St. Bartholomew's. So were that brilliant star of the court circle of his period yet faithful friend of the College of Physicians, Sir Henry Hallford, and that physician of society who had travelled so far and made his travels interesting to everyone, Sir Henry Holland, and Sir Benjamin Brodie, a surgeon spoken of as a philosopher and admitted into the world of letters.

In the year 1863-4 the President of the College of Physicians, Dr. Thomas Watson ; of the College of Surgeons, Mr. Skey ; of the General Medical Council, Dr. Burrows ; of the Royal Medical and Chirurgical Society, Mr. Partridge ; and the Master of the Society of Apothecaries, Mr. Combe ; had all been pupils of Abernethy at St. Bartholomew's.

Nor have the favourites of the athletic world failed to love the place.

Etherington Smith of Cambridge has been mentioned. A great oar from Oxford preceded him at St. Bartholomew's, Samuel Dukinfield Darbishire of Balliol. He was stroke of the Oxford University boat and was also stroke of the Oxford four in the race against Harvard. He became house surgeon at St. Bartholomew's, and after a time married and set up in practice at Oxford. I wish he had written the book he once projected on the muscles used in rowing and on the art itself, for he had thought much on the subject and had a pleasant wit which would have made his book readable. His physical frame was so well proportioned that his great muscular strength was not obvious till his muscles were seen in action. He had one curious muscular peculiarity, a great power of voluntary motion in his external ears.

One great hero of the cricket field, William Gilbert Grace, was a student of St. Bartholomew's. He was born at Downend in Gloucestershire, July 18, 1848, qualified in 1879, practised in Bristol till 1899, and died

October 23, 1915. He was a tall and massive man, with a great black beard. He was pre-eminent as a bat and great as a bowler, and for very many years was one of the most admired cricketers of his time.

Besides these prominent men in widely different positions, others of value in innumerable towns large and small throughout England and some well-known teachers, like Professor Rolleston of Oxford, Sir William Turner, Professor of Anatomy at Edinburgh, Professor Milnes Marshall of Manchester, and Sir Jonathan Hutchinson, have been students of St. Bartholomew's. A St. Bartholomew's dinner in Calcutta or in Cairo brings together many men of the same memories and affections. Some have explored the ends of the earth: Arthur Horner made voyages to the Arctic regions with Leigh Smith and Allen Young, Eric Stewart Marshall to the Antarctic circle with Shackleton, and George Murray Levick with Scott. Francis Henry Hill Guillemard investigated the natural history of tropical regions, New Guinea and Central Africa, William Halse Rivers the anthropology, psychology, and tribal customs of many parts of the world, and Charles Samuel Myers the psychology and the music of savages.

Then there are many men who have been content to be profoundly useful to their time in country districts, and who without any stars on their coats have been supporters of science and examples of sound work in medicine and surgery. All this in time of peace.

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In time of war great and noble men have come forth. Harry Frederick Whitchurch won the Victoria Cross at Chitral in 1895, and Captain John Leslie Green in the present war. In this war the services of the staff, headed by Sir Wilmot Herringham and Sir Anthony Bowlby, can never be forgotten ; nor those of so many others who came from St. Bartholomew's, whence during the first two years of the war fourteen hundred and seventy-five men went into the field. In the service of scientific discovery, of geographical research, of every kind of learning, of mankind in general, of the poor of London in particular, of our king and country, the school of St. Bartholomew's has played a great part and earned everlasting fame.



SMITHFIELD GATE.

XXXII

THE PRESENT BUILDINGS



THE great gate in the middle of the Smithfield front of the hospital bears upon it the inscription: "This front was rebuilt anno 1702 in the first year of Queen Anne: Sir William Pritchard Knight and Alderman President: John Nicoll Esq. Treasurer." On the course above this inscription are the words, "Founded by Rahere," and a date.¹

The founder's name could not have a more appropriate place, for this has been the original way into the hospital from his time to our own. Through a gate on this spot Rahere himself and Thomas of St. Osyth's and Henry Fitz Ailwin, the first Mayor of London, and all the old masters and brethren and sisters, and Dr. Caius and Sir Thomas Bodley, and Sir Ralph Winwood and Harvey, and all the physicians and surgeons, and numbers of students and countless patients, have come into the hospital and passed out

¹ *Vide supra*, vol. i. p. 16. It is difficult to explain how the date 1102 came to be used, unless by analogy with the date 1702 carved below. The date 1102 was copied in the nineteenth-century inscription over the old surgery at the corner of Duke Street. The "Liber Fundacionis" gives conclusive evidence that 1123 is the true date of foundation. The date 1102 is never mentioned in the "Liber Fundacionis," nor in any other authority.

of it, during nearly eight hundred years. The gate is a good piece of architecture. In a niche over the centre of the archway is a statue of King Henry VIII., with two pillars on each side of it, and an interrupted entablature above bearing two partly recumbent figures of patients. A window is placed between these, and above the ornate canopy of the window is a clock. Three windows on each side flank the statue, central window, and clock, while a fine pediment, supported by two pilasters, and containing the royal arms, completes the design.

The house surgeons in the reign of William IV.,¹ and for some years later, lived in the rooms over this gate, which are now occupied by the beadles. Within the gate, on the left, since the reign of Henry II., has stood a religious building, first called the "Chapel of the Holy Cross," and since its adaption into a parish church for the hospital precinct "the Church of St. Bartholomew the less."

Except some parts of this church, the Smithfield gate is the oldest part of the existing structure of the hospital.

A map of the reign of James I., and an engraving executed after the building of the Smithfield gate, and before the reconstruction of the hospital, which began in 1729, make it easy to understand the old ground plan. Just beyond the church, and to right of the pathway leading into the hospital, stood the great

¹ Journal, July 8, 1834.

hall, which in the earliest times had been the resting-place of the patients. To the left, beyond the church, was the great cloister, and beyond that a smaller cloister. Above the covered pathway of the great cloister were the rooms of the brethren. The sisters perhaps occupied those of the smaller cloister. The church occupied the whole north side of the cloister. The garden of the hospital was to the right, beyond the church and great hall, in the middle of a small quadrangle, three sides of which contained sleeping rooms, originally the dortoir of the brethren, and later occupied by patients, and called Garden-dortoir, or Garden-dorter, or Garden-daughter ward. The east side of this dortoir was occupied by small houses, and outside it, to the south, were two graveyards, one for the patients, the other for the inhabitants, whose dwellings and gardens occupied the whole of the remainder of the area at present used for hospital purposes. As time went on the open spaces became more and more covered with buildings; while from 1549, as the number of patients increased, they had to be found beds in other parts of the ancient hospital, so that the whole was a mixture of buildings of various structure, and without any general plan.

The old lodgings of the Master were near the great cloister, and had a passage to the church, of which the blocked-up doorway in the base of the church tower indicates the situation.

The Smithfield gate, the church, and the road leading to the present quadrangle through the Little Britain gate, are fixed points in the map of the hospital from very early times. The church has a square, cement-covered tower, at the base of which is its door. The rest of the building is at a higher level than the floor of the tower, from which steps lead directly into the nave, and to the left into an ante-chapel. On the west wall is the canopy of a tomb in the late Perpendicular style, probably built for one of the Masters, but now marking the burial-place of John Freke, the surgeon, and his wife. Above this is a coloured window, with figures of the evangelists. Goodwin mentions that he had seen a drawing by Hardwick of another canopied tomb, now covered up in the walls. Before Freke's tomb, on the floor, is the brass of William Markeby, who died July 11, 1439, and Alice his wife.

The outer walls of the church enclose an oblong area, but it has internal, broad-pointed arches so arranged as to form an octagon, with a window on the north and one on the south side. These have featureless tracery, but contain pictures which were designed in his youth by Sir Edward Poynter, President of the Royal Academy, and which are not unworthy successors of those representing the corporal works of mercy, which were placed in the chapel by John Wakeryng in the reign of Henry VI. The modern window on

the south side shows the Raising of Lazarus and the Brazen Serpent, that on the north the Pool of Bethesda and the miracle of the Gate Beautiful. The west wall bears memorial tablets to Mark Morris,¹ the steward, to Vernon,² the ophthalmic surgeon, to Sir James Paget,³ to Dr. Steavenson,⁴ the electrician, and to Henry Earle⁵ and William Marrant Baker,⁶ the surgeons, with a few other inscriptions, a monument to John Darker,⁷ the treasurer, and a marble panel to Mary Owen,⁸ sister of Rahere ward, who died in 1848, and left her savings to the hospital. On the north wall is the simple but finely proportioned monumental panel of Ann, wife of Sir Thomas Bodley.

On the same wall is a deeply incised epitaph for William Hone :

*Ecce sub hoc tumulo Gulielmus conditur Honus :
 Vir justus, verbis integer, atque Deum
 Corde timens : qui cum gilda sit functus in aula :
 Judicis officio peritria lustra probe :
 Cumque palam in templo bis legerat Anglica jura :
 Cunctorum sane non sine laude virum :
 Mors hominem accerseus supremum (dixit) adito
 Cuius eras semper servulus Hone, Deum :
 Sic moritur corpus terræ vermique relinquens
 Scandit at excelsi, sidera mente Poli.
 Hoc posuit conjunx dilecti Jocosa sepulchrum
 Dicta Jocosa licet plena dolore tamen.*

¹ II. 787.⁵ II. 663.² II. 740.⁶ II. 688.³ II. 669.⁷ II. 244, 380.⁴ II. 744.⁸ II. 775.

Tablets commemorating William Ostle, vicar 1878-1907, who died in 1914, and his son, who died in West Africa, 1903, and Emily Polehampton, wife of another vicar, are affixed to the same wall.

The eastern wall adjoining has a brass to a former student, with the inscription :

“His former medical contemporaries at St. Bartholomew's Hospital have set up this tablet to keep in memory the bright example of ARTHUR JERMYN LONDON, Surgeon Army Medical Department, who while continuing to dress the wounded amid a shower of bullets in the action of Majuba Hill, was in turn mortally wounded. His immediate request to his Assistants, ‘I am dying, do what you can for the wounded,’ was characteristic of his unselfish disposition. His habitual life was expressed in the simple grandeur of his death. He was born at Brentwood, Essex, 29 June 1851, and died two days after the action at Mount Prospect, South Africa, 1st March 1881.”

The inscription was written by the Reverend Whitwell Elwin, the editor of Pope. It ought to be added that we afterwards learned that when one of the Boers was found incompetent to give subcutaneous injections of morphia to wounded men who were in pain, Landon had himself propped up, his legs being paralyzed, and carried out his own injunction.

Below Landon's is a tablet to James Shuter,¹ assistant surgeon, whose accidental death has already

¹ II. 699.

been described. In the same line, higher up, are inscriptions recording the death of C. E. M. Morriss, a student drowned in the Ouse, April 4, 1889, and of Diana, wife of Dr. Latham, physician to the hospital. At one side is the tablet of the Reverend Samuel Wix,¹ vicar for fifty-three years, who died September 4, 1861, and on the other that of his wife Frances, who died ten years before him. Joshua Kenworthy, who died May 8, 1815, has also a tablet in this part of the church. To the west of this wall is an alabaster pulpit, the gift of Philip Hardwick in 1864. Near the opening of the apse is a brass with a Latin inscription, dated 1823, recording the restoration of the church and preservation of its ancient tower under the presidency of Sir James Shaw, Bt., and vicariate of Samuel Wix, A.M., F.R.S. On the opposite jamb is another brass, stating that Thomas Courtenay Warner in 1824 put up the coloured windows in the apse. The organ fills up nearly the whole of the angle, and conceals the fine monument of Serjeant Balthrope, the medallion of Mary Darker, who died in 1773, and the record of the Reverend Samuel Kettilby, vicar from 1773 to 1808.

A hemihexagonal apse decorated with coloured marble opens in the middle of the east wall, and has windows of coloured glass with small inserted pictures.

¹ II. 161, List of Vicars.

The church was remodelled¹ in 1789 by George Dance,¹ who left within a coating of compo the old walls, the vestibule, and the tower. Within the walls he built an octagon of wood. This became infected by dry rot, and was rebuilt in stone and iron by Thomas Hardwick in 1823, as is recorded in an inscription on a brass plate upon the wall.

Eight pieces of plate belonging to this church are preserved. A *small silver bell* is perhaps the oldest. Two are of the reign of Charles I.: a *chalice*, bearing the hospital arms, "The | gifte of | John Jones Citizen | and Marchanttailor | of London anno | 1639"; and a *larger chalice and paten*, "St. Bartholomew the lesse 1645." Four belong to the reign of Charles II.: a *paten*, "Given by the Parishioners of St. Bartholomew the lesse: London 1679, William Phillips, Nathanuell Browne churchwardens"; a *large chalice and paten*, "St. Bartholomew the lesse 1682," and on the paten "Danti in occulto reddat Deus in propatulo"; a *large flagon*, "This Silver Flagon for ye Comunion Table was made out of two small Silver Flagons that weare old and decayed and belonged to the Parishoners and Parish Church of Saint Bartholomew the Less London Añō Domini 1683"; a *silver dish*, with a repoussé border

¹ Surveyor to the hospital, elected in 1780. The surveyor in early times was a governor chosen to advise his brethren. Later he became, like the solicitor, a professional adviser of the governing body. Besides George Dance, Thomas (1809), Philip (1827), and Philip Charles (1856) Hardwick, Edward and Edward Blakeway l'Anson were the chief men who acted as surveyors. The elder l'Anson erected the new school buildings, the younger the new out-patient rooms.

of cherubs and flowers. On it is a coat of arms supported by two salvage men, and showing a saltire and a chief gules with a canton bearing a lion rampant. Below is the motto *Fuimus*, and the inscription, "Given as a legacy by the Right Hon. Robert late Earl of Aylisbury to the Parish of St. Bartholomew the Less London 1686; William Orme Vicar; Arthur Tuck, William Allinton, churchwardens." *Another large flagon*, containing a perforated spoon, has no inscription. A fine chandelier of the Empire style was formerly in the ante-chapel, and is now hung in the apse.

Opposite the church door is the Pathological Laboratory, which has already been described. A lofty building with a central archway crosses the path into the hospital. Passing through it you enter the great court of the hospital, a dignified square, composed of four separate piles of building. It was designed by James Gibbs, who generously gave to the hospital all his work as architect, and deserves a high place among our benefactors. He was born near Aberdeen, and received his education¹ there, first in the grammar school and then in Marischal College, where he graduated M.A. He then went to Italy and pursued the study of architecture in Rome. Thence he returned in 1709, and soon after began upon the churches, houses, and monuments which still exist

¹ II. 754.

to show his good taste and make him well known in London, Oxford, and Cambridge. The graceful church of St. Mary le Strand was one of his first buildings, and later he built St. Martin's in the Fields. Matthew Prior employed him to design his monument in Westminster Abbey. The pediment, the wreaths, the frame, and the figures of the tomb form elegant surroundings of the recess in which the bust is placed, and the perfect proportions of all the parts make us forgive the presence of Clio and Terpsichore, and help us to perceive that a poet of the reign of Queen Anne is here commemorated, one of whom the inscription justly says :

*Ita suos tandem dubios reliquit,
Essetne in scriptis Poeta elegantior,
An in convictu comes jucundior.*

The dome of the Radcliffe Library commemorates Gibbs at Oxford, while the Senate House and the Fellows' building at King's preserve his memory by the Cam. His religion enabled him to understand the glorious chapel of King Henry VI., while his confidence in the fine proportions of the architecture of his own time made him willing to erect a solid Georgian building close to it.

St. Bartholomew's shows how a great architect can erect a building suitable for its purpose at any period. Gibbs perceived that abundant air and good ventilation

ought to be provided in each ward, and that great open staircases would give these advantages to every pile. On May 1, 1729, he laid a plan before the Court of Governors, and it was ordered to be engraved on copper and sent to every governor. It was approved July 24, 1729, and the raising of a subscription was ordered. The hospital as it then stood was very irregular, and the whole, says the Journal, had hardly so much as the outward appearance of an hospital. On July 9, 1730, the first stone was laid of the present north wing. The second pile was begun April 21, 1736. The third was finished May 11, 1753. Gibbs died August 5, 1754. The foundation stone of the last pile was laid April 27, 1758, and the building was completed in 1769. Arches were built which joined the sides of the square. Dr. Black told me that he remembered these. They were removed as inconvenient. The large operating theatre at the end of the Abernethy wing was built in 1791. Since then operating theatres have been added at the end of the first pile on the side of the Great Staircase and at the tops of the three other piles.

Under the south pile a white marble bath with a dressing-room lined with Dutch scriptural tiles was built before the end of the eighteenth century, and in later times baths were built on at the ends of each pile, which do not interfere with the general proportions of the building. The pleasant addition of the fountain in the centre of the square was made in 1859. Robert

Bridges, the poet laureate, has commemorated it in his "Poems on Classical Prosody":

Altho'

Hardly can I, who so many years eagerly frequented
Bartholomew's fountain, not speak of things to awaken
Kind old HIPPOCRATES, howe'er he slumbereth, entomb'd
Neath the shatter'd wine jars and ruined factories of Cos,
Or where he wander'd in Thessalian Larissa.

Another Oxonian who lived in the college, Dr. Tylden, used to sit on the edge of this fountain of summer evenings reading Theocritus. Even on the busy days of the week none of the noise of the city penetrates the space within "the Square," as it is called. On Saturday afternoon and Sunday it is wonderfully quiet. However much we feel this, the wounded soldiers seated there after many days of the din of artillery and the bursting of shells feel it still more. The actual roar of war has, however, been heard in the hospital, for on September 8, 1915, between 10 and 11 P.M., a bomb from an airship was dropped on Bartholomew Close, of which many fragments struck the stone posts of the Little Britain gate and have left their marks, while one passed through two wooden doors into the matron's office.

Well-grown trees adorn the square, and the changes of their foliage give pleasant colouring to the scene. Murmurations of starlings sometimes occupy them, and besides house sparrows, I have seen blue titmice



‘BARTHOLOMEW’S FOUNTAIN’.

on their branches. Rooks, jackdaws, and domestic pigeons also appear. On the weathercock of the neighbouring church of St. Michael le Quern I once saw two peregrine falcons sitting, but they did not cross our square. Dr. Haviland, a house physician, used to keep bees in the college. They obtained honey, as he supposed, from the sunflowers growing on the Bank of England and elsewhere in the city.

The pile through which the square is entered was built first. On the west side of it are the house of the clerk, and on the ground floor the steward's office, and on the east the renter's office and the clerk's office, and a fine staircase leading up to the Great Hall. The Great Hall itself occupies the whole of the middle part of the first floor, and is a finely proportioned room, with a handsome fireplace, and with windows looking on one side into the square and on the other on to the Smithfield gate and the church. On the walls are painted the names of benefactors on a dark purple ground in gold letters, and the moulded ceiling is gilded.

Several fine portraits are the chief ornaments of this well-proportioned hall. King Edward VII.¹ hangs over the fireplace at one end, and is faced at the other by his arbitrary ancestor, our second king of the race of Owen Tudor. King Edward has a treasurer on either hand, Mr. Foster White, by J. P. Knight, R.A., and Sir Sydney Waterlow, by Hubert Herkomer, R.A. King

¹ By Luke Fildes, R.A.

Henry VIII. has to right and left Sir William Pritchard, finely painted by Kneller, and Matthias Prime Lucas, by David Wilkie. On the wall towards the square is by far the finest portrait the hospital possesses, that of Percivall Pott, by Sir Joshua Reynolds. Next to it is Abernethy, by Sir Thomas Lawrence, a worthy likeness of a great man by a great painter, and then Abernethy's pupil, Sir William Lawrence, by Pickersgill, and then Vincent the surgeon, Dr. Baly, and Sir George Burrows, and last Sir James Paget, by Millais, a picture fitted to preserve the aspect of Paget in the lecture theatre to future generations. Higher up on the same wall is Sir George Carroll, a President. Opposite to Paget is Luther Holden, also by Millais, then Savory by Oules, and Dr. James Andrew and Sir Thomas Smith by John Collier, R.A.

In this hall the Courts of the Governors are held, as well as the public dinners given by the governors and the October dinner of the staff and of past students. Other meetings and written examinations are occasionally held in the hall, and here dramatic performances are given by the Dramatic Society of the students in the Christmas holidays. As many patients as are fit are brought to the dress rehearsal. The Musical Society also sometimes gives concerts in the hall.

Hogarth, in memory of his birth near the hospital, decorated the staircase of the Great Hall with two large pictures, the Pool of Bethesda and the Good

Samaritan. In the former, the figure of our Saviour has a dignity not often met with in Hogarth's works, and not well represented in the engravings of this picture. The arches round the pool, the distant landscape, and the flying angel seem reminiscences of Italian art, but the grouping of the figures and the figures themselves are highly original. The pictures are appropriate to their place, and are fine examples of the art of Hogarth.

In the foreground of the picture of the Pool of Bethesda is the man who had long lain at the pool, and whose infirmity had prevented his reaching the rising waters in time. He rests on his bed, and is unwinding the bandage from a chronic ulcer of the leg, which Hogarth has imagined as the cause of the patient's inability to get down into the pool.

Behind the poor man with the ulcer is a mother holding in her arms an infant with rickets. The prominent forehead, the curved spine, the enlarged joints which Dr. Francis Glisson, the first describer of the disease, pointed out, are all faithfully depicted by Hogarth. Perhaps his friend Freke had demonstrated them to him, for the surgeon has a chapter on rickets. "The rickets in children," he says, "are discovered by the swelling of the joints and by the bones becoming so soft and tender as to yield and give way in all parts, but more especially in their heads and extremities, so that there is not a sufficient quantity of

creta in proportion to the membranous parts to make them strong enough to bear the weight of the body." On the other side of the painting are a woman with inflammation of the breast, and a man whose gouty hand seems to have received a knock from the blind man, whose staff is near it. To the extreme left are a girl unhealthily fat and an emaciated crone. The arms of both are bare, and seem intended to illustrate hypertrophy and atrophy, the processes of abnormal growth and abnormal waste, of which many examples are every day to be seen in the practice of the hospital. All the sufferers are drawn from the patients of Hogarth's time. Their illnesses are not exaggerated, nor are the terrible features of disease heightened beyond nature. The painter has given an intelligent view of what the hospital practice dealt with in both sexes and at several periods of life. The work of St. Bartholomew's is concisely depicted on his canvas.

In the painting of the Good Samaritan, Hogarth has drawn a dog in the foreground licking a wound in its leg, apparently received in defending the injured man from the thieves. The Samaritan, in accordance with the gospel narrative, is pouring oil and wine into the wound, a method which continued in general use till the sixteenth century, when an accident led Ambrois Paré to give it up.

The three sketches below these pictures represent Rahere asleep and dreaming, his reception of gifts and

beginning of building the hospital, and a patient carried on a stretcher and received in the cloister by two of the brethren of St. Bartholomew's. Hogarth could of course remember the old cloisters, and this is perhaps a sketch from his memory.

The decorations, which were done by Hogarth's pupils, consist of baskets of flowers, medallions of Hippocrates and Galen, and frames in the Georgian style. The staircase forms a dignified entrance to the Great Hall. At its foot a door leads into the committee room where the treasurer and almoners and the House Committee sit. It is a pleasant room, with panelled walls. Over the fireplace is a portrait of Henry VIII., painted in the reign of James I., to the right of which is that of Martin Bond, the treasurer. The outer wall has three deeply set windows. Opposite to them are the portraits of Sir Nicholas Rainton, Dr. Radcliffe, and Edward Colston, and on the wall opposite the fire, of Dr. Richard Powell. A door in this wall leads into what used to be known as the renter's office. Its walls are ornamented by engravings, architectural drawings, and an illuminated address to Sir George Carroll, a President. A door leads out into the archway exactly opposite to the steward's office. Here hangs the gilded oak chandelier, carved by Freke, and over the mantelpiece is the portrait of Mark Morris, the steward. Two curious carved and coloured wooden figures also ornament the office. These were well

known in the seventeenth century, and were probably the original signs of Soldier and Sailor ward. The rest of this pile is occupied by the clerk's house—a dignified residence, with a handsome staircase. Mr. Foster White and Sir Sydney Waterlow occupied these quarters when they were treasurers, and gave the clerk another house.

The other piles contain eight wards each, and these open on to fine oak staircases, within the well of which is a lift.

On the doorways of the great piles of building which make up the quadrangle are painted the names of the wards they contain. These names do not refer to the classification of cases, but are those of benefactors, of virtues and of examples of virtue. Rahere, the founder, of course gives his name to one. Opposite Rahere ward is Colston, called after the generous merchant of Bristol, to whose memory the citizens drink in banquets every thirteenth of November, and who gave an estate in Essex and a considerable sum of money to St. Bartholomew's. Colston's portrait by Kneller hangs in the committee room. The right hand is somewhat prominent. One day an old lady from the West of England, who was a kinswoman of Colston, came to see the hospital. I showed her this picture. Mounted on a chair she examined it minutely, and said, looking at the hand, "That great and good man was known to have the most beautiful hand in Europe of his time." I

admired her enthusiasm for her relative, and placed her tribute to the hand to the credit of Sir Godfrey Kneller.

The names of wards have been changed from time to time. Garden-dortoir disappeared with the building which gave it its name. Prolonged periods of peace and other naval and military arrangements made Soldier and Sailor obsolete. St. Catharine¹ was gradually forgotten, greater benefactors gave way to lesser ones. Several examples of obsolete names will be found in the chapter on the Journals. Elizabeth and Martha¹ are perhaps the most ancient names at present in use. The four evangelists, and Mary, Faith, Hope, and Charity, show the pious thoughts of former times. Lazarus and Job² have disappeared, but three rooms set apart for sick nurses were given the names of the patriarch's daughters, Jemima, Kezia, and Kerenhappuch. It was at first proposed to call these after the three blessed children, Ananias, Azarias, and Misael, but no sick nurse could rest in Ananias, showing that the punishment of the wicked impresses many minds more forcibly than the triumph of the righteous. In the East wing, besides St. Paul's greatest of virtues, Mr. Alderman Harley, King Henry VIII., Dr. William Pitcairn, physician and treasurer, Sir James Paget, Kenton, once waiter at the Crown and Magpie, Darker, a treasurer, and Sitwell, a governor, are commemorated.

¹ In use in 1664; ii. 322.

² In 1760; ii. 376.

In the South wing one ward is called President,¹ in respectful reminiscence of that ancient office, and two are named after surgeons, Stanley and Lawrence, while the three first evangelists, the mother of St. John the Baptist, and Martha, are severally the patrons of the other wards. The West wing has wards named Rahere,¹ Hope, Mary,² and John, and three called after liberal benefactors, Colston (named in 1752), and his contemporary, Dr. John Radcliffe,¹ Coborn, after Miss Prisca Coborn, and Annie Zunz, preserving the name of a benefactor's wife.

Many experiments have been made since 1729 in the building of hospitals, but it is difficult to find in their results any wards fresher, lighter, or more wholesome than those built by Gibbs at St. Bartholomew's. A broad oak staircase forms a great shaft for air from base to top of each pile, and a window over the door of each ward opens into this. The wards contain from twenty to twenty-eight beds, one half on each side of a partition, which makes in each a "front" ward and a "back" ward. In the middle of this partition is a large open fireplace, while opposite the partition, and at the end of the ward, are windows, between which the beds are placed. A French commission sent by Napoleon III. to report on the London hospitals was struck by the

¹ So named July 1740 ; ii. 366.

² So named in 1699 ; ii. 350. The first list of wards is in 1571 ; ii. 280. A list of six wards in 1664 ; ii. 322. Names of eight wards, 1666 ; ii. 329. Of eight other wards ; ii. 366. Peter ward ; ii. 367. Names of twelve wards, 1782 ; ii. 370.

airiness of the wards, and remarked in their report: "Vous ne sauriez, M. le directeur, pour vous figurer ce que nous avons vu, donner trop d'extension à cette expression d'ouvrir les fenêtres, vous resterez toujours au dessous de ce qu'elle signifie en Angleterre." With rooms of sufficient height and thick walls, it may be doubted whether any kind of ventilation is more thorough. The bed at the far end from the door facing down the ward is spoken of as the "state bed." It is no grander than the others, but its position perhaps suggests a canopy and hangings. Out of the back ward opens a small kitchen, and out of the front ward the sister's room, always a cheerful apartment, and generally containing pictures of groups of the staff attached to the ward, its physician, his assistant physician, house physicians, clinical clerks or dressers, and the sisters of his wards, or the surgeon with his corresponding officers, taken somewhere in the quadrangle. Flowers are generally to be seen in the wards, and on the walls a few engravings are displayed.

Such are the wards, places of rest and relief to the sick poor, of useful employment and cheerful life to the sisters, nurses, and probationers, and of endless interest to the physicians, surgeons, and students.

The great quadrangle of Gibbs has other buildings grouped outside it. To the left, as you enter from Smithfield, is the pile of building which contains the ophthalmic wards, Albert Edward and Alexandra,

Lucas, a surgical ward, called after Matthias Prime Lucas, a President, another ward now devoted to throat and nose diseases, and called after Abernethy, with a series of wards named Casualty in the basement. Here cases of delirium tremens, now much rarer than forty years ago, can be treated in separate rooms. The butchers of the Meat Market, who then drank hard, are now generally temperate. In front of Abernethy ward, till a small operating theatre was built on the end of the wall of the great staircase, fives were played against the wall, the deep-set blank windows of which gave on a smaller scale a variety to the game resembling that produced by the buttresses of the chapel at Eton.

At the Smithfield end of the Abernethy pile the old surgery or casualty department still stands, a glass-roofed room, 90 feet by 30 feet, opening into a portico in Smithfield.

This used to be the general receiving room for patients. To it all who applied were admitted every morning between the hours of nine and ten, and the attendance was large. Here about 150,000 patients were seen every year for many years. Throughout the day accidents and urgent cases of illness were admitted to the room, and late in the evening votaries of Bacchus unable to reach their homes or to say where they lived found treatment and restoration to consciousness here. The morning reception, as it was in 1878, was described

by the present poet laureate, then a casualty physician, in a very amusing essay which he wrote in the Hospital Reports, in which he has retained 'the glitter of wit' without losing 'the dignity of virtue.' The arrangements are altogether different now. A larger hall and better consulting rooms have done away with crowding and have altered the whole scene. Yet Dr. Bridges' picture is so accurate of what was in existence up to 1907, that it ought to be quoted in this history.

"If anyone should go into the hall at about twenty minutes past nine, he would see some hundred persons standing in an orderly manner, trying to look as if they were not pushing towards the various exits and entrances, and some four hundred others ranged on the forms; the women engaged in conversation, the men waiting in silence. If he goes out and comes in again at eleven, he will frequently find the room nearly or quite empty.

"The staff of persons who perform this feat of clearing the hall consists of the junior assistant physician, and three casualty physicians, the assistant surgeon, the four house surgeons with their dressers."

Dr. Bridges saw 30,940 patients in the year. He treated 1942 patients with the *Haustus quassiae cum ferro* of the hospital *Pharmacopœia*, and gave 200,000 doses containing iron, figures which give a distinct notion of the work to be done in that entrance hall, and the industry necessary for a casualty physician.

In continuation southwards from this surgery is the line of houses facing Duke Street, which make up the college, with some which accommodate nurses. These buildings are nearly parallel to the east wing. At the southern end of the college line of building is the small house of the steward, opposite to which is the matron's house. These are in the street once called Petty France, and now part of the hospital. More sections of the nurses' home adjoin the matron's house. At present the nurses' accommodation is a series of scattered houses, but it will no doubt in time form a stately addition to the hospital buildings. Other partly occupied land, purchased from Christ's Hospital, lies in the same direction, and part of it is used for the accommodation or the exercise of the nurses.

Outside the west wing are the small isolation block, the apothecary's shop, and the buildings of the medical school, and beyond these the great waiting hall, and above it the several out-patient departments. The out-patients' entrance is at the farthest point along Giltspur Street to which the hospital extends. This region used to be covered by Rosemary Lane and a tangle of old houses and passages. Up one of these was a debtors' prison, of which some of the bars remained in 1869, though the prison had ceased to be used. Sir George Paget told me that when he came up as a student he was taken into the prison by its medical officer, and saw men sitting on benches in a

room with a fire, each man naked but for a blanket smeared with sulphur ointment, which he wore till cured of itch by it, when he was permitted to join the other prisoners.

In this region are now the pleasant rooms of the house physicians and house surgeons, looking out upon Giltspur Street, with a glimpse of Pie Corner, where the Fire of London stopped in 1666, and into Cock Lane, which has given its name to an imagined ghost. Happy is the time of these young men practising with responsibility for the first time the profession they have learned, comparing thoughts on the cases of the day, and when work is over perhaps enjoying some good piece of literature as they sit in these rooms in comfortable armchairs by good fires. Beyond the school buildings are the new spacious receiving rooms and out-patient rooms, and farther on still the apothecary's shop, and the large department presided over by a head dispenser (Mr. Langford Moore), who has brought it to a better order than ever existed before. These rooms are entered by a gateway nearly opposite the east end of St. Sepulchre's Church. This leads into a small courtyard, into which ambulances bringing patients may drive. Within this, let into the wall, is the foundation stone of these new buildings, laid by King Edward VII. in 1904. Remembering the great occasion on which "Quintus Horatius Flaccus carmen composuit," Robert Bridges was asked to write

860 SAINT BARTHOLOMEW'S HOSPITAL

a poem for the occasion. It would, I am sure, have been worthy of our king and of the place, but as the poet's dignified muse was not willing to be stirred, my pen had to write a prose inscription for the stone.

This foundation stone
of the
New Buildings of St. Bartholomew's Hospital
was laid on
June 6 : 1904
by
EDWARD VII.
King of Great Britain and Ireland
and of
the British Dominions beyond the Seas
Defender of the Faith
Emperor of India
near the site given in
1123
by
HENRY I.
King of the English
and ever since
devoted to the relief of pain and the cure of disease
among the poor of London
and through the increase of knowledge in the medical art
here attained
to the alleviation of human suffering
throughout the world.

Fear God. Honour the King.

The roof of these new buildings is flat, and affords a fine view, which brings to the mind many parts of the history which has been told in these pages. St. Sepulchre's Church, once the benefice of Hagno, to whom Rahere granted the charter, which still remains in the hospital, is across the street to the west. Farther to the west is the tower of St. Andrew's, a church known to the Bucuintes as they rode through the ward of Joce son of Peter in the time of Henry Fitz Ailwin to St. Bartholomew's. In the same direction, nearer the river, is the steeple of St. Bride's, though the solanda near it is hidden by the loftiness of modern buildings. Farther west still are the tower of the Record Office, guarding so much of the history of England, and the conical roof of the Temple Church, and the distant towers of the Palace of Westminster. To the south-east, standing out against the sky, are the splendid dome, the long line of the nave, and the western turrets of St. Paul's. The slender spire of St. Martin's extra Ludgate is visible in front of the cathedral, and between it and the hospital is the Central Criminal Court, surmounted by a gilded figure of Justice holding up her scales and sword. To the east are the stone towers of Christchurch, Newgate Street, a living to which the hospital has the alternate presentation, of St. Michael le Quern and of St. Mary le Bow. Towards the north is the sombre brick tower of the church of St. Giles, Cripplegate, where Milton rests.

Just below, as you look from the roof of these new buildings, is the great area of the General Post Office, on a part of which the secular priests of the College of St. Martin le Grand had their home when William the Conqueror entered London, while another part was occupied from the reign of Henry III. to that of Henry VIII. by the poor brothers of St. Francis, and then became the place both of study and of recreation of the Christ's Hospital boys, where the mind of the author of the "Ancient Mariner" was excited to poetry, and that of Lamb guided to literature.

Such are the surroundings and arrangement of the buildings of St. Bartholomew's Hospital. They occupied part of their present area before London had a Mayor or England a Parliament, yet from the roof it may be seen that the hospital, though its bounds have been somewhat enlarged, still occupies its original position on one side of Smithfield, in the suburb of London, and just outside the line of the wall.

XXXIII

THE PATIENTS



THE earliest patient of St. Bartholomew's Hospital of whom any record has been preserved was admitted during the lifetime of Rahere. His case is described in the first book of the "Liber Fundacionis."

"Another man," says that book, "Alfunyne by name, in the town of Dunwich, that dwelt on the seaside, was so crippled that he could use neither hand nor foot, his legs were cleaving to the hinder part of his thigh so that he could not walk, and his hands were bent back so that he could do nothing with them; the extremities of his fingers were so rigidly crippled in the sinews that he could scarcely carry food to his mouth. In this grievous sickness he passed his early years. When he attained to man's age, though he had not strength in his limbs, yet hearing the report of signs and miracles of the blessed apostle from other men, he began to lift up his sorrowful soul to hope for better things; and though health was put off, it was promised to come. Therefore since he was far from that church, he gave shipmen hire and was brought to the church by ship

and put in the hospital of poor men, and was there for a while kept by the alms of that same church. And he began meantime by virtue of the apostle to take heart, and his longed-for health bit by bit began to come again. First with his hands, although crooked, he made small works such as distaffs and weights and other women's instruments, and then in turn when other parts were able to discharge their function he made with an axe hewings of wood, and pickaxes of timber with a chipping axe, and not long after he exercised the craft of carpentry in the same church and in the city of London as he had learned it in childhood, blessing God whose eyes are on them that fear Him and hope on His mercy."

The young man's muscular weakness seems to have begun after he was some way advanced in his apprenticeship, and probably came on as a sequel to an acute illness. Attempted movements on the journey from Dunwich, and afterwards when showing his limbs to onlookers in the hospital, and finally in wood-carving, gradually restored his muscular power.

In the second book of the "*Liber Fundacionis*"¹ a case of mania with muscular contraction in a woman is described as cured after admission to the hospital. A third case,² mentioned as admitted and cured, was similar to that of the carpenter, muscular rigidity after

¹ Cap. xix.

² Cap. xxi.

long detention in bed, of the maidservant of a citizen of London.

Some of the patients mentioned by Mirfeld, besides the canon of the priory, may have been observed in or near the hospital, and some may actually have been cured in its hall, but it is not possible to identify them in the "Breviarium." A kind of strapping or plaster much used in the Casualty department till a few years ago had stamped upon it St. B. H., and this careful indication of origin may have been due to the fame of the "Emplastrum Bartholomei" mentioned by Mirfeld¹ in the reign of Richard II. The author of the "Breviarium" thought the plaster good for all wounds, whether of the head or body, and for cancers and fistulas. His receipt for making the plaster was to heat the juice of parsley and of plantain till the fluid began to boil, then to put in fine wheat-flour and boil over a slow fire till thick, and then to add an equal quantity of honey till the proper degree of thickness was attained.

The first list of persons healed under the New Order² begins October 4, 1549. It gives little information, except the dates, the patients' names, and the sums of money given to them on their discharge. The entries in the first three months of the record sufficiently show its nature:

¹ Vol. i. 608.

² Vol. ii. 266.

"*October 4, 1549*: healed and delivered out of the hospital: John Callys 12d.: William Scurton: Thomas Gwin 8d.: healed and delivered the same day 20d.

"*October 11*: Angnes Tomson 8d.: healed and delivered the same day of a sore leg 8d.

"*October 25*: Percyvall Henson: Robert Mathews 8d.: Johane Taylor 8d.: Marget Fysher 8d.: healed and delivered the same day and geven them as appeareth the same day 2s. 8d.

"*November 4*: Leonard Dowley delivered and healed the same of the pokes 8d.

"*November 9*: George Trownell: Elynor Pyrrey 8d.: and Johane Daws, 8d.: healed and delivered 6s. 8d.

"*November 16*: Elsabethe Temperley 4d.: Alys Matheson 4d.: Wyllyam Lyndsey 12d. and John Perkyns 8d.: healed and delivered the same day 2s. 4d.

"*November 23*: Wyllyam Meykyn 8d.: John Wylson 8d.: Robert Arnold 8d.: Jaspar Corps 8d.: John Grene 12d.: Thomas Wylson 20d.: and Denys Bairnes 8d.: all healed and delivered 6s.

"*December 12*: John Cybson 20d.: John Bondes 20d.: John Heggynson 12d.: Johane Kenston 8d.: Johane Crosley 8d.: Elsabethe Arnold 8d.: Johane Clarke 8d.: Tennysen Kele 8d.: Olyv Joye 8d.: all healed and delivered the same day 8s. 4d."

In the eighteenth century, and in the nineteenth up to 1862, large fly-sheets were issued in each year, giving the numbers of patients and of school children in the ancient hospitals of the city—Christ's, St. Bartholomew's, St. Thomas's, Bridewell, Bethlem—and a few other facts about them. The earliest of these preserved at St. Bartholomew's is of the year 1758: "A True REPORT of the great number of Poor Children,

and other Poor People maintained in the several HOSPITALS under the pious care of the LORD MAYOR, Commonalty and Citizens of the City of LONDON, the year last past. London, 1758. Printed by Henry Kent in Finch Lane, Cornhill, Printer to Christ's Hospital." At foot are the words: "Pray remember the poor." There were then 420 patients in St. Bartholomew's Hospital, and 62 in the Lock and Kingsland, the out-houses, as they were called. During the year 7182 had been cured and discharged, while 318 had been buried "after much charge in their illness." In-patients and out-patients, 744, remained under treatment. At the top of the sheet there were sometimes rude woodcuts and doggerel verses; as in 1778, a copy of verses beginning:

" When Misery's dread Power reigns
Abroad and agonizing Pains
Cloud Thee from mortal eye thou Love Supreme
Admiring Spirits hail thy Plan
And short liv'd Woe exalting Man
To Excellence divine form their delightful Theme."

In 1779, 1782, and 1783 the city poet, whether a duly appointed official or, like Richard Savage, some volunteer laureate, produced other verses, which seem to have exhausted his poetic powers, for no more appear in subsequent years. In 1805 three pious phrases are added at foot, and in 1840 the line of Psalm xlv.:

"Our God has gone up with a shout, and the Lord with the sound of the Trumpet." In the sheet of 1824 the word Casualty is first applied to patients: the return of patients then under treatment being, "in-patients 490, out-patients 160, casualty patients 50."

On the second Wednesday in May the treasurer and as many of the governors as wish to do so walk into every ward of the hospital. They are preceded by the porter in his black tufted gown, bearing a staff surmounted by a silver globe and effigy of our patron St. Bartholomew with a flaying knife in his hand. The wards are gaily decked with flowers. In a medical ward, the physician and assistant physician and house physicians are present, as well as the sister and nurses of the ward, the steward and the matron. The medical authorities bow to the treasurer, who takes his seat at a table placed in the middle of the front ward. The steward reads aloud each patient's name, and the physician states the patient's illness and the probable time he will be in the hospital. The physician is asked if he is satisfied with the sister, and the sister if she is satisfied with the nurses, and finally the patients are asked if they would like to make any remark to the governors. In a surgical ward the corresponding members of the staff are present, and answer the same questions about their patients. In times of peace and prosperity the View day, as it is called, ends with a dinner in the Great Hall, at which the treasurer pre-

sides, and which is provided at the cost and charge of certain of the governors.

At Christmas the wards are decorated with holly and other shrubs, while all the patients whose state allows it have plum-pudding at dinner. The afternoon is enlivened by music and singing, by small dramatic recitations, and by Christmas trees. These diversions are arranged by the house physicians, house surgeons, clinical clerks, and dressers, and all do their best to make every patient feel that the Christmas is as happy as is possible for people who are away from home. Any patients who are too ill for festivities are carefully tended in the other half of the ward, where they can be perfectly quiet. Such are the wards on View day and at Christmas, but they always have an air of cheerfulness, and the patients certainly feel it.

At the beginning of his studies nearly every man, who has before had no acquaintance with disease, finds the close observation of cases in the wards distressing to him. What strikes him most is the accumulation of pain and misfortune. As he walks about he cannot shake off the feeling that, however brightly the sun may be shining on him, there are those people, one distended with dropsy, another unable to move his legs, a third growing daily more emaciated. Reading and reflection may have taught him that such conditions are every day the lot of part of the human race, but the beginning of the study of clinical medicine

brings this before the mind in a way unfelt before. It is often supposed that to witness operations is the most painful part of the early experiences of a student of medicine. This notion is derived from the time when anæsthetics were unknown. The absence of any suffering now causes a surgical operation to be interesting and astonishing to the onlooker, but not painful. A few men faint at the sight of blood, but the large majority view an operation for the first time with an absorbing interest which carries the mind altogether with it. The contemplation of serious illness and of pain in the sentient has an altogether different effect, and it is some time before the observation and interpretation of phenomena diminishes the distress at first caused by acquaintance with disease on a large scale. The observer becomes none the less compassionate because he learns to regard morbid changes as among the wonders which the world offers to our observation. He learns, moreover, in the wards that the aggregate of pain from disease is less than the talk of the luxurious and the writings of those who have not observed it closely have made him think. It is probably small compared to the sufferings due to grief, disappointment, and envy. Pain of this mental kind long remains as a recollection, while the suffering caused by disease, once past, fades out of memory. Severe toothache is one of the most acute forms of pain, but who ever suffers because he had the toothache three years ago.

To a physician the medical wards are delightful. Here he pursues his profession under the greatest advantages. He can see each patient as often as he likes. He instructs students, and thus attains definite and well-arranged conclusions. In the intervals of his visits he knows that his patients will be well nursed and carefully observed. It is the height of his profession. To give a notion of the vast variety of cases to be seen in the wards would be to write a great treatise on medicine, on surgery, and on human nature. Every morning and every evening a house physician (or in a surgical ward a house surgeon) goes round each of the wards of his physician or surgeon. These resident medical officers are followed by clinical clerks or dressers, and the former in the medical wards take daily notes of the cases allotted to them, which they read to the physician when he visits the wards in the afternoon. The minute observation of their symptoms and study of their history certainly pleases the majority of patients, and they feel that it is for their advantage that such pains are taken. Great is the variety of life and occupation to be met with in the wards. One day you may see a woman from Madras with a jewelled stud fastened in her nose, another time a Malay from Singapore, ice men and organ men who speak curious dialects of Italian, and sometimes Welsh patients who know little or no English, but are familiar with the Bible in its fine

Cymric version and with other parts of their native literature.

A woman recently come with her husband from South Wales, where he worked in the mines, spoke only Welsh. Her husband came from the mountains of Waterford. Irish was his mother tongue, and he had learned Welsh, and needed no other language in his daily life, so used no English. The pair carried one back to the days before Hengist and Horsa, and showed how the Saxons pouring into Britain, and living and thriving for fourteen centuries, had not yet completely altered everything from what it was in the days of Vortigern.

An old man¹ was brought into a surgical ward, having been knocked down by an omnibus while selling nuts from a barrow. He spoke incoherently, as if he did not understand the questions put to him, but when addressed, as his name suggested, in Irish, at once explained that his coat had been taken away, and that he must have it back. He had come to London from a remote part of the Co. Cork thirty years before, and had since sold nuts in the street without learning more than a little English. His coat had sewn into it £170 in notes and gold. His home was a single ground-floor room opening on to a courtyard, and he was said to sleep upon sacks which contained, or had contained, nuts. He made a will, leaving his

¹ In the period 1873-1880.

unsuspected wealth to three grown-up children, of whom he had seen little, settled his spiritual affairs, and died.

A great many poor Irish people, who had left their own country in the time of the famine and settled in London, used to come to the hospital. Nearly all of them spoke the Irish language as well as English, and many curious fragments of mediæval lore and of eighteenth-century verse were to be learnt from them. A scavenger came into the Casualty department, and was asked his name that it might be written on his letter. "Michael O'Clery," he replied. "An illustrious name," said the physician, remembering the Franciscan brother who had so large a share in the composition of the famous chronicle called the "Annals of the Four Masters." The scavenger explained accurately to which part of the family of hereditary historians he belonged, and from time to time during subsequent years came to the hospital when ill, nor did the physician ever fail to salute him when he saw him in a smockfrock sweeping Smithfield.

Another patient, a shoemaker, one day gave the name of Connellan. "Have you ever heard," said the physician, "of Owen Connellan, who wrote a grammar?" "My relation," replied the patient, "historiographer to His Majesty King George IV." Thus was the physician instructed in the biography of the grammarian.

A sword-swallower was admitted to a surgical ward,

and showed that his performance was not a mere pretence. He actually thrust a sword about a foot long down his gullet, and had thus produced an irritation which seemed likely to end in a permanent stricture. The treatment consisted in putting probangs of india-rubber down the gullet, so as gradually to overcome the contraction. The sword-swallower had learnt to place his head at the precise angle required to make the passage to the stomach a straight line, and could then pass the probang with more ease and rapidity than the very adroit surgeon under whose care he was. At last the treatment produced a cure, and the sword-swallower left, lamenting, however, that he might have to take his choice between starving from want of earnings wherewith to buy food, or, if he persevered in obtaining earnings by the occupation in which he had skill, from inability to swallow the food he might buy.

A patient was admitted in 1907-8 with a splinter in his finger. "What is your work?" said the dresser. "An arrow-maker," replied the patient. "Do you call yourself a fletcher?" asked the dresser. "Yes," said the man, "but I thought you would not know." His firm had recently been making a bow and steel-tipped arrows to shoot wild boars in Africa, and he was familiar with the cloth-yard shaft and the pull of the old archer's bow.

My son Alan, who was the dresser, told me that at about the same time he came across a sailing-ship sailor

in a ward, who talked of ropes and knots, and said, "I was never much of a hand at square sennit: that's worried me."

Many curious by-ways of life are made known in the wards and out-patient rooms. I remember a compass cup-maker, who ground sapphires into receptacles for the central pin of the compass. Some alteration in the trade had deprived him of much of his work, but he still seemed to take pride in it. Ruler makers, their hair turned green by the resin dust which they produced in turning, used now and then to appear, while in the old Casualty department hordes of fancy box-makers and ostrich-feather curlers were patients.

Clerkenwell, which, when the hospital began, was known for a convent of Benedictine nuns, and for the Priory of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, and for the rest for green fields and streams, is now a crowded part of the town inhabited by many kinds of artificers, who appear at St. Bartholomew's when they need advice. Secret springers and piercers come from the small houses of its long streets, where their occupation, announced upon brass door-plates, might make an imperfectly informed passer-by think of the attempted assassination of King Edward I., and fear himself among the subjects of the Old Man of the Mountain. Other parts of the district send as patients fur dressers of several varieties. I remember going with a practitioner of the locality to a place where seal skins were dressed,

and from which more than one patient had come to the hospital. We entered a room on one side of a small courtyard. Two large mastiffs were walking about in it, and were secured before we could cross the yard. We then crossed and came into a long, shed-like room containing large tubs. In each tub was a naked man trampling upon seal skins in some thickish fluid. It was part of the softening process. The skins were valuable, and the men not trusted, so that each had to undress on one side of the little court, and, leaving his clothes where he had taken them off, walk to the other, after which the dogs were let loose, and became sufficient guardians of the skins.

Gipsy women, well dressed to suit their dark complexions, and gipsy men, with well-marked racial characteristics, appeared from time to time. "Surely you know me," said one; "I am Smith." As I still seemed ignorant, he added, "the Gipsy evangelist." He had come to visit a handsome sister of his who was mortally ill in my ward.

One evening a youngish washerwoman was brought, who had drunk some carbolic acid. As she sat almost unconscious in an armchair, very pale, and with a streak of blood flowing from her mouth on to her dress, I was told that her mother wanted to speak to me. When I was able to leave her for a few moments, I went, with some fear of a distressing conversation, to the door. The mother asked me but one question,

"Do you think she's shamming?" The washerwoman stayed in till she got perfectly well, and we learned that she afterwards had a happier life.

One patient, a man who worked in the large garden of a country house, wrote an account of his stay in the hospital, very simple and rather prolix, but interesting as showing clearly how, in spite of his illness, he enjoyed his time in the ward. He chanced to be under my care. Like most patients, he enjoyed the note-taking of the clinical clerks.

"We soon knew when the students were coming, as we would hear them as soon as they began to mount the stairs. They would come rushing up two or three at a time, and some of them would often come into the ward almost breathless. At last they make their appearance, about eight or ten of them, and each one would have his own patient to attend, some would have two or even three, and after entering the ward and wishing the nurses and sister and all of us good-morning, would take their places beside their patients, and proceed with whatever they had to do. I began to wonder if one would come to me, when almost directly a very tall gentleman came up and seated himself beside my bed. He also asked me a great many questions, and read the notes which the doctors had written upon the board the day before. And after being so far satisfied, asked me to take off my shirt, when I found I was going through the same process as

Dr. Mocre had done. He was very nice, and so gentle, that it was quite a pleasure to let him do whatever he liked. They would nearly always be in the ward till dinner-time. I used to enjoy the time the students were there, for they were so bright and cheerful, it did one good if only to look at them."

He goes on to describe the discussion of his case :

"Dr. Moore came to me, and seating himself upon my locker, which I thought was a sign of a long stay, at the left-hand side of my bed, and the sister and one of the nurses on my right, and a number of students, I should say thirty, three or four thick all round my bed. I wondered I was not more nervous with so many eyes upon me, watching and listening to all that was said and done. The doctor began by asking me a great many questions, at the same time exchanging many with the sister, who I believe, and have often said, knew as much as a great many doctors, and who also must have had a good deal of experience in her time. After I had answered the questions put to me, he examined me as he had done on the previous Friday, at the same time asking the student attending me a number of questions also concerning my complaint, which would often puzzle him to answer ; and if he could not do so, any of the others had the chance to do so if they could. The number of questions put to them this afternoon puzzled me and them, for it was very few they were able to answer."

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Combatants of battles on sea and land appear from time to time: soldiers of Chilianwallah and Sobraon, of the Crimea and the Mutiny, and of the later Afghan wars; men who had met the chivalrous Maori and the fierce Zulu, and were graced with scars. The battle farthest back in history of which I have heard from a patient was Navarino. Two men, each with several fractured and ill-joined ribs, received their injuries in Tipperary contests, interdicted by special Act of Parliament, between the factions of Shanavasts and Caravats.

A family once brought their old father on a donkey-cart. He was very ill, and they were extremely anxious to get him admitted at once, which he was. He died the next day, and it was then found that they had gone off to the Derby, and had not yet returned. I told the incident to a friend, who wrote to me afterwards and mentioned it in the course of a long letter, a passage which it seems appropriate to quote in this chapter on patients:

"I am greatly interested in your St. Bartholomew's experiences. London is a place which constantly throws me into a deep melancholy, partly because of the strong contrast between the luxury and the wretchedness, which seem to flow in parallel streams that never meet, and partly because, whether one watches the gay and sparkling stream, or the muddy, dirty stream, the scum is what oftenest meets the eye.

Unless I called to mind the number of lovely characters I have known, I should be half tempted to doubt the destiny of the human race. You see both sides of the picture at the hospital, and perhaps the bright side as much as the dark. It is the bright side which does one most good, and I hope it may preponderate. Anyhow it is a benefit to you to have to deal with living beings as well as with dead bones, and it is a matter of no small importance to these poor people to come into contact with intellect and tenderness, instead of with ignorance and hard-heartedness. There is hardly a suffering patient admitted into the hospital who is not the worse or better in mind for the tone adopted towards him by the authorities.

"I am not surprised at the wretches who deposited the sick man at the hospital to die, while they went off to revel at the Derby, for I am familiar with the fact that brutality gets the better of relationship. Some twenty years ago a servant girl was hanged at Bristol for the murder of her mistress. The girl was brought up in a neighbouring village, and her mother and sister went to witness the execution in the same spirit in which they would have gone to a fair. One of the sisters said gaily to a neighbour, 'An't you going to see our Sarah hanged?'

"There was not the glimmer of a notion that poor Sarah had done a shocking thing in committing a murder, or that it was shocking that poor Sarah should

herself be strangled by the executioner. It was to them a sight like the Derby, and they would have murdered one another with as little compunction as they would have killed a flea."¹

The wards contain numberless examples of kindness and heroism.

I tried to persuade a young woman, an out-patient, to come into the hospital. "I cannot," she said, "for my brother is in now, and who would wash his clothes for him if I came in?" She promised to come when he was well, but she postponed her own treatment too long, and lost her life.

I had written to the same friend² about the Christmas festivities in the wards, and he said in a letter:

"I had my own spirits raised by your account of the poor fellow, inflated with dropsy, singing songs to cheer his brother patients at their Christmas dinner. The hilarious fortitude triumphing over bodily distress, and approaching death, is the kind of heroism which elevates one, and makes one resolve to emulate it."

One patient of the hospital, who could probably neither read nor write, occupies a place of such importance in English history, that his tale cannot be left untold. The year of his admission was 1765, that of the publication of Sir William Blackstone's "Commentaries on the Laws of England," and in that noble literary monument of English law there is a

¹ Whitwell Elwin, June 9, 1869.

² *Ibid.*, January 7, 1873.

passage praising the liberty of England, and, as it so chanced, bearing upon the events of the life of this patient :

“The idea and practice of this political or civil liberty flourish in their highest vigour in these kingdoms, where it falls little short of perfection, and can only be lost or destroyed by the folly or demerits of its owner, the legislature, and of course the laws of England, being peculiarly adapted to the preservation of this inestimable blessing even in the meanest subject. This spirit of liberty is so deeply implanted in our constitution, and rooted even in our very soil, that a slave or a negro, the moment he lands in England, falls under the protection of the laws, and with regard to all natural rights becomes *eo instanti* a freeman.”

The patient, Jonathan Strong, was a negro, who had been brutally beaten by his master, and then turned out of doors. He was admitted to the hospital at the instance of William Sharp, a surgeon, brother of Granville Sharp. His wounds were healed, but the blows on his head had affected his sight, which after nearly two years was not yet perfect. He was obtained a place as servant to an apothecary in Fenchurch Street. Strong's former master chanced to meet him, and had him lodged in the jail known as the Poultry Compter. On September 18, 1767, he was brought before the Lord Mayor, who, finding no evidence against him, told him he was at liberty. An agent of his former

master, taking hold of his arm, said, "I seize him as the property of Mr. Kerr." "I charge you," said Granville Sharp, who was at hand, "for an assault." Strong walked out, and an action was brought against Granville Sharp, but after two years was dropped. Thus Strong's freedom was obtained, but the general question of whether slavery could exist in England was left uncertain till the trial of the case of James Somerset, a negro from Virginia, which was decided on June 22, 1772, by Lord Mansfield, who said: "The power claimed by this return never was in use here. We cannot say the cause set forth by this return is allowed or approved of by the laws of this kingdom, and therefore the man must be discharged."

In 1877 William Lloyd Garrison, then over seventy, who had all his life striven for the abolition of slavery in the United States, came to breakfast with me in the college at St. Bartholomew's.¹ I mentioned that Jonathan Strong had been a patient in the hospital, and this led Mr. Garrison to talk most eloquently of the struggle for the abolition of slavery in the United States. He described how at last the day of reckoning came, and the nation had to pay for its wickedness by the bloodshed and destruction of civil war. And thus at last, as he said in tones like those of a prophet of old, at whatever cost, slavery was destroyed and the

¹ My mother, Mr. Garrison's son Frank, and Albert Venn Dicey, afterwards a successor of Blackstone as Vinerian Professor of the Laws of England at Oxford, were also present.

nation was free. We were awed by his striking words, by the sense of national wrong-doing which he showed, and the final triumph which he set forth, not of his own side or views, but simply of right over wrong.

The conversation seemed appropriate to St. Bartholomew's Hospital, which by its kindly help to Jonathan Strong, the poor negro patient, comes to be included in the record of the abolition of slavery and the maintenance of freedom throughout the civilized world.

On Sundays and certain week days the friends of patients are admitted. They wait in a great crowd within and without the Smithfield gate till three o'clock strikes, and then pour in, only two at a time being admitted to the bedside of each patient.

Two small kneeling canons regular of St. Austin seem thus to be visiting Rahere as he lies upon his tomb, and appear to be informing him of the happiness his foundation will bring to generations of the poor, and, through the discoveries made in the treatment of their diseases and injuries, to patients throughout the world. The canons are reading to him the words of the prophet:¹ "Consolabitur ergo Dominus Sion, et consolabitur omnes ruinas ejus: et ponet desertum ejus quasi delicias, et solitudinem ejus quasi hortum Domini. Gaudium et lætitia invenietur in ea, gratiarum actio, et vox laudis."

¹ Isaias li. 3.

Assuredly joy and gladness have often been found in St. Bartholomew's with thanksgiving and the voice of praise. "I shall never forget St. Bartholomew's," said a cabman, as he set me down at the door of the Warden's house, "for they cured me there of a pleurisy fifteen years ago." Most members of the staff have met with similar simple expressions of gratitude to themselves or to the hospital as they walked among the crowds of London. Children have been restored to their parents, husbands to their wives, wives to their husbands, people of every art to their work, brave defenders of their country to their homes. The pains of incurable illness and of mortal injury have been relieved. Here fruitful observations have been constantly pursued, valuable discoveries often made. The happiness of a full mind, the honour of adding to knowledge, the opportunity of using it for the benefit of mankind, these we owe to the patients. Rahere opened the gates of St. Bartholomew's to the patients for whom the old brethren and sisters worked and prayed. The desire to do all that can be done for the patients in the hospital and for others in like case outside it has continued and enlarged the work he began. The determination to relieve misery and to add to knowledge made Mirfeld look into old treatises and write new ones after the manner of his time. The same motives made Harvey, after reading what was worth study in former writers, observe the human

body in health and in sickness and look to such observation as the means of advancing medicine. These motives roused the eloquence of Abernethy to make clear the truths of nature, to stimulate students to apply them, and to love the place where so much knowledge was to be acquired and so much good to be done. The patient has been the cause of the constant improvement of the physician and of the surgeon, and of the development of the observing student and the well-trained nurse.

Such has been the history of St. Bartholomew's Hospital during eight centuries. Surely everyone who reads it will join in the wish always expressed at the feasts in the Great Hall:

PROSPERITY TO ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S HOSPITAL, AND
HEALTH AND EASE TO THE POOR PATIENTS.

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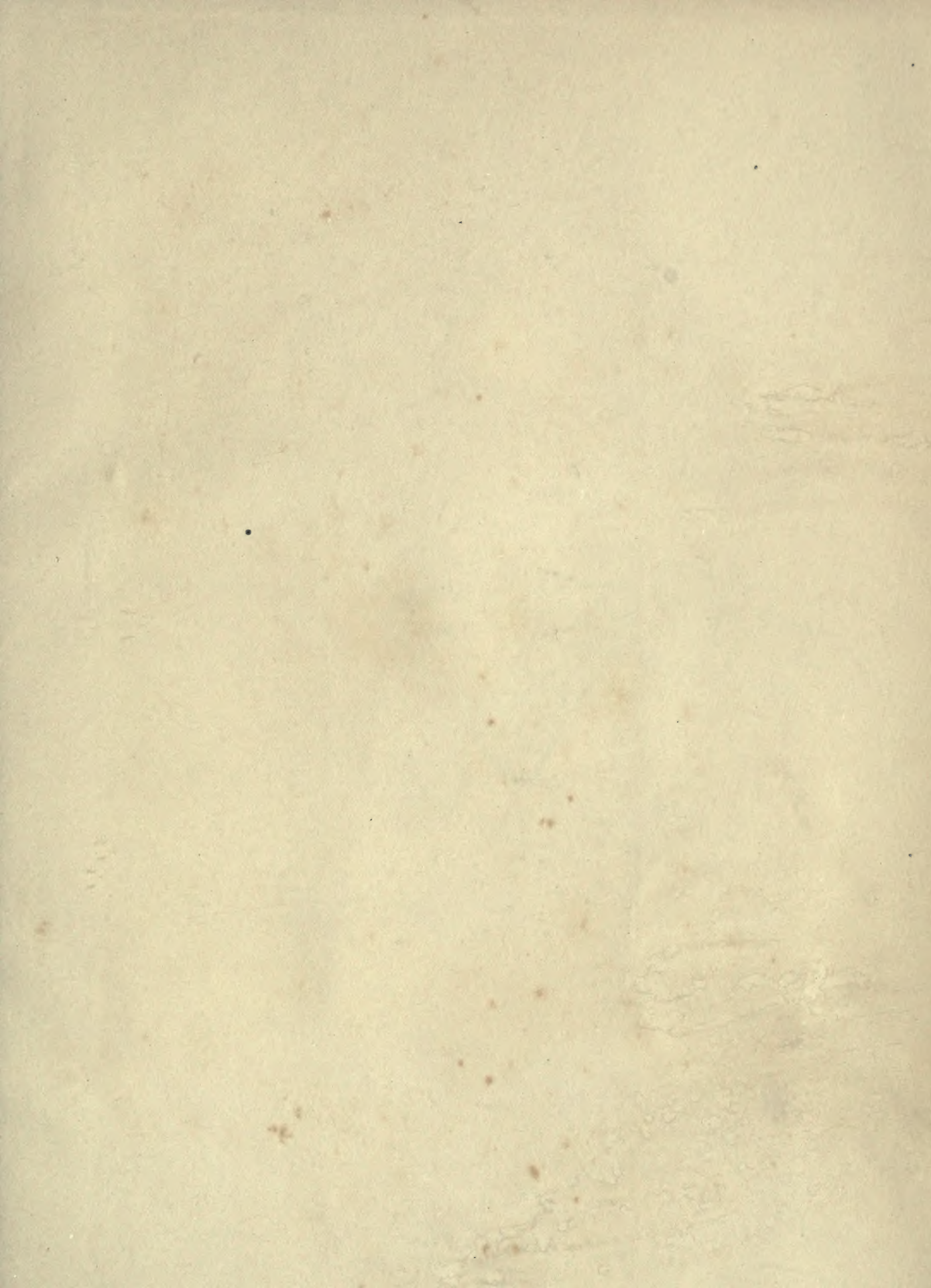
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